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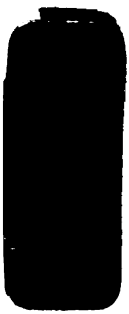

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THE

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FOR

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PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. XCIV.

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Of the works at the head of this article, the first is but little known in this country, although, as our readers will see by the date of its publication, it has already been several years in circulation. The second is from the hand of a scholar who, about ten years back, published a text of the New Testament, which, from its cheapness, portability, and typographical distinctness, acquired some degree of popularity in university lecture rooms, although it neither claimed nor possessed any merit as a critical effort. The present edition, which may be regarded as entirely recast, has lost the neat and attractive

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aspect of its predecessor. It is printed in the sharp upright type to which the publications of Didot, at Paris, have familiarised, but not reconciled, the eyes of men; the character is small; and the abbreviations in the notes are carried to such a pitch, that even after an acquaintance of considerable standing with the book, its perusal remains a very painful task. The third publication, that of Mr. Alford, may fairly be expected to acquire a greater degree of popularity than either of the others; but we somewhat question whether it will have full justice done it by the unprofessional public. It exhibits considerable diligence and reading, — a sincere and earnest religious faith, — and above all, a courageous love of truth which is deserving of the highest approbation. But, on the other hand, it is too extensive in its design to permit of an uniformly satisfactory execution. It is the first attempt, we believe, in this country, to discuss in a single volume all (or almost all) the important problems which philological investigations bring to light respecting the authenticity, the genuineness, the authority, and the specific character of the writings of the New Testament; and as these momentous topics are discussed in the vernacular language, it is obvious that they will be brought before the attention of multitudes who are little, if at all, qualified to consider them, and who will perhaps, in some instances, remain unsatisfied with the explanation of difficulties of which they had previously never dreamed. We freely confess, that with every disposition to give Mr. Alford credit for those qualities which a scholar and a divine ought to possess, we almost regret that practical discretion did not sufficiently operate with him to induce him to clothe his remarks in a Latin garb. Every one competent to enter into his arguments would be also competent to do it, if they had been presented in that dress which transfers debate from the pages of the weekly newspaper to the matured treatise of the sober theologian. It is no doubt a vital principle of Protestantism that the title deeds of religion should never be closed from investigation; that we should always be prepared, if necessary, to show the connexion between the primitive church and our own, and to demonstrate that we are not following 'cunningly devised fables,' but maintaining a belief identical with that of the first preachers of the Gospel. And we are very far from sharing the suspicion and dislike with which the searching processes of criticism are regarded by some modern religious schools, who seem entirely to forget that the language they use can only be consistently employed by such as consider the Reformation an act of schism. All that we stipulate for in philological investigations bearing upon the

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sacred writings (supposing them conducted in an earnest spirit), is that they shall be addressed to genuine scholars, not prematurely popularised to suit the taste of the crowd of sciolists.

It is obvious that of the various topics which are touched upon by Mr. Alford in his volume, the most important — because that upon which all the others depend — must be the one which stands first in his title-page; that is, the critical revision of the Text. It is manifestly premature to enter upon a minute analysis of style until we have first accurately ascertained the structural condition of the writings in question in their primitive form. Still less can we, until this is done, argue with any degree of certainty, *from internal evidence*, as to the country of the author, the date of the composition, and the special object he had in view. Let us suppose, by way of illustration, that we knew nothing of Wiclif or his labours, except what might be gathered from the existence of manuscripts of his translation of the Bible. It is well known that the orthography of these varies considerably, according to the part of England in which the copy happened to be made, the transcribers of that period (as the Greeks always) often writing as they spoke. The first inference, therefore, of a person who fell in with a Northumbrian copy of the work would be to presume the author a native of the north. But from the very same principles another, into whose hands a copy written in the west of England might fall, would assign him to that locality, on equally plausible and equally insufficient grounds. Again, let us take the opening sentence of Milton's 'Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical 'Causes,' and observe how a slight transposition of words affects the whole colour of the style. He writes, 'I have prepared, 'Supreme Council, against the much-expected time of your 'sitting, this treatise; which though to all Christian magis-'trates equally belonging, and therefore to have been written 'in the common language of Christendom, natural duty and 'affection hath confined and dedicated first to my own nation.' Every English scholar will instantly perceive, from the arrangement of the clauses of this sentence, that the work from which it is taken belongs to the seventeenth century.* But if we make a slight change in the arrangement, by reading, 'I have 'prepared this treatise against the much-expected time of your 'sitting; which, though equally belonging to all Christian magis-'trates,' &c., we transform it at once into the style of the latter half of the eighteenth. Now, variations analogous to the above, as well as others of a more considerable character, abound in

* It was first printed in 1659.

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the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, so that even the unlearned reader, accustomed only to the common English version, will at once see that discrimination between the several authorities is a matter of extreme delicacy, but not more delicate than necessary previous to any minute criticism of the writings.

But his opinion of the difficulty of the task will not be diminished when he learns the multitude of the phenomena which the verbal critic has to take into account. The Greek text of the New Testament was first printed from a single manuscript, with occasional references to two others, by the celebrated Erasmus*; and down to the year 1707, the additional authorities of which a succession of editors had availed themselves, were limited to seventeen. For nearly a century the Elzevir edition of 1624 was regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of a correct text. That edition, of which the editor is to this day unknown, enjoyed and still among all but professed scholars enjoys a reputation, to which the whole history of literature can scarcely produce a parallel either for its magnitude or its baselessness. The well deserved credit of the Elzevir press no doubt contributed something to this at the outset, but probably the real reason which produced it is to be found in the fact that the edition of 1624 was, however critically worthless, a compromise between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, to which the disputants on each side were willing to appeal. The one regarded the Complutensian edition, published at Alcala, in Spain, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes, as the standard printed text†; the other held by the text of Robert Estienne (Stephens). But in the third edition‡ of Stephens a considerable step had been made towards a compromise of critical exactness in favour of theological convenience: and it is by an arbitrary union of this text with that of Beza, that what has since gone by the name of the 'Received Text' was produced. The reprint in the year 1633, announces itself in the preface of the anonymous editor by the words, 'Textum 'ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum,'—an expression which, although originally intended to describe the edition as one to

* In the year 1516. The revision was conducted on no general principle; but Mr. Alford has no right, that we are aware of, to call it 'tampering' with the MSS.

† Printed in the year 1514, but not published till 1522.

‡ Printed in the year 1550. It is based upon the 5th edition of Erasmus (1535); but in the Apocalypse follows the Complutensian. In its turn it formed the basis of the editions, ten in number, published by Beza between the years 1565 and 1618.

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which theologians of all parties were contented to appeal*, insensibly came to be accepted as a testimony to the critical value of the text.

But, in the year 1707, a complete revolution was produced by the publication of the edition of the learned Dr. Mill. The famous Alexandrine manuscript — by very far the most ancient at that time known — had been partially brought within the cognizance of the learned world by the Polyglott of the celebrated Brian Walton. This inestimable treasure of antiquity, which contains (with some *lacunæ*) the whole of the Greek text both of the Old and New Testaments, was a present of Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, to King Charles the First. It is supposed to have been written not later than the end of the fifth century; a date six or seven hundred years earlier than any of the authorities upon which the text of the Elzevir edition rested. Another volume of even a more remarkable character, containing the four Gospels and the Book of Acts, had also excited much attention. This was the singular Codex Bezæ, so called from the donor, Beza, who gave it to the University of Cambridge, in the year 1581. He describes it in his letter as of venerable antiquity, and as having been discovered in the Monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons, about twenty years before. The age of this book is a matter of much dispute; some considering its antiquity to rival, or even exceed, that of the Alexandrine; others bringing it down as low as the eighth century. Tischendorf, the last editor of the New Testament who professes to have carefully examined it, assigns it to the middle of the sixth; in our opinion a century at least too early. Both these manuscripts, but especially the latter, were found to present very great variations† from the 'Textus ab omnibus receptus.' A

* The convenience of controversialists gave rise to another arrangement, extremely prejudicial to the sound understanding of the sacred volume, namely, the division into verses. The elder Stephens first of all introduced this into his fourth edition (1551). He made it 'inter equitandum' on a journey from Paris to Lyons, and placed the numbers only in the margin. But in the English version, printed at Geneva in 1557, the actual text was broken up into the fragmentary shape now commonly in use.

† We must remind the lay reader, that we use the terms 'great' and 'small,' with reference to the question of the accurate constitution of the sacred text, not to the importance of the doctrine which may be elicited from this or that reading. In point of fact, the doctrines of the English Church would not be affected even if the worst readings of the worst MS. were in every case to be purposely adopted.

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similar result exhibited itself in the oldest manuscripts containing the Latin versions from the Greek. They are of such a description, so faithful — we may almost say servile — in their adherence to the letter of the original, that, in very many cases, it may be discovered, with absolute certainty, what reading existed in the copy which the translator used. To the surprise of every one, it was found that the more ancient the manuscripts containing these translations, the more closely did they agree with the text of the Alexandrine codex in those places in which it varied from the Elzevir standard. Nor was this all. In the early ages of the Church, translations of the sacred writings had been made not only into Latin, — the language in which they would be accessible to the Christians of Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Northern Africa, — but also into Coptic and its branches for the benefit of the Egyptian, and Syrian for that of the Oriental converts.* These translations, for the most part, supported the ancient authorities. The same was the case with the early Greek Fathers. The quotations of Clement of Alexandria and of Origen were found to tell on the same side with the early Greek and Latin manuscripts, and with the ancient versions into Syrian and Coptic. Struck by all these concurring circumstances, Mill conceived that a passage in St. Augustine offered a clue to the recovery not only of the primitive Greek Text, but of the earliest Latin Version, established, as he imagined probable, by public authority within the very first century. Augustine†, after speaking of the benefit which may be derived by a student of the Scriptures from consulting various translations, adds the words 'In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ.' This expression Mill regarded as establishing the existence of a definite version into Latin, known in the time of Augustine by the name of the 'Italian Version,' and characterised by its extreme adherence to the letter of the original, which was limited only by a due regard for perspicuity. He supposed that it was the Version publicly used in the Roman Church previously to the time of Jerome, by whose new translation, which is the basis of the modern

* The Syrian version was made in the second, the Coptic in the third century. These, and the Gothic version of Ulphilas, made in the fourth, appear to be the only versions made in early times direct from the Greek, and, consequently, the only genuine representatives of Greek codices. To cite versions which are either translations from the Vulgate, or from Greek manuscripts altered to agree with the Vulgate, is simple loss of time and paper to the verbal critic.

† De Doctrinâ Christianâ, ii. cap. 15.

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Vulgate, it had been gradually superseded, — but that it still existed in those ancient Latin manuscripts which might be found to contain a translation different from the Vulgate of Jerome, and at the same time possessing characteristics answering to the description of Augustine. These might be further recognised by their agreement with the citations of Scripture found in the writings of the Latin Fathers antecedent to the time of Jerome, — Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary of Poictiers, and the Latin Irenæus. Supposing a number of codices collected answering to these tests, the text constituted by their comparison would be the 'Vetus Itala' version; and the combination of this critical Latin text with the oldest Greek MSS. (checked in their turn by the quotations of Clement and Origen) would allow of the constitution, on rigidly critical principles, of a text differing, by a scarcely appreciable amount, from that which was recognised in the age of those who had themselves conversed with the Apostles.

To the execution of the idea of Dr. Mill, however, there existed some insuperable obstacles. In the first place, the Alexandrine codex, although of immensely superior antiquity to the manuscripts on which the 'Received Text' rested, stood alone in its opposition to them in many instances, Beza's codex (besides that it contains nothing but the four Gospels and the Acts) occasionally differing quite as much from the Alexandrine readings, which were supported by Clement and Origen, as it did from the Elzevir standard. In some places, too, the Alexandrine has suffered from the ravages of time; so that in these there appeared to be no means of completing the text consistently with the principles laid down. Moreover, there was felt to be an obvious inconvenience in making the Greek text as it were subordinate to that of the Latin versions. Almost immediately after the passage above quoted from Augustine, which inspired Mill with the hopes of recovering the 'Vetus Itala,' there follows another which seemed decisively to discourage his proceeding with his design under existing circumstances.* He gave up, therefore, the prosecution of the object which he had pointed out, and contented himself with reprinting the 'Received 'Text,' and exhibiting in the margin the variations from it which the older manuscripts, versions, and Fathers furnished.

This proceeding was not one calculated to break the shock which the publication of his book occasioned to all but the

* Libros autem Novi Testamenti, si quid in Latinis varietatibus titubat, *Græcis cedere oportere non dubium est*, et maxime qui apud ecclesias doctiores et diligentiores reperiantur.

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learned. By a mental process not unlike the one which generated the doctrine of Transubstantiation, that influence of the Holy Spirit * which had pervaded the first teachers of our religion, and which still breathes in their written remains, had come to be popularly regarded as of a kind to furnish security to those remains against corruption by the hands of transcribers during their transmission through successive ages. Accordingly, when an edition appeared, exhibiting in the margin more than 30,000 variations from the standard text, great excitement was produced. The Roman Catholics rejoiced at what they considered a confirmation of their strongest position, — the alleged necessity of an oral tradition, supernaturally transmitted through the hands of the Church, to explain and interpret the doubtful passages of Holy Scripture. Enemies of revealed religion, under any shape whatever, were delighted at the discovery of what they represented as a thorough corruption of the authentic documents of Christianity. In our days, when the experience of a century has shown the real utility of these — then unwelcome — phenomena, and when the collation of additional manuscripts has augmented their number to more than 200,000, it is difficult to conceive the consternation and perplexity which was occasioned when their existence first became known to the public, or to measure the evil which might have resulted had there not been living at that time, in the possession of a station and a reputation which enabled him to stem the tide of timid superstition, the greatest scholar that England has ever produced — Richard Bentley, master of Trinity College, Cambridge. In a short letter, published under the name of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, he showed the value, in the hands of those who understood the matter, of such collations as Mill's margin exhibited; and that, instead of weakening the authority of the sacred text, they, in fact, furnished the means of ascertaining it in its most genuine form. He himself had entertained a design somewhat similar to that of Mill, but based upon a much surer foundation. This (in a letter to Archbishop Wake, dated April 15. 1716,) he explains so lucidly, that it is impossible to abridge the communication without omitting some material point, and we therefore give it *in extenso:* —

'MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, — 'Tis not only your 'Grace's station and general character, but the particular know-

* The profound remark of Coleridge relative to the Sacrament of the Eucharist is applicable to the true idea of Inspiration. It is a thing *sui generis*, which one extreme party *evaporates into a metaphor*, and the other *condenses into an idol.*

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'ledge I have of you, which encourages me to give you a long 'letter about those unfashionable topics, Religion and Learning. 'Your Grace knows, as well as any, what an alarm has been 'made of late years with the vast heap of Various Lections found 'in MSS. of the Greek Testament. The Papists have made a 'great use of them against the Protestants, and the Atheists 'against them both. This was one of Collins's topics in his 'Discourse on Freethinking, which I took off in my short 'answer; and I have heard since, from several hands, that that 'short view I gave of the causes, and necessity, and use of 'Various Lections, made several good men more easy in that 'matter than they were before. But since that time I have 'fallen into a course of studies that led me to peruse many of the 'oldest MSS. of the Greek Testament and of the Latin, too, of 'St. Jerome, of which there are several in England a full thou-'sand years old; the result of which has been that I find I am 'able (what some thought impossible) to give an edition of the 'Greek Testament exactly as it was in the best exemplars at 'the time of the Council of Nice; so that there shall not be 'twenty words, nor even particles, difference; and this shall 'carry its own demonstration in every verse, which I affirm 'cannot be so done of any other ancient book, Greek or Latin; 'so that that book, which, by the present management, is 'thought the most uncertain, shall have a testimony of certainty 'above all other books whatever, and an end be put at once to 'all Various Lections now or hereafter.

'I'll give your Grace the progress which brought me, by 'degrees, into the present view and scheme that I have of a new 'edition. Upon some points of curiosity, I collated one or two 'of St. Paul's Epistles, with the Alexandrian MS., the oldest 'and best now in the world.* I was surprised to find several 'transpositions of words, that Mill and the other collators took 'no notice of: but I soon found their way was to mark nothing 'but change of words; the collocation and order they entirely 'neglected; and yet, at first sight, I discerned what a new force 'and beauty this new order (I found in the MS.) added to the 'sentence. This encouraged me to collate the whole book over 'to a letter, with my own hands. There is another MS. at 'Paris†, of the same age and character with this; but meeting

* The Vatican Codex had not at this time been examined.

† This is the Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (Reg. Par. No. 9.). Its real character was detected by Allix, a French Protestant minister, who took refuge in England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. Burnet made him a prebendary of Salisbury, and the University of

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'with worse usage, it was so decayed by age, that five hundred 'years ago it served the Greeks for old vellum; and they writ 'over the old brown capitals a book of Ephraim Syrus; but so 'that even now, by a good eye and a skilful person, the old 'writing may be read under the new.... Out of this, by an 'able hand, I have had above two hundred lections given me 'from the present printed Greek; and I was surprised to find 'that almost all agreed both in word and order with our noble 'Alexandrian. Some more experiments in other old copies 'have discovered the same agreement: so that I dare say, take 'all the Greek Testaments surviving, that are not *occidental* '*with Latin too*, like our Beza's at Cambridge, and that are a 'thousand years old,—and they'll so agree together, that of the 'thirty thousand present Various Lections, there are not there 'found two hundred.*

'The western Latin copies, by variety of translators, without 'public appointment, and a jumble and heap of all of them, 'were grown so uncertain, that scarce two copies were alike; 'which obliged Damasus, then Bishop of Rome, to employ St. 'Jerome to regulate the best received translation of each part of 'the New Testament to the original Greek; and so set out a 'new edition, so castigated and corrected. This he declares in 'his preface he did *ad Græcam veritatem, ad exemplaria Græca,* '*sed vetera;* and his learning, great name, and just authority, 'extinguished all the other Latin versions; and [his] has been 'conveyed down to us under the name of the Vulgate. 'Twas 'plain to me, that when that copy came first from that great 'Father's hands, it must agree exactly with the most authentic 'Greek exemplars; and if it could now be retrieved, it would 'be the best test and voucher for the true reading out of several 'pretending ones. But when I came to try Pope Clement's 'Vulgate, I soon found the Greek of the Alexandrian and 'that would by no means pary. This set me to examine the

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Oxford conferred an honorary degree upon him. He was a man of great erudition, and the author of many works, principally controversial, now little read.

* Nothing can exhibit the critical sagacity of Bentley more strikingly than his exact estimate of the value of the Alexandrine Codex, which had been much over-estimated by Mill. It is quite clear that the transcriber of it has been in many places influenced by a regard for the Hieronymic version, as is distinctly shown by Wetstein, though only a small percentage of the passages he cites tells for his argument. Although invaluable, therefore, for ascertaining the Greek text *which Jerome used*, it is not to be cited for that of a more ancient date in the first instance.

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'Pope's Latin by some MSS. of a thousand years old; and the 'success is, that the old Greek copies and the old Latin so ex- 'actly agree (when an able hand discerns the rasures and the 'old lections lying under them), that the pleasure and satisfac- 'tion it gives me is beyond expression.

'The New Testament has been under a hard fate since the 'invention of printing. After the Complutenses and Erasmus, 'who had but very ordinary MSS., it has become the property 'of booksellers. Robert Stephens's edition, set out and regu- 'lated by himself alone, is now become the standard. That text 'stands as if an apostle was his compositor. No heathen author 'has had such ill-fortune. Terence, Ovid, &c., for the first 'century after printing, went about with twenty thousand errors 'in them. But when learned men undertook them, and, from 'the oldest MSS., set out correct editions, those errors fell and 'vanished. But if they had kept to the first published text, and 'set the Various Lections only in the margin, those classic 'authors would be as clogged with variations as Dr. Mill's Testa- 'ment is.

'Popes Sixtus and Clemens*, at a vast expense, had an 'assembly of learned divines, to recense and adjust the Latin 'Vulgate, and then enacted their new edition authentic; but I 'find, though I have not yet discovered anything done *dolo malo*, 'they were quite unequal to the affair. They were mere Theo- 'logi, had no experience in MSS., nor made use of good Greek 'copies; and followed books of five hundred years before those 'of double [that] age. Nay, I believe they took these new ones 'for the older of the two; for it is not every body knows the 'age of a manuscript.

'I am already tedious, and the post is a going; so that, to 'conclude, in a word, I find that, by taking two thousand errors 'out of the Pope's Vulgate, and as many out of the Protestant 'Pope Stephens's, I can set out an edition of each in columns, 'without using any book under nine hundred years old, that 'shall so exactly agree, word for word; and, what at first

* The Romish Church has furnished the Reformers with a constant weapon of annoyance, by successively pronouncing the text of each of these editions authentic, although they differ from one another in several hundred places. The Protestant polemics took advantage of this breach in the theory of Infallibility. A book was published at Oxford in 1600, entitled BELLUM PAPALE, sive Concordia Discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII., which so galled the champions of the Papacy, that an attempt was made to deny the publication of the Sixtine edition. Unfortunately, however, some copies exist,—one in the Bodleian.

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'amazed me, order for order*, that no two tallies, nor two 'indentures, can agree better.

'I affirm that these so placed will prove each other to a de- 'monstration; for I alter not a letter of my own head without 'the authority of these old witnesses. And the beauty of the 'composition (barbarous, God knows, at present) is so improved, 'as makes it more worthy of a revelation, and yet not one text 'of consequence injured or weakened.

'My Lord, if a casual fire should take either his Majesty's 'library or the King of France's, all the world could not do 'this. As I have, therefore, great impulse, and I hope not 'ἀθεεὶ, to set about this work immediately and leave it as a κει- 'μήλιον to posterity, against Atheists and infidels, I thought 'it my duty and my honour to first acquaint your Grace with 'it; and know if the extrinsic expense necessary to do such a 'work completely (for my labour I reckon nothing) may obtain 'any encouragement, either from the Crown or public?

'I am, with all duty and obedience,

'Your Grace's most humble servant,

'RI. BENTLEY.'

The proposition of Bentley was, as might have been expected, favourably received by Wake, himself a distinguished scholar, and who was reported, when at Paris some time before, to have made for his own behoof a transcript of the whole of the so-called *Codex Claromontanus*, — a manuscript containing the Epistles of St. Paul, with a Latin version, of the same age and character with the Codex Bezæ. Bentley now set about furnishing himself with the materials for the execution of his design. He obtained a collation of the Vatican MS., the first, we believe, that ever was made, from Mico, then librarian at Rome. He sent over John Walker, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Paris, to procure collations of all the treasures which existed in the several libraries of that city. This gentleman met at first with some little coolness from the superior authorities of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Maur, who imagined that his object, from the interest he displayed for Latin as well as Greek

* Jerome shared the scrupulosity of the authors of the so-called 'Itala Versio.' He says of himself (Ep. ad Pammachium), 'Ego 'enim non solum fateor sed etiam liberâ voce profiteor me in inter- 'pretatione Græcorum, *absque Scripturis Sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo* '*mysterium est*, non verbum e verbo sed sensum exprimere e sensu.' It is unfortunate that this point (of all others, perhaps, the most important in the *classification* of MSS.) should have been thought an immaterial one by Mr. Alford. (*Prolegomena*, p. 72.)

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MSS., would probably interfere with an edition of the 'Vetus 'Itala,' about which some members of their own body were engaged. 'It's comical,' says Bentley, in a letter to Walker, 'that the Benedictine Fathers will not believe you, but fancy 'my scheme is the same with theirs, when it's just the reverse. 'They are seeking the old Italic Version, and I their Vulgate, 'and by it the Greek of Origen. I am too old to engage in so 'extensive a work as theirs, so they need not be jealous of me. 'If both works see the light, they'll illustrate each other, but 'not depreciate. If they'll be communicative, I can recompense 'it to them *et operâ et consilio.*' But the influence of the more learned members of the society prevailed over the ignorance and illiberality of the 'Præpositi;' and it is pleasing to see in an age of no common bigotry and religious exasperation, the humanising influence of letters. Montfaucon and De la Rue zealously and successfully pleaded the cause of a Protestant editor of the New Testament before the ruling body of the college. 'Vellem in eorum cœtu," says one of the monks, writing to Bentley, 'vidisses D. Bernardum (Montfaucon), 'quam strenue Bentleianas partes tueretur; turpe esse quidquam 'denegare Viro celebri qui nos tot et tantis beneficiis cumu-'laverat, qui tam propensâ voluntate non emendationes tantum, 'sed et libros ipsos transmittebat; se, si suscepti operis auctor 'esset, relicturum potius et integrum Cantabrigiam missurum 'esse, quam Benedictino nomini tantam inferret injuriam.' After a little more explanation, Walker was not only allowed to consult the MSS., but assisted in every possible way by the worthy Fathers. 'I believe,' he says, in his next letter to Bentley, 'that they would do any thing with pleasure that you 'desired of them; and, if you please to order me, I will put 'them upon collating some of their MSS., while I am at work 'upon those of other libraries.' Indeed, he seems to have been completely petted by them. He caught a severe cold, which would have interrupted his task, 'if the Benedictine Fathers 'had not offered me a chamber with a fire to study in, in 'their Abbaye.' De la Rue calls him, 'Walkerus *noster*,' and adds, '*Nostrum* eum dico, qui primum nobis ob tuam commen-'dationem carus, postmodum ob exploratam morum ipsius 'suavitatem carissimus fuit.' As for Montfaucon, his first champion, he 'loved him as a son,' and through his influence procured him the privilege of having various MSS. brought from other libraries into the Benedictine Monastery for more convenient collation.

Walker was not the only assistant whom Bentley made use of. He had sent over Wetstein to Paris for similar purposes,

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immediately after the favourable acceptance of his proposition by the Archbishop; and it appears that, among other things, he paid him 50*l.* for a complete copy of the *Codex Rescriptus* of Ephraem Syrus*, mentioned in his letter. He obtained four ancient manuscripts from the Chapter Library at Durham. He purchased every volume which he could hear of for sale on the Continent which was of undoubted antiquity; and, finally, acquired an *apparatus criticus* of an extent which would have taken away the very breath of the Elzevir editors. Independently of the four manuscripts (A, B, C, D), there are collations of eighteen Greek codices collected in one volume in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, averaging more than a thousand years each, and forming only a portion of the collection made by Walker.

But it was not reserved for Bentley to complete the plan which he had sketched out. His unhappy dispute with the Fellows of his own college is well known, and from the time it commenced his whole life became a prey to personal animosities of the bitterest kind. His enemies endeavoured as much as possible to discredit his qualifications for the task he had undertaken, and his own unpopular manners and unamiable disposition aided their efforts with those who knew little or nothing of the merits of the case, but hated the domineering spirit and the withering contempt habitually displayed by the English Aristarchus. These qualities had subjected him to the censures of the university, whose jurisdiction he had insulted; and public decency was scandalised by the spectacle of the most illustrious scholar of the age, and Regius Professor of Divinity, stript of his degrees, and appearing in the garb of an undergraduate in the college of which he was master. He quarrelled with the Bishop of Rochester about the election of Westminster scholars to fellowships of Trinity College, and with the Archbishop of Canterbury (Wake) respecting the right of the latter to appoint a librarian. The wits all hated him for the castigation he had inflicted upon the Honourable Mr. Boyle in the controversy respecting Phalaris. Pope put him into the Dunciad as 'Slashing Bentley;' and it was represented that the sacred writings were likely to sustain the same treatment at his hands as some heathen authors. In his letter to Mill he had shown

* Ever since the time of Wetstein, the most important MSS. of the New Testament have been distinguished in critical editions by the following symbols: — A, the Codex Alexandrinus; B, the Codex Vaticanus; C, the Codex Rescriptus Ephraemi Syri; D, the Codex Bezæ Cantabrigiensis.

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the existence of an interpolation in the Epistle to the Galatians, and in the Prælection which he composed when elected to the Regius Professorship, had proved the utter baselessness of the Vulgate reading in the celebrated verse, 1 John, v. 7.: and his enemies were not ashamed to take advantage of the prejudice which this was calculated to excite in the breasts of the ignorant. It must be confessed, that in the sequel Bentley himself took exactly the course most likely to confirm the erroneous judgment of him entertained by the world at large. His conjectural emendations of the Paradise Lost, which can scarcely have been meant as more than a practical jest on his part, were regarded generally as an insult on the common sense of mankind, and pointed to as a fair specimen of the critical pretensions of their author. Indeed, long before this it was obvious that his intended edition would never appear, and his enemies even went the length of asserting, that his original proposals were only made for the purpose of ingratiating himself with the Archbishop, and thereby strengthening his case against the Fellows of his College. That this was a mere calumny is quite certain. He himself, probably, never relinquished the scheme to the day of his death; but the last indication of his actively prosecuting it appears in a letter of the year 1729, from which it seems that the corrections and interlinear glosses made by a later hand in the Vatican Codex had appeared to him of sufficient importance to induce him to procure a collation of them from the Abbé Rulotta, who had succeeded to the place formerly filled by Mico at Rome.

Since the time of Bentley many additions (of very various value) have been made to the authorities upon which the sacred text is based. For the Gospels alone (or for considerable portions of them) there are now available ten or twelve Greek MSS., of which the most recent is above a thousand years old, with, perhaps, double the number of fragments of the same antiquity. Of books of more modern date (*i. e.* from the eleventh to the sixteenth century) there cannot be less than five hundred. Besides these there are some forty or fifty Evangelistaria (volumes containing extracts from the Gospels for reading in the public services of the Church), written in ancient letters, and three times the number in the cursive or modern character. Independently of this *matériel*, the verbal critic has most important resources in many manuscripts containing early versions, and, more than all, especially for the purpose of testing the value of the above, he has the quotations which are sprinkled throughout the writings of the early Fathers. It will be obvious that here no scarcity of documentary evidence has to

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be complained of, and that the real difficulty consists in the proper appreciation of the testimony when the witnesses contradict each other. It is a remarkable circumstance, and one which, without the least wish to exaggerate, we cannot abstain from viewing as a manifest interposition of the hand of Providence, that this complicated problem, important as it is as a *literary* question, is entirely devoid of interest as a *theological* one. As a divine book,—as constituting the special aliment of our spiritual life,—as serving, like the Scriptures of the Old Covenant, for instruction, reproof, correction, and education in righteousness,—the New Testament remains of the same value, after all the changes which the principles of sound philology require to be made in the Elzevir Text. The Sixth Article of the Church of England requires no modification, whether we adopt the most interpolated or the purest of all existing MSS. Every portion of the Creeds admits of the same scriptural proof of which it was susceptible when the codices used by Stephens were supposed to be the best in existence. The private Christian, therefore, who has no call to examine into the matter, has neither any occasion whatever for disquietude. He may safely continue to regard the version he has been in the habit of using as a safe guide in all points which in the least degree concern himself. But the case is very different with those who are entrusted with the maintenance of the bulwarks of our religion. They are bound not to refuse investigations such as this subject suggests, whenever the occasion appears to demand them; and they are guilty of an act of treason to the God of Truth if they allow themselves to be alarmed by a fear that the cause of truth can be endangered by the most searching inquiry. It is a lesson which ought never to be forgotten, that by far the most perplexing of all the real difficulties which are found in the Sacred Text at the present day arise (as we shall presently explain) from an over-anxious timidity, which led to the *masking* of difficulties, which were merely apparent ones, many ages ago.

In the very outset of the question how to marshal the mass of evidence we possess, it is easy to see one point, viz., that, *cæteris paribus*, the testimony of the more modern MSS. must be very far less weighty than that of the most ancient. Independently of any particular circumstances affecting the question, no one would dream of attaching the same authority to a codex written in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, that he would to one which dated from the fifth or sixth. Whatever risk of alteration is inherent in the task of transcription, of course increases rapidly with the number of times which that task is repeated. If (as continually happens with all ancient authors)

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one or more words have been placed in the margin as an explanatory gloss, and by the next transcriber taken into the text, from the impression that they were intended to supply an accidental omission in the former copy, it is plain that the chances of such a mistake are multiplied with every transcript. Now, if we suppose another case (which likewise continually occurs), namely, the comparison of one codex thus interpolated with another which has similarly suffered, but suffered *in different places*, the impression produced on the mind of the comparer (*ὁ ἀντιβάλλων*) will often be, that both his own copy, and that with which he is comparing it, have suffered by accidental omissions, and accordingly in a new transcript he will incorporate the additions which he finds both in the one and the other. Here then we have one obvious cause of error in multiplied transcription, independently of the constantly existing one arising from the inaccurate eye, hand, or temper of the copyist.

Besides this, however, there is another analogous corruption, arising from a somewhat different cause. From the time of Origen to that of Gregory the Great, considerable care seems to have been taken in the comparison of manuscripts with one another, whenever a transcript was made. This was rendered necessary by the corruptions of still earlier times*, which providentially forced a thorough investigation of the subject upon the most learned Fathers of the Church before the evil arrived at a pitch to baffle attempts at cure. When two manuscripts of equal apparent value were found to differ, the variation was noted in the margin of the transcript, and sometimes even more than one such was so placed, when more than one copy had been collated. It sometimes happened that on a second transcript being subsequently made, the whole of these were considered as a portion of the sacred context which had been omitted, and were accordingly moved from the margin and placed in immediate juxtaposition with the doubtful reading of which they were intended as alternatives.

One or two illustrations will make this part of the subject clear to the lay reader.

In Revelations, xxii. 11., the weight of the existing MSS. authority is in favour of the reading *ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω*

* Origen says, *Πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινων γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ [τόλμης τινων] μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν* (legendum videtur *ἀπὸ τόλμης τινων τῶν*) *τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.*—Homil. in Matt. viii.

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ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι. It will be observed here that there is a sort of double antithesis as regards the sense. This effect will also be produced even as regards the grammatical form, if the variations ὁ ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτω and ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω (which some MSS. and Versions followed by the Textus Receptus sanction) be substituted for the corresponding expressions. But in the Letter of the Vienne and Lyons Martyrs, (§. 15.), a document of the second century, we find the passage quoted with a far more important variation; ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι. Moreover in some other MSS., among which is the Alexandrine Codex, the clause ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι is entirely omitted, thus destroying the double antithesis. Now as in all cases of variation there can be but one real original, and the problem to be solved is to account from known causes for the rise of all existing differences, let us see how this principle may be applied in the present instance. First, there is a presumption in favour of the quotation in the letter on account of its antiquity, no MS. reaching anything like so far back. Secondly, the verbal antithesis is in it very far from being so striking as in the form which the MSS. furnish. Thirdly, the expression ἄνομος is somewhat vague, and the words ἀδικῶν and ῥυπαρὸς are explanations of it in its two phases, in its bearing on the Law of Justice, and the Law of Purity. There was therefore a reason for their finding a place (probably one after the other) in the margin as *explanatory glosses*. The variation δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω might likewise obtain a similar position as an explanation of the ambiguous δικαιωθήτω (*justificetur*). But if the next transcriber took these marginal notes not for *glosses*, but in their aggregate for *an alternative reading*, he would be struck by the defect of the antithesis in the sentence as it stood, ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δικαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἔτι, and would add, (likewise probably in the margin) the words wanting, to exactly complete the rounded phrase, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι· As our object is not to do more than point out to readers unaccustomed to these subjects, the *kind* of phenomena which the criticism of the sacred text presents, we shall pass over the discussion of the more minute variations.

The passage Matthew, xxi. 28—31. exhibits a very curious instance of variation from the causes above mentioned. The greater number of the MSS. represent the master of the vineyard as applying first to the son who refused to obey his order to work, but afterwards 'repented and went.' Some, however, (including the Vatican Codex and the Syrian and Coptic versions) invert the narrative, and make the son first ordered to

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reply, 'I go, Sir,' and to fall from his purpose. It is very obvious, that the *reply* to the question 'Whether of them twain 'did the will of his father?' (in verse 31.), must be 'the first' or 'the second,' according as the one or the other order in the narrative is observed. But, singularly enough, some of the MSS. and VSS. which relate the story *so as to require* the answer ὁ πρῶτος, really give ὁ ὕστερος (or its equivalents in sense ὁ δεύτερος, ὁ ἔσχατος, or 'novissimus.') Now that this puzzle existed in the time of Jerome, is plain from his commentary on the passage, 'Sciendum est in veris exemplaribus non 'haberi "novissimum" sed "primum." Si autem "novis-'"simum" voluerimus legere, manifesta est interpretatio ut 'dicamus intelligere quidem veritatem Judæos sed tergiversari.' If we go to Origen's commentary to help us out of the difficulty, we find no clue to indicate of which of the two readings spoken of by Jerome he had possession. On the contrary, there is *no allusion to either the one or the other.* And here, perhaps, is the key to the mystery. Did Origen find our Lord's words spoken continuously?* 'Whether of the twain did the will of his Father? 'Verily, I say unto you,' &c. &c. This is certainly the impression his commentary produces: and if it was the case, nothing is easier than to account for the strange variations. The eye of a transcriber who had just written the words ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, fell upon the very same words two lines below, and instead of writing οὐ θέλω· ὕστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, he continued ἐγὼ κύριε· καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν, before discovering his error. As, however, the appearance of his copy would have been spoilt by obliterating the words, and the sense was not (as the text *then* stood) affected by the change of order, he continued his task by simply attributing to the second son the words which in his copy he had found given to the first, and *vice versâ.* Accordingly, the writers of the subsequent marginal glosses would write λέγουσιν· ὁ πρῶτος· or λέγουσιν· ὁ ὕστερος· (δεύτερος· or ἔσχατος·) just as the copies on which they commented were derived from one or the other source, the further addition λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς being equally applicable to both. But on the collation of a fresh copy, especially if the transcript were made by an uneducated person†, the marginal gloss would readily be

* See Matt. xvi. 9—11., compared with Mark, viii. 18—21.

† This was often the case where the new copy was intended for public service, and therefore of a sumptuous and splendid appearance, calligraphic skill being here an important qualification in the copyist. Such copies are full of false spelling, and the like blunders of ignorance; and this occasioned the cynical remark of Jerome upon them: 'Onera magis quam codices.' (Præf. in Job.) This expression,

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transferred bodily to a text to which it was inapplicable without an appropriate change.

In all cases where the variations arise out of such causes as we have been describing, it is possible to decide upon the merits of the case (where any positive decision can be come to), without any special regard to the general character of the individual MSS. But this does not hold with another class of variations, which are of much older standing, and present much greater difficulty. Jerome, in his Preface to the new translation of the Gospels, which forms the basis of the modern Vulgate, speaks of this cause of error in very strong terms. The Evangelists in relating the same event had, as was to be expected, varied in minute details, one sometimes omitting a feature in the narrative which had been preserved by another, or giving a phrase as expressed by Our Lord which another had not recorded. The more carefully the sacred volume was studied, the more would these differences strike the reader. The first step would probably be to place the variations in the margin in the form of notes; a second to make a kind of Diatessaron by taking some one of the Evangelists as a basis, and interweaving into the web of his account the parallel narratives found in the other three. This indeed was the actual proceeding of Ammonius, a Christian philosopher of Alexandria, in the first half of the third century. He had, at the cost of much pains, drawn up such a scheme, of which the gospel of St. Matthew formed the framework, interpolating, in what appeared to be their appropriate places, the several portions of the other three;—so that (says Eusebius *) 'he made one gospel out of four.' It is obvious that, as regards the three inserted accounts, the thread of the narrative must have been entirely sacrificed by this proceeding: and accordingly Eusebius himself devised a scheme for securing whatever advantages such an arrangement might possess, without sacrificing the integrity of the three interpolated authorities. He composed the celebrated 'Canons' which have since gone by his name. They are ten in number. The *first* is a table, in parallel columns, of those portions of the sacred narrative which are common to all four of the Evangelists. The *second*, of those which are common only to the three, Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The *third*, of those which are common to the three, Matthew, Luke, and John. The *fourth*, of those which are common to the three, Matthew, Mark, and John. The *fifth*, of

which merely amounts to saying 'Correctness before Beauty,' has been absurdly perverted to imply a disparagement of uncial MSS.

* Ep. ad Carpianum.

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those which are common only to the two, Matthew and Luke. The *sixth*, of those common to Matthew and Mark. The *seventh*, of those to Matthew and John. The *eighth*, to Luke and Mark. The *ninth*, to Luke and John. The *tenth* contains a register of all the passages which are found only in one of the four. The mode of using these tables was a very simple one. Each Gospel was divided, by numbers written in the margin, into the portions of which it consisted, which in the case of St. Matthew, who had the most, amounted to 355; in that of St. Mark, who had the fewest, to 233. These numbers were written in black ink, and to each was added in red ink, the number of that table in which it was to be found. Thus, for instance, a reader of the account of the resurrection in St. Mark's gospel, would find appended to the paragraph contained in chap. xvi. 2—5. the number 231, and the class-mark 1. By the latter he would know that the passage was common to all four of the Evangelists, and turning to the table in which the register of such passages was found, he would see the *numbers* indicating the parallel paragraphs in Matthew, Luke, and John, viz. 352 (= chap. xxviii. 1—4.), 336 (= chap. xxiv. 1—4.), and 211 (= chap. xx. 11, 12.).

The advantage of this method above that of Ammonius is plain. It was adopted by Jerome in his new version, and the presence or absence of the Eusebian Canons and marginal numbers is a very valuable criterion at the present day, towards ascertaining whether Latin versions existing in ancient manuscripts have or have not been corrected from the Vulgate.

But the careful comparison of the several Evangelists which led to this ingenious arrangement had indirectly produced a serious evil. In every age, men of ordinary minds are prone to be dissatisfied with a substantial unity, and desire to strain it into an outward uniformity; and this spirit found scope for its exercise in a most unfortunate tendency to tamper with the sacred narrative in those portions which are diversely given by the different Evangelists. It seems to have been in operation for a considerable time. Jerome speaks of it as an inveterate practice, (especially, it would seem, in the Latin MSS. or in the Greek MSS. which were found in Italy)* to interpolate one

* His words are, 'Magnus siquidem in *nostris* codicibus error *inolevit*, dum quod in eâdem re alius evangelista plus dixit, in alio, quia minus putaverint, addiderunt; vel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quattuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum cæteros quoque æstimaverit emendandos.'—Ep. ad Damasum.

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gospel from another in the parallel narratives in order to produce a more patent and literal agreement. That these efforts produced no effect upon the text of the Gospels, as regards their doctrinal or historical importance, we may be quite confident. The Christians had been, from the earliest period at which the necessity of appealing to written documents made itself felt, far too suspiciously watched by their enemies to allow of such a step. Celsus had made such a charge against them, and Origen was able to assert in contradiction of it that no others but Valentinus and Marcion, and their followers, were open to it. Origen himself, however, was quite aware of the alterations which such injudicious copyists as we are speaking of had introduced; as fully appears from the passage we have quoted above. The more learned Fathers, indeed, never display the least desire to blink the fact of variations existing in the copies of the sacred volume. Irenæus, in discussing the text (Rev. xiii. 18.), appeals in support of his views 'to the oldest and best 'copies;' and Jerome, in a letter to Augustine, displays no little irritation at the morbid apprehensions of the latter, lest the minds of the people should be unsettled by a correction which he had made of a false translation of a passage in the book of Jonah.* It is therefore as certain as any historical fact can be, that down to the time of Jerome *no corruption of* DOCTRINAL *importance* was introduced into the writings of the New Testament. The vigilance of the enemies of Christianity, and that of the more enlightened of its champions, equally contributed, under the guidance of Divine Providence, to secure this primary and necessary end. But it is no less certain that the blind zeal of the ignorant and narrow-minded produced a state of things which throws a great, perhaps an insuperable, obstacle in the way of a *perfect solution of the literary problem,* 'to determine 'the exact condition of the sacred writings at the time they 'proceeded from the pen of their respective authors.'

The same feeling which had produced the mischief of which Jerome complains, necessarily operated in preventing him from remedying the evil so thoroughly as he otherwise would have

* Augustin. Epp. lxxv. Jerome had substituted the word 'hedera' for 'cucurbita,' the original word denoting a plant which is neither the one nor the other. Augustine says, that one of his bishops adopted the change, and the people made such an outcry, that it became necessary to appeal to the Jews. They gave it for the 'cucurbita,' and the bishop, to avoid losing his flock, was obliged to declare the change was by mistake. Jerome tells Augustine, that if the Jews were not ignorant of Hebrew, they were only making game of the 'cucurbitarii.'

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done. In his letter to Damasus, which is prefixed as a preface to the corrected translation, he professes himself to be quite aware of the invidious nature of the task he had undertaken at the bishop's request; he expects the learned and the unlearned to join in branding him with the name of a sacrilegious falsifier, when they find anything altered from the form which they had imbibed from their earliest years. However, he asks, if Latin authorities are to rule, which of them are to do so? for the authorities are nearly as numerous as the copies, (tot sunt enim exemplaria pene quot codices). Common sense requires that under such circumstances the original Greek should be made the standard. Accordingly he proposes to revise the Latin by collating it with Greek manuscripts, *but those ancient ones;* and to a certain extent to qualify this corrected edition, by abstaining from altering the existing version, except where alteration was necessary for the purpose of conveying a correct sense; (quæ ne multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant).

Such was the principle upon which a work was conducted, which the sagacity of Bentley intuitively recognised as furnishing the first safe step by which criticism could ascend to the primitive form of the sacred text. The genuine Vulgate represents (if faithfully reproduced) the reading of Greek manuscripts, considered at the end of the fourth century as ancient ones by the greatest scholar of the Latin Church, only so far modified as a practical regard for the *consuetudo Latinæ lectionis* could be indulged without injury to the sense. It is a text constituted not on a rigidly scientific method, but on one of which the rigidly scientific character is affected by only a single influence, and that within fairly appreciable limits.

But here the question naturally arises, what was the probable quarter from which those 'ancient Greek MSS.' were derived, of which Jerome made use? This, it cannot be doubted, was Alexandria. Not only was that city the focus of Christian erudition, but the well-known admiration of Jerome for the labours of Origen, whose commentaries formed in many cases the source from which he drew his own, and the fact of the remarkable agreement between those MSS. existing at this day which have an Alexandrine origin, and the readings of the genuine Vulgate, put the matter out of all question. Scholz, in his edition of the New Testament, has attempted, and entirely failed in his attempt, to depreciate this family of manuscripts (which includes the most ancient in existence) in favour of the more modern codices (chiefly written in cursive characters),

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upon which his own text is mainly based. Every defect which he has charged against them has been conclusively proved by Tischendorf, (in the preface to the first edition, Leipzig, 1841,) to attach, in far greater degree, to those upon which he places his main dependence; and the principle upon which Bentley proposed to construct a critical text, may be considered as now, after all the labours of intervening scholars which have been applied to the subject, placed beyond doubt.

But although this is the *first* step to be taken, it is not the *only* one which may be made by the skilful and cautious critic. Jerome expressly states, in his letter to Damasus, that he throws out of consideration one class of Greek manuscripts*, apparently varying from the others chiefly by additions,—on the ground that early versions manifestly showed that such additions had been a recent interpolation. Here then we have a finger-post pointing to at least a negative use to be made of ante-Hieronymian versions, such as the Syrian and the several branches of the Coptic. The former of these, at least, is accessible in several most ancient codices, one of which, apparently of extreme antiquity, is now in the British Museum, having been brought thither from the Natrian desert in the year 1847, and is, we believe, about to be published by Mr. Cureton. A few various readings are also given in Blanchini's *Evangelium Quadruplex* from four Syrian MSS. in the Vatican, which the collator describes as being 'miræ vetustatis.' It seems reasonable to expect that by an accurate comparison of all these, the Peschito text at least of the Gospels may be recovered as it existed at the end of the second century. A restoration of the Coptic, of a century later, is likewise a hopeful matter; and although we have no means of ascertaining what was the character of the Greek MSS. from which these versions were taken, there is every presumption in favour of their quality. Finally, from the very Latin Versions, the diversity of which had caused so much perplexity in Jerome's time, no small harvest is still to be reaped. They were made from Greek MSS. in very early times, and whatever the quality of these may have been (and there is no antecedent presumption against its having been good), they represent, in some instances with great accuracy, the readings which existed in those manuscripts,—and thus furnish an additional witness, highly important at least negatively, in constructing a critical text. Some of the codices containing these versions are of very high antiquity;

* He describes them as 'eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio 'nominatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio.'

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and several of them possess such a mutual resemblance as to make it unquestionable that their common ancestor is a single Greek copy, probably written before the time of Origen, and belonging to *another* family than the Alexandrine. Two manuscripts containing the Gospels, published first by Blanchini in his *Evangelium Quadruplex*, under the names Codex Vercellensis, and Codex Veronensis, (from the libraries where they were found,) and a third in the library at Vienna, collated by Tischendorf, in his second edition, under the name of Codex Palatinus, are most remarkable specimens of this class. They appear to have great affinity with the singular Codex Bezæ, and from their agreement with the citations of the Latin African Fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian, it has been plausibly conjectured that the origin of their archetypal text is to be looked for in that part of Africa; from whence, probably, copies were brought into Italy. They all agree with one another in the peculiar arrangement of the Gospels, placing them in the order Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark, — according to the relative dignity assigned by Tertullian, — apostles before apostolic men; an arrangement which, perhaps owing to the authority of Origen and Jerome, has gradually given place to the one commonly received, which is supposed to indicate Origen's opinion of the order in which the works severally appeared.

There is still another, numerically important, class of authorities which remains to be noticed. This consists of the more modern Greek manuscripts, which, as is natural, are almost all derived from that part of Europe and Asia in which the Christian ritual continued, to a late period, to be carried on in the Greek language. It was from manuscripts of this class that the New Testament was first printed, and their remarkable uniformity has induced some to contend that there is a presumption in favour of their having transmitted the text more accurately than any others. This view, which was the more readily received from the circumstance that it went towards restoring the shaken credit of the Elzevir text, was put forward by Matthæi, who published the New Testament from a large number of Moscow MSS., and it has since been acted upon by Scholz in his critical edition. But the uniformity which constitutes *primâ facie* the recommendation of this family of codices, is found equally to prevail in the Latin MSS. of the eleventh and subsequent centuries which are found in Western Europe. This at once points to the cause of the phenomenon in question. The uniformity is in both cases a spurious one, superinduced by the close connexion which subsisted in the middle ages between the several churches in which the volumes were in use. The copies

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were taken one from another without reference to age, or indeed anything else, except agreement with the text already in use. The few manuscripts belonging to this family (to which the name of Constantinopolitan has been given), which are of superior antiquity to the great bulk, exhibit the greatest number of variations from the Elzevir text, and approach the nearest to the codices which are derived from Alexandria.

We have now given the reader a sketch of the principal classes of authorities which exist for the constitution of a critical text; and he may judge how much remains to be done. In the first place supposing an *accurate* collation made of all existing MSS. (a work which has been performed for very few of the more modern, and by no means all of the old), *groups* must be formed of those which are found to represent the same archetypal transcript, and its date and country ascertained. This is not always so difficult as might appear to a stranger to the subject. Some of the MSS., especially the older ones, have appended to them notes which determine it. Thus a codex which was brought from Mount Athos* containing some fragments of St. Paul's Epistles, itself of the seventh century, has the notice that it was collated (*ἀντεβλήθη*) with a copy in the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea, written by his own hand. It thus, so far as it remains, is an evidence for the readings of that volume, *i. e.* for the best text at Cæsarea in the beginning of the fourth century.

After the individual codices have been thus distributed into certain groups, the generic resemblance of those groups to one another will become more distinct, and their characteristic differences more salient; so as to permit of a new distribution of the groups themselves. In this process there will be gradually eliminated all the errors which have crept into the text from what may be regarded mere accidental causes; and there will remain in the ultimate arrangement only those broad and unmistakable variations which are due to differences in very early originals, belonging to widely dispersed localities. Then, as we believe, it will become by no means difficult to represent to the eye the text of the New Testament as it was read at Carthage, at Rome, in Gaul, in Greece Proper, in Asia Minor, at Antioch, at Cæsarea, and at Alexandria, at periods between the years 150 and 400, — and thus, by accurately ascertaining the

* This MS., which is denoted by the symbol H in Tischendorf, was published by Montfaucon, in the Bibliotheca Coisliniana. Although itself Constantinopolitan by country, Scholz is forced to allow that its text goes with the Alexandrine.

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limits of what we may call its *structural* varieties, we shall be put in a position for discussing more profitably than is otherwise possible, the law which regulated the composition of its several parts. In the present state of things we believe this to be a most unpromising undertaking. The very dialect of the writings is an extremely uncertain question, and one which would have to be decided in a different manner according as one class or another of MSS. might be regarded as best representing the archetypal text. It has indeed, by some scholars, been tacitly assumed as an axiom, that the rugged Alexandrine forms and constructions which are found in the older MSS. must have been introduced by the grammarians of that learned city. But if so, why do we not find such forms in the writings of the most learned Alexandrines themselves, of Philo, Clement, and Origen? They exist only in the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, which is used by the writers of the New: and even if they are to be regarded as an adventitious garb, it seems at least as likely that such a one should have originally commended itself to the authors as subsequently to the copyists or commentators. But, in point of fact, the peculiar forms of the so-called Alexandrine dialect were, not improbably, the common property of the commercial population, (of which a large proportion were Hellenizing Jews,) throughout Palestine, Egypt, and 'the parts 'of Libya about Cyrene.'

Of the works we have placed at the head of this Article, the one which has contributed the most towards filling up the outline we have traced is the volume of Lachmann. The editor some years back issued a text, which has been stereotyped, but is little known in England. It is constructed entirely from those authorities which he regarded as representing the genuine readings of the fourth century in the East (a term in which he includes Egypt and Palestine). The present volume (which, however, extends only to the Four Gospels) attempts to give the testimony, both concurrent and divergent, of the ante-Hieronymian Latin Versions of the Western Church; of the Alexandrine Greek MSS.; of the Codex Bezæ; of the genuine Vulgate of Jerome; and of the readings to be elicited from the writings of Origen, Irenæus, Cyprian, Hilary of Poictiers, and Lucifer of Cagliari. When his authorities *all* agree, he conceives that there is irrefragable evidence for the existence of the reading so warranted in Gaul, Italy, Africa, Alexandria, and Palestine, in the second or third century. If there should be any discrepancy in the authorities, a corresponding variation of evidence is indicated. For instance, in Matt. xix. 9. the readings vary thus:—

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1. Ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ [παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας] καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾶται.

This is the text sanctioned by the present representatives of the Italiano-African codices, and the Greek Codex Bezæ.

2. Ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ [παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας] ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθηναι, καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας, μοιχᾶται.

This is the text sanctioned by the Alexandrine and Vatican MSS., and by Origen.

3. The Vulgate agrees with the Alexandrine MSS. in making two clauses, but with the Italiano-African versions in giving *mœchatur*, and not *mœchari facit*, in the former, — exactly what Jerome's principle would lead us to expect.

The words inclosed in brackets are varied in individual MSS. by the alternatives μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ and εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ.

In Matt. xx. 22. The Italiano-African Versions, here also agreeing with the Codex Bezæ, sanction the reading δύνασθε πίνειν (or πιεῖν) τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν; proceeding no further. Similarly in the next verse they proceed no further than τὸ μὲν ποτήριόν μου πίεσθε. In both these cases they are supported by the Vulgate, by the testimony of Hilary, and by that of Origen, who even asserts that the addition ἢ (or καὶ) τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι is to be found in Mark, but not in Matthew. But, although one of the ancient Alexandrine MSS. (B) agrees with this reading, the other (C) gives the addition which is found in the Textus Receptus. But when we turn to the parallel passage (Mark, x. 38, 39.), we find that the additional clause rests on the unanimous suffrage of all* the Alexandrine MSS., all the Italiano-African Versions, Jerome's Vulgate, and the Codex Bezæ. Putting this evidence together with the statement of Jerome in his preface, it cannot be doubted that the second clauses ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι and καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε in Matt. xx. 22, 23. were interpolated in Codex (C), or the MS. from which it was made, and in the archetype of the Elzevir MSS., to produce a more exact conformity with the text of Mark, while the existence of the duplication in the latter Evangelist rests on the unanimous evidence of MSS., Versions, and Fathers reaching up to the early part of the third century, and dispersed over widely separated regions.

* Here all the great Codices, the Alexandrine, Vatican, and Codex Ephraemi, come in with their evidence. In Matthew there is a gap in the first.

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These examples will be sufficient, we think, to exhibit to the reader the beauty and satisfactory nature of the method pursued by Lachmann. It is undoubtedly true that he makes use of very few MSS., — a necessary consequence of confining himself to those which are of extreme antiquity, and which are clearly defined in their character. But his highest praise is, that what he has done needs not to be done over again. Each separate portion of his work may be improved upon without pulling the whole to pieces. Such scholars as share the views of Matthæi and Scholz, — valuing highly the evidence of the modern manuscripts, — have only to pursue the process we have pointed out above, until they shall have concentrated the testimony of the individual codices in one or more clearly defined groups, indicating severally the text which prevailed at a given time in a given place, and approved by citations from the ecclesiastical writers belonging to the same era and locality. A similar course may be pursued with the different codices containing the *pure* Versions, and thus evidence elicited as to the condition of the Greek Text in Greece Proper, Syria, Upper and Lower Egypt, and the countries lying on the south bank of the Lower Danube. This will be tantamount to producing the testimony of the whole Christian world as to the condition of their copies of the New Testament during the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era; a result which, as is obvious, will involve the collateral advantage of determining, with extreme accuracy, the limits within which all variations from the very autographs must be included.

The publication of Tischendorf is of a much more ambitious character in its critical pretensions; but, in its practical excellence, we are disposed to place it far below the edition of Lachmann. The *apparatus criticus* is of enormous extent, — so great as to baffle all attempt at a systematic classification. Besides the Syrian and Egyptian Versions, the editor professes to give the variations (in their Greek equivalents) of the Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Persian, Anglo-Saxon, and Sclavonic Versions. Of these the two last were not made until the eighth and ninth centuries respectively; and all, with the exception of the Gothic, were derived not from Greek codices exclusively, but partially or wholly from Syrian, Coptic, and Latin Versions. This mixed and indefinite character renders them of very little use in the present stage of critical investigation of the text. Just as the smaller planetary bodies must be thrown out of consideration by the mathematician in his first determination of the moon's orbit, so must the hybrid versions be discarded by the sacred critic, until, from the purer materials,

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he has succeeded in laying the solid foundations of his work. At a later period they will perhaps be of service in furnishing him here and there with a clue to some *residual* difficulty. But to marshal their evidence side by side with that of the authorities exhibited by Lachmann, is to fill up the ranks of a regiment of British grenadiers by a draft of Bosjeman recruits armed with their bows and arrows.

A yet more serious defect in this edition is the laxity with which it cites the authority of ecclesiastical writers for or against any given reading. The most ancient Fathers continually quote from memory, as is manifest by the same passage sometimes appearing three or four times with as many variations in the same writer. Of course this only occurs where the change involves no substantial alteration of the sense, and therefore, *doctrinally* speaking, is of no importance. But, as a matter of verbal criticism, the substantial importance of a variation is nothing to the purpose; while, on the other hand, all verbal changes, which proceeded from variations in the codices really used by an ecclesiastical writer, ought to be most carefully noted. It is a vital point, therefore, in recording the testimony of the Fathers, to make a distinction between those cases in which they *may be* quoting from memory, and those in which they *must be* quoting from manuscripts; and this can, in very few instances, be learnt from the margin of Tischendorf. Lachmann, on the other hand, where there is any doubt about the citation being a genuine quotation, gives a definite reference to the passage in which it occurs; so that the reader has it in his power to judge for himself of the merits of the case. This is a matter in which too great caution cannot be employed. Unless the argument of the writer shows unequivocally the text which he used, a *complete* certainty is never attainable as to his citations, it having been a continual temptation to transcribers to correct (as they fancied) these to a conformity with the copies of the New Testament which they themselves happened to use.*

Tischendorf has not only published an edition of the New Testament, but has likewise earned the gratitude of biblical

* A lamentable instance of this folly in the case of a Pagan author was furnished some years ago by Cardinal Maii. He published some exceedingly ancient Scholia on the Odyssey, and altered the quotations of the poet, which were imbedded in them, to suit the common printed text; thus acting as a man would do, who on finding an oyster should throw away the fish and put the shells in his pocket. It is singularly to be regretted, that the long-expected edition of the Vatican MS. is coming out at last under the auspices of so unfortunate a scholar.

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scholars by a course which it is much to be regretted should not have been more generally adopted—the printing accurate transcripts, accompanied by specimen *fac-similes*, of some very important manuscripts. The *Codex rescriptus* (C) mentioned by Bentley in his letter to Archbishop Wake, is one of these. An ancient manuscript of the Gospels, in the old Latin version, discovered by himself at Vienna, is another. The rest are mere fragments, but of such an antiquity as to render their testimony very valuable as far as it extends. It is a remarkable circumstance that in a country so distinguished as England for associations of all kinds, not one should have sprung up for the special purpose of preserving in security, by means of the art of printing, these inestimable documents. With few exceptions, their evidence is available only in collations which have in many cases been very inaccurately made, while the original codices are every day becoming more and more impaired by the ravages of time, which in some cases are hastened by wantonness or culpable neglect. The *Codex Boreeli* (F) was lost soon after its collation by Wetstein, having probably been stolen. It was afterwards found in obscurity in a private collection at Arnheim, and is now deposited in the public library at Utrecht. But several leaves have in the mean time been torn out. The Alexandrine Codex nearly perished soon after its arrival in England. A fire occurred in the King's Library, and the book was saved, not without having suffered some damage, by being thrown out of window into the courtyard. The writing of the Vatican MS. was described by Bentley's nephew in the year 1726 as being *very white*, although very legible. The legibility had perhaps been to a certain extent preserved by that possessor of the volume who added the accents, which, although ancient, are much more recent than the text. 'He has taken,' says the younger Bentley, 'a strange piece of pains, to retouch every 'letter in the book; one side only sometimes when he thought 'the other side very plain; also, when he thought a letter 'superfluous, as in *ἐσθιετε, ρεψαντες*, &c., he leaves the *ε* un-'touched.'

The business of collation is one extremely trying, both to the eyes and to the patience; and it is no matter of wonder that later editors should discover errors in the work of their predecessors. Tischendorf accuses Scholz of extraordinary carelessness in this respect, and professes likewise to have detected several oversights in Lachmann. He himself, however, has taken a course which entirely destroys the scientific character of his own *apparatus criticus*,—that is, often to abstain from giving the variations of codices in cases where he conceives

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such variations to be undoubtedly interpolated. It is really difficult to conceive how any one who has ever had occasion to take the general character of a manuscript into consideration, and has therefore become aware how instructive even manifest errors are for this purpose, should have been tempted to this absurd step. Even supposing his judgment correct in the condemnation of each particular reading, its tacit exclusion from the margin vitiates the fundamental principle of a critical edition, which is valuable, not in proportion to the correctness of the text on which the editor happens to decide, but in proportion to the *means for deciding* on a correct text which it furnishes to the competent reader,—that is to say, in proportion to the *completeness* of its collations, and the *clearness* with which they are arranged. If these two principles be carried out, the natural consequence will be that every reading will appear, whether in the text or in the margin, supported by the amount of evidence belonging to it, and the student will be able (should he desire it) accurately to reconstruct out of the *apparatus criticus*, every one of the MSS. of which it is the *résumé*. But Tischendorf indulges in these reticences of various readings, not only when there is good ground for suspecting them to be interpolations, but even where it is positively certain that they have arisen from divergency in the archetypal codices,—that is, exactly in such cases as are most important when the problem of the primeval condition of the text has to be solved.

There is another very interesting point, to which it would be desirable that the attention of scholars should be more carefully directed than has hitherto been the case, viz., the alteration of Greek manuscripts from Latin ones. Some years ago an ingenious, but paradoxical, writer published a work which produced a great excitement at the time, in which he endeavoured to prove that the contents of the New Testament were originally written in Latin, or, at any rate, that the Greek copies which we have at present were re-translations from the Latin Vulgate. This theory was maintained with extraordinary cleverness, and an abundance of learned illustration; but in reading the book it is difficult to conceive that its author really believed it himself; although, like many other bold paradoxes, its refutation was scarcely an easier task than its reception. We believe that the substratum of plausibility which really existed as a foundation for this airy superstructure, is due entirely to the

* Palæoromaica, or Historical and Philological Disquisitions. Murray, 1822.

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fact to which we have just alluded. The main origin of the comparison of Greek MSS. with Latin ones is probably to be looked for in the intercourse which took place between some of the principal ecclesiastics of the Greek Church and the Church of Rome during the time of the Arian troubles. Among others, Athanasius and his successor Peter, in the fourth century, and John, also Bishop of Alexandria, in the fifth, passed a considerable time at Rome, and probably brought from thence not only an intimacy with the Latin language, but also copies of the Scriptures as used in the Latin Churches. Now nothing would be more natural than for the possessor of any one of these, when he found a discrepancy between the Greek Codex used in his own church and his new acquisition, to note the variation in the margin, either in Latin (as it existed), or in its Greek equivalent, or perhaps in both, the former for his own satisfaction, the latter for the information of his successors who might not be 'docti sermones utriusque linguæ.' The following examples may serve to show the manner in which this disturbing influence operated, and to direct the eye of the student to the many instances of it which exist as yet unnoticed.

I.—Marc. i. 41., ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἥψατο, κ. τ. λ. The Codex Bezæ has the extraordinary variation ὀργισθεὶς instead of σπλαγχνισθείς. The Codex Veronensis omits the word altogether. The antiquity of the reading ὀργισθεὶς ('iratus') is confirmed by some of the old ante-Hieronymian versions. But it is manifestly an absurd one: and it is a plausible conjecture that it sprang up from a retranslation of the Latin word 'commotus,' which itself is indifferently the equivalent of ὀργισθεὶς and σπλαγχνισθεὶς. This is the notion of the paradoxical writer we have just spoken of. To us it appears more likely that 'iratus' is the relic of 'misertus,' a marginal Latin interpretation of σπλαγχνισθεὶς (*Vulg.* misertus), of which the first two or three letters were worn away, and the rest obscured, in the copy from which the transcript of the MSS. *a*, *d*, and some others, was made. Ὀργισθεὶς is, of course, the regular Greek equivalent of 'iratus.'

II.—Marc. xi. 8., the Textus Receptus has πολλοὶ δὲ (καὶ πολλοὶ· B. C.) τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν, ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας ἔκοπτον ἐκ τῶν δένδρων καὶ ἔστρωσαν (ἐστρώννυον· D. *a. b. c.*) εἰς τὴν ὁδόν. For the last clause the Vatican Codex (B.) has the variation ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. Now it is not at all difficult to conceive how both these readings might be derived from a common original, if it were not for the strange discrepancy between ἀγρῶν and δένδρων. But these words can never have been *directly* interchanged with one

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another. The change must have come through a Latin version; 'arborum,' the translation of δένδρων, became readily altered into (or taken for) 'arvorum,' and the Greek equivalent of this (ἀγρῶν) was placed in the margin as an alternative reading to δένδρων. The true reading is (we have little doubt) to be gathered from the combination of the two sources: καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν, ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν δένδρων.

III.—Luc. xiv. 5. The reading of the Textus Receptus is τίνος ὑμῶν ὄνος ἢ βοῦς εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται; if there were no variations in the MSS. there would be nothing here but what might be expected. The two animals, 'the ass' and 'the ox,' are continually coupled together in the Old Testament, and therefore may naturally be expected in connexion with one another here. But how to account for the extraordinary variation of the older Greek MSS.? With two exceptions the uncial codices all have the reading, τίνος ὑμῶν υἱὸς ἢ βοῦς εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται; 'Which of you shall have a SON or an ox fall 'into a pit?'—a reading which is obviously an absurd one, but which is sanctioned not only by a large number of uncial MSS., but by some versions and ecclesiastical writers. Of the two exceptions the one is the Vatican Codex, which has ὁ υἱὸς (a reading which would witness against itself by the article, even if there were nothing suspicious about υἱὸς); and the other, the Codex Bezæ, which furnishes a clue to the whole difficulty. That MS. has τίνος ἐξ ὑμῶν πρόβατον ἢ βοῦς εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται; The Latin equivalent of πρόβατον (*ovis*) being written in the margin of a Greek MS. by way of *explanation* of the word, was no doubt taken by transcribers for a Greek word erroneously spelt, and indicating an *alternative reading*. One probably thought the initial letter forced out of its proper place, and that for *ovis* was to be read *vios*. Another, taking the initial letter for the article, thought that the *o* of the last syllable had been omitted, and that by *ovis* was meant ὁ υἱὸς, the reading of the Vatican Codex. Whether ὄνος is an arbitrary correction of the senseless reading υἱὸς, or whether there were two very early alternative readings, τίνος ὑμῶν πρόβατον ἢ βοῦς, and τίνος ὑμῶν ὄνος ἢ βοῦς, we will not pretend to determine. But we think no one, whose attention has been once called to the matter, will doubt for an instant that the reading τίνος ὑμῶν υἱὸς ἢ βοῦς (which has far more weighty MSS. authority than any other), grew up in the way we have described through the intervention of a Latin version.

The edition of Mr. Alford is, so far as the *apparatus criticus* goes, entirely based upon the collations of Scholz, Lachmann,

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and Tischendorf; and, of course, shares in whatever defects may exist in these. His arrangement of various readings is much more agreeable to the eye than those of his predecessors; and he has adopted a typographical contrivance as useful as it is simple, by means of which the reader observes, at the beginning of every page, what primary authorities exist for the constitution of the text. A little extension of this, to show with equal facility where a *lacuna* commences in any one of these, would be a further improvement. But we cannot bestow undivided praise upon this part of his work. He has lost sight of the distinctions carefully observed by Lachmann, has very much under-valued the ancient codices containing the Latin versions*, and has encumbered his margin with confirmations of lections from ecclesiastical writers which it is impossible to verify for want of references. The number of variations, likewise, which he has excluded from mention, as unimportant to the sense, is so great, that the character of the several MSS. is in many cases effectually masked by their concealment. The Alexandrian forms εἶπαν, εἶχαν, ἐλθάτω, &c. — the insertion or omission of the article before proper names, the insertion or omission of the words αὐτὸς, or Ἰησοῦς, or αὐτοῖς, or πρὸς αὐτὸν, &c. — the variations which occur in the connexion of sentences, such as ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, εἶπεν οὖν, &c. — and 'mere transpositions of 'words,' are all included among Mr. Alford's reticences. But if importance to the sense is to be the sole condition on which a variation may claim admittance into the margin, the book might have been yet diminished in bulk very considerably. At present the *apparatus criticus* labours under the fault of being both incomplete and cumbrous, — almost useless to the professed scholar, and quite unmanageable by the student. The accounts, too, of the several MSS. are far too meagre to convey any real information of their character to any one who is not already tolerably well acquainted with them; and some of the statements are very inaccurate, apparently from the circumstance of an undue reliance being placed upon the description of an intermediate authority. Thus, for instance, the account which is given of the principle upon which Lachmann classifies his authorities, as dividing them into primary and secondary, is calculated to produce a very false impression of the method really pursued by that distinguished scholar. Again, apparently following only

* Of these Bentley says in a letter to Wetstein, 'Hujusmodi Latinos veterrimos vel Græcis ipsis prætulerim.' This *preference*, it should be remembered, was with reference to the special purpose he had in hand.

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the account of Tischendorf, Mr. Alford describes the Bentleian collation of the famous Vatican Codex as being made by 'Thomas 'Bentley, who was sent to Rome by his uncle, the great Bentley, 'for that purpose; and was assisted by Mico, an Italian.' Thomas Bentley himself tells a very different story. 'Mico is dead,' he says in a letter to his uncle (March 25. 1726); 'but there's 'an able young man in his place.' All that he himself did was to verify the collation of Mico: — 'I send you the collation, 'that you may see whether 'tis the same with Mico's. I opened 'at random, and fell upon the latter part of the Acts; so began 'the 27th chapter. . . . . Besides the 27th of the Acts, I did a 'chapter in the Epistle to the Galatians, and another to the 'Ephesians. You'll have them in the next.' (Aug. 2. 1726.) *Three years afterwards* Bentley, who probably had been curious to know every particular of this venerable codex, obtained, through the agency of Baron Stosch, a copy of the *interlineary and marginal readings*, which was made by the Abbé Rulotta, who got forty scudi for the job. (*Letter from Baron de Stosch in the Bentley Correspondence*, July 9. 1729.) These circumstances are thus mixed up by Tischendorf, whom Mr. Alford takes unsuspiciously as his guide: — 'Thomæ Bentleii, quem 'ad id negotii Romam miserat avunculus Ricardus celeberrimus, 'collationem factam *potissimum* Miconis Itali manu transcripsit 'Woidius, transcriptamque edidit Henricus Ford in appendice 'ad editionem Novi Testamenti e cod. ms. Alexandrino 1799.' These and such like inaccuracies are perhaps of no great importance in themselves; for the whole portion of the volume in which they occur will probably be passed over by ninety-nine readers out of every hundred: but they ought not to have been incurred by any one who takes upon himself the responsibility of discussing the various philological problems of the New Testament Text in such a manner as to attract a class of readers that *must* take his assertions on trust.

Mr. Alford, in eighty-eight pages of Prolegomena, has attempted to discuss the weighty questions relative to the composition of the Four Gospels, to which we have alluded above. Perhaps it was necessary, from the comprehensive character which he has given to his notes, that this should be done; as otherwise the principles upon which some of his best explanations rest might be misunderstood. But the extent of the subjects he has entered upon is such, that even the most learned and diligent might well be excused for treating them somewhat inadequately; and this, haste and the desire of compression has in several instances compelled him to do. He considers the testimony of the early ecclesiastical writers conclusive as to the fact

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that the Gospel of St. Matthew was originally written in Hebrew (*i.e.* the vernacular language of Palestine), while he treats as entirely futile the statement that the Gospel of St. Mark was composed under the influence of St. Peter. In weighing the authorities for the latter statement, he says 'we may observe that 'the matter to which they refer is *not one of patent fact*, — such 'as Matthew's Gospel having been originally composed and 'published in Hebrew, — but one which could, from its nature, 'have been known to very few persons.' This is, it appears to us, a very erroneous statement of the case. The close connexion of St. Peter with St. Mark as his companion and spiritual son appears from 1 Pet. v. 13. St. Mark's mother was the Mary, to whose house Peter resorted immediately after his miraculous delivery from prison. (Acts, xii. 12.) And if St. Mark did follow the authority of the Apostle in his compilation, this would be 'a patent fact' on the very instant of its publication; for the whole of its authority would be derived from that very circumstance. On the other hand, the existence of a Gospel by St. Matthew in the Hebrew language is completely a matter of hearsay until the time of Jerome. Papias (ap. Euseb. iii. 39.) does *not* give the fact as on the authority of John the Presbyter — which Mr. Alford states him to do, — although he does explicitly quote John as the source of what he says respecting St. Mark. And the expression which Eusebius applies to Papias, *ἀνὴρ τὰ παντα λογιώτατος* (which Mr. Alford strangely considers to imply the 'giving him all weight as an historic witness'), is perfectly explained by the Bishop of Hierapolis himself in the very same chapter of Eusebius's History. He entertained the very natural feeling of intense interest for every anecdote which he could gather from such as had themselves conversed with any of the favoured number that saw with their own eyes, and touched with their own hands, the Incarnate Word. 'If any 'one happened to arrive,' says he, 'who had kept company with 'the elders, I used to inquire of them the stories told by the 'elders. What did Andrew, and what did Peter say? what 'Philip? what Thomas? what James? or what does John, or 'Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples? and Aristion, 'and John the Elder [the disciples of the Lord]* — what do 'they say? For my notion was, that what I got out of the 'books did not do me so much good as what I heard from the 'living voice still remaining.' This disposition, of course, made him 'a man full of anecdotes on all subjects,' and is quite compatible with that 'meagre understanding' (*σφόδρα σμικρὸς τὸν*

* The words in brackets are probably an interpolation.

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νοῦν, Euseb. iii. 30.) 'which appeared from his works,' and which made him, among other half-fabulous (*μυθικώτερα*) stories, relate that a millennium reign of Christ in the flesh was to come to pass upon the existing earth. But it renders him a very uncertain authority for a story which involves so many difficulties as the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel. The testimony of Irenæus we indeed have no right, as Mr. Alford says, to consider as *necessarily* derived from Papias. But what does it amount to? 'Matthew,' he says, 'published a written gospel among 'the Hebrews, while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel 'and laying the foundations of the Church in Rome.' This according to Mr. Alford's allowing, cannot be earlier than 61 A.D. But long before this the Gospel had been preached far and wide among the Gentiles; and is it likely that the Christians of Palestine should all the time have depended on solely oral instruction; and still that it should *afterwards* have been found necessary to record the staple of this, not in the Greek language, which would insure its wide circulation, but in the vernacular dialect? And even if so written, and at so long an interval after the events which it relates, is it likely that it would have been incomplete to such an extent as to omit all account of the Ascension? — or that if it had contained this, the translator and compiler of the existing Gospel would not have inserted it? All these difficulties follow at once from the statement of Irenæus, that the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew was written *while St. Paul was in Rome.* But this statement is the only thing which gives a distinctive character to his authority. If we separate this portion from the rest, by supposing it a mere error of calculation on the part of Irenæus, it is difficult to conceive the residue as reposing on any other foundation than the tradition recorded by Papias.

Besides these two authorities, Mr. Alford relies upon the tradition (ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 10.) that Pantænus, on his arrival as a missionary in India, found the gospel of St. Matthew there, written *in Hebrew letters*, and said to have been left by St. Bartholomew. This is probably a different tradition from the one of which Papias is the source, but the same with that which Origen (ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.) gives. Their identity is shown by the description of the work. It is not said to be written *Ἑβραιστί*, but *Ἑβραικοῖς γράμμασιν*. And Origen's statement does not only exist in Eusebius, but in the extant commentary on St. Matthew, where he himself states (which is not quite clear from Eusebius) that 'a tradition' is the source of his information. When we consider that Clement of Alexandria was his master, and Pantænus Clement's, the identity of the

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tradition becomes clear beyond all doubt. The combination of the two traditions appears in Epiphanius, another of Mr. Alford's authorities — strangely enough! as he expressly identifies the 'Hebrew' Gospel of St. Matthew with the Gospel *καθ' Ἑβραίους*, which he asserts to be used by the Ebionite and Corinthian heretics; — *ὡς τὰ ἀληθῆ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ματθαῖος μόνος Ἑβραϊστὶ καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν, κ. τ. λ.*

These are the only authorities brought by Mr. Alford which, properly speaking, can be said to exist for the puzzling statement of St. Matthew having written his Gospel in Hebrew. The others on which he relies, will rather help us to explain it. These are Eusebius and Jerome. The former, says Mr. Alford, shows 'that he *himself* believed St. Matthew's Gospel to have 'been written in Hebrew.' He undoubtedly states incidentally that such was the case, and that the expression *ὀψὲ τοῦ σαββάτου* (Matt. xxviii. 1.) came from the translator. But it seems pretty plain that in saying this, he did no more than acquiesce in the opinion current at Cæsarea, his native city, that the Syro-Chaldaic gospel in the library of his friend Pamphilus there, was the original of St. Matthew. Now this, *it is positively certain*, was nothing more than a version from the Greek of the Gospel *καθ' Ἑβραίους*. Jerome himself at first thought that it was the authentic Matthew, and translated it into both Greek and Latin from a copy which he obtained at Berœa in Syria. This appears from his Catalogue of Illustrious Men, written in the year 392. Six years later, in his Commentary on Matthew, he spoke more doubtfully about it, — 'quod vocatur *a plerisque* 'Matthæi authenticum.' Later still, in his book on the Pelagian heresy, written in the year 415, he modifies this account still further, describing the work as the 'Evangelium 'juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed '*Hebraicis literis* scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie 'Nazareni, secundum Apostolos, sive, *ut plerique autumant*, 'juxta Matthæum, quod et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliotheca.' Few persons will doubt that this Syro-Chaldaic document, *written in Hebrew letters*, was what Pantænus found among the 'Indi,' which are to be looked for far west of what we understand by India; and that its existence, combined with the vague report of Papias, constitutes the sole foundation for the assertion of Eusebius. Thus the casual remark of a professed anecdote-collector, whose judgment is entirely disabled by the historian who records it, is, after all, the sole foundation for the statement that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. So little is Mr. Alford justified in terming this opinion one 'in accordance

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'with the testimony of the early Church, unanimous as it is, and 'derived from so many independent sources.'*

The external testimony to the influence of St. Peter on St. Mark's Gospel may or may not be deserving of implicit credit, but it is unquestionably much fuller than that to the Hebrew original of the Gospel of St. Matthew. The testimony of Irenæus is the same for both facts. That of Papias himself is exceeded by the statement of John the Presbyter, expressly cited by Papias. Besides this there is the evidence of the African, Tertullian, as regards St. Mark. And finally, (a passage which has escaped Mr. Alford's notice,) Justin Martyr, in one of the very few passages in which he distinctly refers to St. Mark's Gospel, actually quotes it as the *ἀπομνημονεύματα of Peter.* (Mark, xii. 16—18., quoted in the Dial. c. Tryph. §. 106.) Any conclusion from internal evidence as to what, under such circumstances, would have been contained, or what omitted, must be extremely uncertain, even if the original structural character were more accurately ascertained than is at present the case. It is a curious circumstance that a passage (xvi. 7.) which Mr. Alford points out as a remarkable proof that St. Peter *cannot* have superintended the composition, is put forward by another ingenious writer † among the evidences that he did.

The final paragraph of the Gospel of St. Mark, xvi. 9—20., is deficient in the Vatican Codex, and did not find a place in

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* The haste which necessarily results from undertaking too comprehensive a task, shows itself in this part of Mr. Alford's work very palpably. Thus a passage from Clement of Alexandria, referring to the *existing Greek* Gospel, is combined with one from Irenæus, which relates to the *hypothetical Hebrew* one (p. 26.). Again, Jerome is produced as an authority for the Hebrew Matthew, as existing in the library at Cæsarea, in a passage where he positively identifies the Cæsarean Gospel with the Gospel according to the Hebrews (p. 24.); and yet, at the same time that he does this, Mr Alford quotes a German writer, Ebrard, as plainly showing, 'that whatever similarity these 'documents may have had to the Gospel of Matthew, *they were always* '*regarded as distinct from it*' (p. 23.). We are not acquainted with Ebrard's work, but cannot conceive him to rest on any stronger ground than the many passages in Jerome (*e. g.* Comm. in Matth. xii. 10., Id. in Matth. xxvii. 54.), in which their distinctness is shown plainly enough; but it is a distinctness from the existing *Greek*, not the imaginary *Hebrew* Gospel.

† Townson, Discourses on the Four Gospels, p. 146. It is almost mortifying to find so many positions of this acute and agreeable writer break down, as is the case when the various readings are considered.

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the Eusebian Canons. In the Catenæ, no commentary exists upon it. In one of the MSS., a note states that an alternative reading of about seven or eight lines exists in some copies. Another mentions that although omitted as spurious in the greater number of copies, the writer found it in some accurate ones, among which was 'the Palestine Gospel,' and accordingly preserved it. In an ante-Hieronymian VS. there is an alternative for verse 19. Jerome in one place asserts that the paragraph is wanting in almost all the Greek copies (ad Hedib. 9. iv.); but in another place maintains the opposite opinion (c. Pelag. ii. c. 15.). It is said to be deficient in the Sahidic Version, but to be found in every other except the Arabic. In the Armenian, however, it is separated from what goes before. The 19th verse is quoted by the Latin Irenæus, expressly, as in the end of St. Mark's Gospel. But several ancient ecclesiastical writers (which may be seen in Wetstein's note) show that there was a great diversity in very early times. The difficulty of reconciling the statements contained in it with those of Matthew, undoubtedly disposed some of the Fathers to wish to be rid of it. On the other hand, the style is no doubt somewhat different from the rest of the Gospel, and presents the appearance rather of an epitome of events than a narrative. Mr. Alford points out some of these peculiarities, and after weighing all the evidence, comes to the conclusion that the probability is against its being the genuine production of the Evangelist, but that its *authenticity* and *authority* are beyond any question, and that it possesses *just the same claim to reception and reverence as the rest of the Gospels.* On the contrary, Cardinal Cajetan considers that the suspicions entertained of the passage by the early writers, prevent its use for doctrinal purposes. And if it be remembered that the issue is not only between its rejection and retention, but involves the further question of the value of several alternative readings (a point which Mr. Alford does not take into account), it seems rash to regard it as standing on so firm a basis as what precedes it.

We do not think Mr. Alford fails so much in any point, as in his criticism of the statements made by the early Ecclesiastical writers respecting the authorship of the Gospels. His arbitrary assumption of the Hebrew original of St. Matthew, and his equally arbitrary rejection of the account which makes the narrative of St. Mark rest on the authority of the Apostle Peter, we have already noticed. He also throws over the statement (certainly not in itself improbable) of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, that St. Luke's Gospel reposes on the authority of St. Paul, with the bold assertion, that this is

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'contradicted by the express assertion of the Evangelist himself 'in his preface, that the Gospel was compiled and arranged by 'himself from the testimony of those who ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the* 'beginning of his history, were eye-witnesses or ministers of the 'word, among whom it is not, of course, possible to reckon Paul.' We would not assert that these were not St. Luke's sources of information: but he certainly does not say they were. What he says is, that the accounts which had already been framed by many rested on the authority of those who had been eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word from the beginning [of our Lord's ministry], as Mr. Alford himself (in his note on the passage) properly interprets the preface. He then says that 'he, having carefully followed up every thing *from the very* 'first,' (*i. e.* the annunciation of the birth of our Lord's precursor, the Baptist), determined to add a regular history of his own. Surely nothing but extreme haste can explain the summary rejection of a fairly authenticated tradition on really no grounds at all. And it cannot be said that the tradition looks like a fiction to account for any notice either in the Gospel or the Book of Acts which suggests who was their common author. If we were left entirely to the internal evidence of the case, it would be at least as likely, perhaps more so, to infer that Timothy was the author, as Luke. We cannot help, therefore, contending that Mr. Alford has here been guilty of a piece of most gratuitous injustice to the commonly received account. Neither is he (we think) more happy when he strives to make up by internal evidence for the external evidence which he has rejected. Two of the passages which he cites (Gal. i. 12.; Ephes. iii. 3.), surely relate not to a communication of *historical facts*, — which must have undoubtedly been familiar to Paul while he was a persecutor, — but to a spiritual enlightenment which *interpreted* all the facts, and showed them to him in their true bearing, working in him the intuition that the Divine Dispensation which he was resisting was the fulfilment of 'the hope 'of Israel.' In Cor. xi. 23. the variations ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, and ἀπὸ θεοῦ throw a great suspicion on the genuineness of any one; and the examination of the MSS. in Luc. xxii. 19. seqq. will, we think, incontestably show that the correspondence of that passage with the account in the First Epistle to the Corinthians is due (in those codices where it appears) to a later hand than the Evangelist. The only remaining passage urged by Mr. Alford (1 Cor. xv. 4.) proves nothing at all, except that the fact mentioned in it occurred, and was of course notorious. If St. Luke had derived his knowledge of it *merely* from St. Paul, how is it that he does not also relate the appearance of

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the Lord to the 'five hundred brethren at once,' and that to 'James.' The argument derived from the observation of 'a 'similar cast of mind and feeling' in the Apostle and the Evangelist, and some others even more fine-drawn, we do not choose to enter into. They appear to us infinitely more uncertain than the vaguest statement which the credulity of a Papias or a Hegesippus ever indulged in: and we think that the castigation which Mr. Alford is, in the course of his commentary, somewhat too much in the habit of inflicting, either by words or bitterer notes of admiration, upon his German predecessors in philological matters, would be no less well bestowed now and then upon some of their didactic interpretations, of which he entertains a more favourable opinion.

We have occupied so much space in examining Mr. Alford's views respecting the composition of the Synoptic Gospels, that we can spare very little for that of St. John. In fact, we are disposed to go along with him here in most of his opinions, even in that one in which he differs from the prevalent view, which regards the fourth Gospel as written with the object of furnishing a supplement to the other three. We so far agree with Mr. Alford, as to think that the tradition to this effect arose out of an imagined suitableness (although he is in error in saying that Origen and Clement do not appeal to a tradition): but, at the same time, we are not sure that, when the text of the four Gospels has been restored as near to its primitive form as we believe to be possible, the phenomena, which seem opposed to this theory, may not in some degree disappear. As to the genuineness of the book, the arguments against it are, for the most part, so futile, as hardly to require a serious refutation. The view which he gives from Luecke of its relation to the other three, and of the character of the age and section of the Church in which the Evangelist lived, is so clear and luminous, as in itself to furnish every reader with a reply to possible objections.

We will conclude with the notice of one other point, which will be suggested to the English reader by the views which Mr. Alford puts forward relative to the *oral accounts*, which he considers to form the basis of the sacred histories. These oral narratives have nothing in common with the 'Oral Tradition,' with which the public has of late been dosed *usque ad nauseam*, —a fictitious abstraction, originally taken up by Gnostic heretics in order, *coute qui coute*, to reconcile their absurd philosophy with the plain and simple statements of the Apostolic writings. The problem of the Origin of Evil made them desire to combine the profession of Christianity with the notion that the Creator

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of the Universe was not the Supreme Being; and as, of course, not a page of Scripture could be taken in its natural sense without exhibiting the blasphemy of such a tenet, they broached the insane theory that the Apostles themselves communicated the real knowledge of divine things not in writing, but orally, and in views utterly opposed to their written teaching (Irenæus, iii. cap. 2.). They based an imputation, at which common sense and common honesty equally revolt, on two passages of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 6.: 'Howbeit we speak wisdom among them 'that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the 'princes of this world, that come to nought; but we speak the 'wisdom of God in a mystery;' and 2 Tim. i. 14.: 'That good 'thing which was committed unto thee keep by the Holy Ghost 'which dwelleth in us.'* *This* 'Oral Tradition' is the genuine ancestor of the *technical* παράδοσις (as contradistinguished from γραφή), which has been adopted into the Romish Church, and sanctioned by a decree of the Council of Trent,—the fruitful parent of *non natural* interpretations and dishonesty of every kind. The παράδοσις of the earliest Christians is not a *technical term* at all, but a mere general expression, inclusive of every thing which had been received relative to Christian faith or Christian practice, whether written or unwritten,—a sense in which it is constantly used by St. Paul.

In the first days of the Faith *every thing* was unwritten *ex necessitate rei;* not from any especial regard for that mode of communication, but because there was no reason apparent for adopting any other, and this mode was an obvious one. Those who had been made partakers in any degree of the enlightening Word of Truth, went away telling others what they had heard and seen. But of the many who did this, *only* the chosen few, on whom the Holy Spirit had descended in all his fulness, preserved the divine transaction in all its integrity,—only the SENT were endowed with the constant and unvarying spiritual discernment,—the plenary inspiration, which preserved them, as in a panoply of proof, from all alloy of the astounding errors which were rife in those days. The divine fire which warmed their hearts, remains even to this day, in the records which they left behind them, 'to be 'the foundation and pillar of the faith.'† But, in the meantime,

* This last appears from Tertullian, De Præscript. hæretic. § 25. The verse has since been used for a somewhat analogous purpose by some Anglican divines, who would have found their own theory refuted by anticipation, if they had taken the pains to study Irenæus instead of the preface of his Jesuit editor (Massuet).

† Irenæus, iii. cap. 9.

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from this heavenly gift it resulted, that, although everywhere else heresy and schism, pride and vanity, and philosophy coupled in an unblest union with a bastard Christianity, engendered monstrosities of every kind, whose authors, 'bringing unhallowed 'fire in their censers to the altar of God, drew down on their 'heads the judgment of Nadab and Abiud,' the spiritual children, and children's children of the holy Twelve, still possessed 'the sure blessing of the TRUTH.'* Even in the most barbarous regions, where the merest elements of civilisation were unknown,—where, from the arts of reading and writing not existing, such a thing as a written Gospel had never been seen,—even in such countries 'the unlettered Christian would,' says Irenæus, 'should the Gnostic theories be named to him in 'his own tongue, put his hands in his ears and fly to avoid 'hearing such blasphemies.' The difference between the heresies and the true Church in those early days, was not the difference between the vagueness of oral tradition and the distinctness of written documents, but between Apostolic and non-Apostolic sources for the teaching of whatever kind. The heretics had their written Gospels; and they were much more numerous than the authentic ones.† And, from the Epistles of St. Paul, it is evident that, wherever he went, he preached all the main facts of the Gospel history‡ for many years before the earliest of the existing Gospels could have been composed. It must not be supposed that the infant Church, just leaping from her cradle, immediately took thought for the permanently recording those events which formed her actual life. It is as absurd as to imagine a parent, however wise, while in constant daily intercourse with his child, carefully day by day putting his precepts into writing. It is not until the child has left home and been exposed to the influence of others, and perhaps begins to show the bad effects of that intercourse, that the necessity forces itself upon the parent of putting his counsels into a permanent shape. Just such a case is that which Mr. Alford's theory of the origin of the Gospels implies; or, rather we may say, such are the undoubted historical facts. But this relative order, in point of time, between oral teaching and teaching from

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* Irenæus, iv. cap. 26. Charisma veritatis certum.

† Ecclesia quattuor habet Evangelia; hæresis plurima.—Origen. Homil. i. in Lucam. preserved in Jerome's Latin version (Opp. vii. p. 248.).

‡ Compare, for instance, the passages, 2 Thess. ii. 15., 1 Cor. xv. 1—8., 2 Tim. ii. 8. with Tertullian. De præsc. h. § 13. De virg. vel. § 1.

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Scripture, has no more bearing upon the point at issue between the Romish and the Reformed Communions, than the considerations just now adduced as an illustration would have upon the question whether, if Shakspeare had left descendants, his turn of thought would be gathered with greater probability by talking with them, or by reading his works?

We cannot but think, that, whatever errors of detail Mr. Alford may be chargeable with in the course of his commentary, they are much more than made up for by the truthful and earnest spirit which prevents him from ever patching up the difficulties which occur to him; and, although we do not go with him in his extreme suspicion of the statements which have come down from Christian antiquity, we entirely share his antipathy for the arbitrary proceedings of modern harmonists. He has done good service by giving, we hope, the *coup de grace* to a system which is productive of more mischief to the cause of true religion than the efforts of any one open enemy of Christianity that ever lived; and, although we cannot but fear that he has exposed himself to unnecessary obloquy by casting off the veil afforded by the common language of the learned, we are quite certain that such censure will not proceed from any one who has made himself competent to give an opinion on the subject.

ART. II. — *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical, and Social.* By JAMES W. F. JOHNSTON: Edinburgh and London, 1851.

QUITE the most valuable, and often the most interesting books of travels, are those written by parties who have visited the countries they describe, with a distinct and special purpose; who, having some peculiar branch of study, or subject of interest of their own, direct their attention in a paramount, if not an exclusive manner, to whatever bears upon these matters, and bring home the results of an observation pervaded and enlivened by some favourite hypothesis, and distinguished from the productions of vaguer and more desultory inquirers, by a thorough comprehension of the topics of which they treat. It is true that such men, if not strictly on their guard, are in danger of having their observations somewhat warped and coloured to harmonise with a foregone conclusion, of seeing facts through the spectacles of a cherished theory, of ignoring or overlooking phenomena which might modify or overthrow their views; but we think that this peril is fully counterbalanced by the more vivid reality imparted to their delineations, and the more thorough

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mastery of the matter in hand, which generally stamp the productions of the writers we are speaking of. America has been more than usually fortunate in the number of such travellers who have visited her shores. If Mr. Mackay's sketches of the Western World comprehend more or less of the entire panorama, she has been represented under almost every special phase and by observers of every class. Men of trained intellect in their several departments have looked at her from all possible points of view, and in the most favourable and unfavourable lights. Hamilton, Basil Hall, and Marryat described American 'Men 'and Manners' as they appear in general society, and to writers of aristocratic tastes. Stuart and Miss Martineau depicted social life and character according to the estimate of parties of homely and democratic tendencies. De Beaumont confined himself chiefly to the subject of Slavery, and all its wide-spreading influences. Tocqueville studied the United States with the eye of a profound political philosopher. Reid and Mattheson went out as congregational divines to see how far Christianity can hold up its head in a country where there is no Church Establishment. Sir Charles Lyell regarded the American Continent as a geologist, and examined its features with the acuteness and comprehension of a mind of the highest scientific order. And now Mr. Johnston gives us the aspect in which it presented itself to the investigation of an Agricultural Professor, master of the art of cultivation in the Old World, and setting out with the specific purpose of examining and describing the capabilities and peculiarities of the New.

The most important part of Mr. Johnston's work is that which relates to the Provinces of British North America, respecting which Englishmen in general know far less than of the United States. Vast as is the extent of these colonies, boundless as are their resources, and bright and glorious as we would fain hope is to be their future, they are little better known in the Mother Country than they were fifty years ago, and far less known than portions of Europe wholly unconnected with us, and which it takes twice as long to reach. For one educated Englishman acquainted with Canada or New Brunswick, there are probably twenty who have visited Egypt, and a hundred who are familiar with Rome. Mr. Johnston shall give his own account of his motives and purposes in visiting North America.

'Until I personally visited North America, my own notions as to the agricultural condition, capabilities, and resources of the several new provinces and states were, I now find, notwithstanding all I had heard and read, of the crudest, most general, and indefinite character. The exaggerations of interested natives and settlers, and the repe-

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tition of such exaggerations by travellers who knew nothing of agriculture themselves, and, like myself some dozen years ago, could scarcely distinguish bad land from good: these were all the information our journals and yearly literature afforded us. That wheat and Indian corn poured in upon us at times from those regions, we knew; that some portions of the country were rich and fertile, we could not doubt; and the general conclusion in the public mind was, that these new countries were generally fertile, that inferior land was the exception, that large crops were every where reaped, that the fertility of the whole region was inexhaustible, that the supply of wheat it could send us was without bounds, and that if those who tilled the land and raised the corn in these countries were not so skilful as the average of our own farmers, this was only another evidence that nature there was kinder to the tiller of the soil than she is in our own country, and did not demand at his hands either the same amount of knowledge or the same unceasing toil. One of my objects in visiting North America was to remove the mistiness of my own ideas as to the agricultural character and condition of its several great regions, to test the seeming exaggerations, in which, as if by some natural law, the natives and residents of this northern part of the New World are inclined to indulge. I was desirous also of obtaining a clear idea of the relation which American practice bears to English practice; the prospects and success of individual American to those of individual English and Scotch farmers; American past and future surplus wheat to the state and demands of the English market; the life of the settler in these new countries, to the life he would have led had he remained at home. On a few of these points I have arrived at clear and definite notions — not hastily I believe — though some of them may still be incorrect.' (Vol. i. p. 355.)

The immediate cause of Mr. Johnston's voyage to America appears to have been a request on the part of 'the Governor 'and House of Assembly of New Brunswick, that he would 'visit that province with the view of drawing up a Report in 'reference to its agricultural capabilities.' The state of things which led to this application affords such a curious example of the collateral and unforeseen evils resulting from an artificial and 'protective' policy, that we shall place it briefly before our readers, and, as far as we can, in Mr. Johnston's own words. In the year 1848, the Legislature of New Brunswick began to be seriously uneasy concerning the condition and prospects of the colony. Their import and export trade was declining in an alarming ratio; the timber trade, on which they had been accustomed to rely as their main stay, was rapidly falling off; the labourers who had been engaged in it, a restless but energetic race of men like our navigators, were emigrating to other provinces; and as the New Brunswickers had been accustomed actually to import a large portion of the 'bread-stuffs' which

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they consumed, it became a matter of deep anxiety how this altered state of things was to be met.

'If lumber, as a staple export, was to be insufficient to supply the future wants of the colony in the way of paying for the necessary imports of West India produce and of flour, upon what were the colonists to fall back? Were the hitherto undervalued agricultural resources of the colony greater than had been supposed? Could its 18,000,000 of acres really be made to support a population of 210,000 inhabitants, and thus enable them to dispense at least with the large importation of bread stuffs, for which they had hitherto been yearly indebted to the United States, to Prince Edward's Island, and to Canada? Or were the mines of the country of such value as to make up for the failure both of lumber and of corn, and to enable New Brunswick to keep pace in future progress with the adjoining states and provinces? Such were the ideas and questions which had been passing through men's minds when I was honoured with a request to visit the colony, and give an opinion upon its agricultural capabilities.' (Vol. i. p. 39.)

Mr. Johnston's explanation of the causes which had led to the disastrous state of the colony is very simple and natural. The high protective duty by which our late commercial system encouraged the export of colonial timber, had had the effect of diverting the attention of the settlers from the steady and laborious pursuits of agriculture to an occupation more adventurous and attractive, and *at times*, though by no means altogether, more lucrative. Large gains were frequently made in the lumber trade, though it is questionable whether on the whole the losses were not greater than the gains, and it is certain that it partook much of the nature of a gambling transaction, and, in proportion as it did so, was injurious and demoralising. Still timber was abundant; the labour of felling it and floating it down to the coast was not excessive; the life led by the lumberers in the woods was free and pleasant; and the great prizes obtained in favourable years, secured a preference to it over every other branch of industry.

'But, like other branches, the lumber trade had always its period of activity and depression. When the demand was brisk and prices good, the trade was pushed eagerly forward; lumberers went into the woods by droves, and timber was shipped to England in quantities which overloaded the market. Prices in consequence fell; those who were obliged to realise were compelled to sacrifice capital as well as profit; and thus mercantile crises and many failures periodically occurred among the colonial merchants of St. John and other lumbering ports. But such an export trade in the large could only be temporary. Land cleared of timber does not soon cover itself again with a new growth of merchantable trees. Every year carried the scene of the woodman's labours further up the main rivers, and

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into more remote creeks and tributaries, adding to the labour of procuring, and to the cost of the logs when brought to the place of shipment. Hence, prices must rise at home or profits decline in the colony, and the trade gradually lessen. All these had already taken place to a certain extent *, when the further increase of home prices was rendered almost impossible by the equalisation of the timber duties... In so far as I have myself been able to ascertain the facts of the case, I think, with many patriotic colonists, that the welfare of these North American provinces would on the whole, and in the long run, have been promoted by a less lavish cutting of the noble ship-timber which their woods formerly contained, and which has already become so scarce and dear. *Home bounties have tempted them to cut down and sell at a comparatively low price, what might for many years have afforded a handsome annual revenue*, as well as an inexhaustible supply of material for the once flourishing colonial dockyard.... It was the acknowledged evil of the lumber trade, that so long as it was the leading industry of the province of New Brunswick, *it overshadowed and lowered the social condition of every other.* The lumberer, fond as the Indian of the free and untrammelled life of the woods, receiving high wages, living on the finest flour, and enjoying long seasons of holiday, looked down upon the slavish agricultural drudge who toiled the year long on his few acres of land, with little beyond his comfortable maintenance to show as the fruit of his yearly labour. The young and adventurous among the province-born men were tempted into what was considered a higher and more manly, as well as a more remunerative line of life; many of the hardiest of the emigrants as they arrived, followed the example; and *thus, not only was the progress of farming discouraged and retarded*, but a belief began to prevail that the colony was unfitted for agricultural pursuits. The occasional large sums of money made by

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* 'When, on a former occasion, about fifteen years ago, a proposal to equalise the timber duties was in agitation, it was represented to the home government that so much capital had been invested in the North American provinces, in the saw mills and for other purposes connected with the trade, that very extensive ruin would follow the immediate withdrawal of protection. The measure, therefore, was not passed at the time, but the colonies were warned to prepare themselves, as the duties would certainly be repealed at no distant date ... But so far from withdrawing their capital in consequence of this notice, fresh capital poured into the trade, new mills were built, speculation and competition advanced to an unprecedented height, and the prices of lumber were reduced in consequence of this competition, and the consequent over-supply of the home market, *much lower than the removal of the duty would have depressed them.* One of the most extensive lumber merchants of the province owned to me that mutual competition had done far more to injure the trade and the traders than the equalisation of the duties had done.' (Vol. ii. p. 211.)

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it, induced also vast numbers of the farmers themselves to engage in lumbering—as a lucky hit in a mining country makes many miners—gradually to involve themselves in debts, and to tie up their farms by mortgages to the merchants who furnished the supplies which their life in the woods required. Thus, not only were large numbers of the young men demoralised by their habits in the woods, trained to extravagant habits, and rendered unfit for steady agricultural labour, but very many of the actual owners of farms had become involved in overwhelming pecuniary difficulties, when the crisis in the lumber trade arrived, and stopped all further credit.' (Vol. i. p. 37.)

In his progress through the country Mr. Johnston met with many houses and clearings deserted in consequence of the ruinous effect of the protection-stimulated lumber trade on the regular processes of agriculture. (Vol. i. p. 97.) The instructive lesson taught by these results will amply justify another extract to explain them.

'A stranger does not readily comprehend how a depression in the lumber trade should seriously affect the interests of the rural population in any other way than in lessening the demand for produce, and in lowering prices. And it was not till I had been long in the country, and had conversed with many persons on the subject, that I was enabled clearly to separate, in my own mind, the evils which this trade had brought upon the rural population from those which were necessarily attendant on the calling of a farmer. In lumbering, a man goes to the woods in winter, cuts down trees, and hauls them to a brook down which, when the spring-freshets come, he can float them to the main river, and then to the saw-mills of the merchant to whom he sells them. If a man does this upon his own farm, or at no great distance from it, and by the aid of his own family only, all he gets for his wood is pure gain — if, in the meantime, he has been living on the produce of his own farm. But if he goes to a distance, and has been obliged to hire labourers, or has done so with the view of enlarging his operations, he must apply to the merchant for an advance of stores adequate to the winter's consumption. The cost of these stores and the wages of his men are deducted from the value of the wood he has obtained; and if the price be not very low, he may still have a handsome surplus. Such circumstances lure him on till an unfavourable winter comes, and he is not successful in cutting as good lumber, or in as large a quantity as usual, or in hauling it to the floating place; or a very late spring, or very shallow water, prevents him from getting it to market. Then his debt to the merchant for stores and money must stand over for another year, and his farm is mortgaged as security for the payment. Meanwhile this farm has been more or less neglected, and has been every year growing less produce. His wood must be floated in spring, when his crops ought to be put into the ground. He has been absent in winter, when new land might have been cleared. His mind is occupied with other cares: he does not settle to his agricultural pursuits; and they are

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therefore badly conducted, even when he is at home to superintend them. And lastly, while living in the woods, both employer and employed live on the most expensive food. They scorn any thing but the fattest pork from the United States, and the finest Genessee flour. The more homely food, which their own farms produce, becomes distasteful to them; and thus expensive and sometimes immoral habits are introduced into their families, which cause more frequent demands upon the merchant, and a consequent yearly increase of the unpaid bills. In such a state of things, the foreclosing of mortgages, the sale of farms, and the emigration of ruined families, must necessarily be of frequent occurrence.'

Now, however, that the Mother Country has reverted to a sounder commercial policy, and by so doing has put an end to those evils, which the artificial stimulus given to the lumber trade by our protective system had entailed upon our American provinces, Mr. Johnston is sanguine in his expectations for their future, and speaks favourably, though soberly, of their suitability for emigrants of the right class. While much difference of opinion seems to exist both among old residents and new settlers on minor matters, upon two essential points all were unanimous: — first, that those who were comfortable and well-to do in the Mother Country had better stay there; and secondly, that emigrants of reasonable industry, prudence, and patience, *who confined their attention to farming alone*, never failed to get on. Land partially cleared is to be purchased at prices varying according to the quality of the soil and the collateral advantages of the location,—but alway for sums which sound very moderate to English ears. From 2*l.* to 50*s.* an acre, seems to be the rate usually given for the fee-simple of farms partially cleared and cultivated, including farm buildings. In consequence, however, of the roaming disposition of many of the settlers, eligible farms are often to be purchased on far lower terms. Mr. Johnston mentions one case in which 200 acres, 60 of them cleared, and many cropped, four cows, two oxen, two heifers, fifteen sheep, twenty tons of hay, a house 30 feet by 20, and a barn 30 feet by 40, were offered for 112*l.* sterling. In England the hay alone would, in some years, have fetched nearly the whole sum. The climate appears to be wonderfully healthy, the crops to be decidedly good where the farming is at all decent, —the warmth of the summer fully compensating for the severity of the winter, — prices to be ample, and labour to be well remunerated, but not extravagant. To sum up the whole in two words, it appears to be a *grateful*, but not a *spontaneous* land. 'Those persons,' (says Mr. Johnston, vol. i. p. 25.) 'are 'greatly deceived who think that less labour, and less patience

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'and perseverance, are necessary to success in the New World, 'than in our part of the Old. The chief difference is, that there 'is room enough in the broad lands of America for the full em- 'ployment of all, and that the diligent man of moderate desires 'is sure of a competency.' The same opinion is repeatedly expressed in various forms, and seems to have been shared by nearly every resident with whom our author conversed. The following case may serve as an instructive specimen.

'With one of these settlers [near the Miramichi in New Brunswick], John McLean, I had an interesting conversation; and as his history may interest some of my readers also, as an example of the way in which steady industry overcomes difficulties and secures comparative prosperity in a new country, I shall state the leading facts I gathered from him. He came over in 1822. He has 250 acres in his farm, of which 150 are cleared; but he has not force to keep all this land in crop. He works it with the aid of three of his sons, two daughters, and three horses — keeps eleven cows, eight or nine young cattle, and a few sheep. He bought the land in a wild state, cleared it all himself without labour, and has *raised* eleven children.* He has four sons settled on farms, one of whom paid 150*l.* for his farm: two of them worked as carpenters till they had saved money to buy their farms. Neither he nor any of his sons ever lumbered; not one in twenty makes anything by lumbering. Oatmeal porridge and milk twice a day, and oatmeal cakes, are the prevailing diet. Odds and ends, as he called sugar, tea, &c., are obtained by the sale of butter and cheese. Mr. McLean thinks a man would do well here who could come over with 50*l.* in his pocket, and better with 100*l.* But he ought not to have too much, if he is to labour contentedly and prosper. *He himself had only 5l. when he settled,* besides three carts and a year's provisions.' (Vol. i. p. 110.)

A country, where an industrious man, starting with only 5*l.* after the purchase of 250 acres of wild land, can in twenty-seven years have not only fought his way to a comfortable position, but have maintained eleven children, and settled four as independent proprietors, equally well off with himself, must assuredly be one of great capabilities to those who know how to avail them-

* The families in many of these North American provinces are very large. In Lower Canada, among the French population, they seem to surpass anything we know here. 'My driver (vol. i. p. 346.) 'was one of fourteen children, and was himself the father of fourteen, 'and assured me that from eight to sixteen was the usual number of 'the farmers' families. He even named one or two women who had 'brought their husbands five and twenty, and threatened "le vingt- '"sixième pour le prêtre." I expressed my surprise at these large 'families. "Oui, Monsieur," said he, "vous avez raison: nous '"sommes terribles pour les enfans."'

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selves of its advantages. Mr. Johnston gives many valuable statistical details concerning the wages of labour and the produce of the soil in New Brunswick, as compared both with the Old Country, and with other portions of the New; all of which tell strongly in its favour. Thus the produce per acre of different crops appears to be as follows (Vol. ii. p. 193.):—

Produce per Acre in Bushels.

	Great Britain.	New Brunswick.	New York.	Ohio.	Canada, West.
Wheat - - -	24	18	14	15¼	13
Barley - - -	34	27	16	24	17½
Oats - - -	37	33	26	34	25
Buckwheat - -	-	28	14	20	16
Rye - - -	25	18	9½	16	11½
Indian Corn - -	-	36⅓	25	41	
Potatoes - - -	204	204	90	69	84
Turnips - - -	420	390	88		

The comparison of prices in the years 1848—9, per imperial quarter, is equally favourable to the farmers of New Brunswick (Vol. ii. p. 196.): —

Price per Quarter in

	New Brunswick.		Canada, West.		Ohio.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Wheat - - -	48	6	22	5	24	8
Barley - - -	27	3	14	5	11	9
Oats - - -	13	9	8	0	6	5
Rye - - -	22	9	14	5	12	10
Buckwheat - -	24	0	16	0	11	6
Indian Corn - -	35	0	25	8	8	7

In answering the question, 'who are the parties that ought 'to emigrate to these colonies?' Mr. Johnston says:—

'The climate is very healthy, but no person ought to go who is afraid of the severity of a cold winter. Then no one ought to go to any of these new countries who is tolerably comfortable at home, unless he has a large family to provide for, on whose behalf he is willing to encounter the discomforts which necessarily attend a change to new scenes, circumstances, and habits. As to those who *may* come to this province, the poor man whose ambition is limited to the attainment of a comfortable independence, abundant food and clothing for his family, and provision for them after his death — he

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may come. If he has only money enough to carry himself and his family there, he must and ought to be content to work for others for a year or two, till he save enough to go into the woods and select and clear a lot of land for himself. In thus serving he will also learn the ways and localities of the country; and if he be satisfied with reasonable wages*, he will have little difficulty in finding employment. But if he can convey his family to the woods at once, and has still 20*l.* to 50*l.* over, to sustain them during the first year, industry and hard work will do the rest. If a man contrive to land with 100*l.* in his pocket, he should not linger in the towns to spend it, but should speedily select—if he has not already fixed upon—the country in which he is to fix himself;—and going among the older settlers, he will easily find in most places one willing to sell his land and clearing for a sum within the means he possesses. Thus he may at once place his family in a new home without delay, and avoid the hardships and discomforts which attend upon the first planter of a log-hut in the wilderness. Those who can bring 500*l.*, 1000*l.*, or 2000*l.* with them, will take more time to select, and will probably prefer to settle in an older and more fully cleared district. These parties will also find farms with wider clearings, and better houses and farm-buildings, which they can purchase for various sums suited to their means, in which, by working with their own hands and families, with a little hired labour, they will be able to live in independence, and may hope to place their children, if industrious, in independent circumstances also.' (Vol. ii. p. 200.)†

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* 'The wages of labour for farm-servants employed by the year '(besides board, lodging, and generally washing) vary from an aver-'age of 16*l.* 16*s.* to a maximum of 28*l.* 16*s.*'

† Another settler is mentioned who came out eighteen years ago to New Brunswick, purchased 275 acres of wilderness for 50*l.* After paying this sum, he and his two brothers had only 60*l.* to begin with; at the end of ten years the farm and stock were valued at 1000*l.*, *and he bought his brother's out.* 'He considers New Bruns-'wick *a good poor man's country*,—an expression which briefly 'includes all the main recommendations of North America generally 'to the inhabitants of Europe.' (Vol. i. p. 118.)

The men who are likely to manage a colonial life with most success are not the finished and skilled labourers whom the English system of division of labour has brought to perfection in any single department, so much as those who can do a number of things tolerably well,—who can turn their hands to any thing, as the phrase is. One of the settlers observed to Mr. Johnston:—'A man must work 'as hard here as at home, and longer hours. He must build his own 'house, make his own family's shoes, and do many other things. A 'useless man need not come here.' (Vol. ii. p. 172.)

'The Nova Scotians have the reputation of being superlatively 'handy. A farmer will cut lumber on his farm, and convey it with 'his own horses to the shores of the bay. With or without the aid 'of a carpenter he will lay down the lines of a ship. He will build

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Mr. Johnston does not hold out any encouragement to mere capitalists, whose object is to live on the interest of their money or the rent of their land. Land is here too much within the reach of every man to render it eligible as a mere investment.

While on the subject of emigration, Mr. Johnston mentions two circumstances, which are curious, and deserve much attention. One is, the apparent deterioration of the race of settlers. The sons of emigrants, born in the colonies, are said to be rarely as energetic or successful as their fathers. The British-born succeed better than the natives. They are steadier, more persevering, more industrious. The remark is made by the native residents themselves — Mr. Johnson heard it on several occasions, and admits that his own observation fully confirmed its truth. (Vol. i. pp. 119—125.) The cause yet remains to be discovered. Some imagine that the climate is unfavourable to the development of the hardier and more pertinacious qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race. Mr. Johnston's explanation is different. After stating how universally he had found the fact admitted, he proceeds: —

'This opinion from the mouths of natives is certainly very provoking, since I can sincerely say, after a very long tour in the province, that a finer looking body of yeomanry is not to be seen in any part of the world. The first provincial-born generation shoots up tall and handsome men and women, pleasant to look upon. It may be that the more slender form is less inclined to steady labour, and that, with the bodily figure, the habits and tempers of the industrious settlers change also. Certainly, as a whole, the regularly-settled inhabitants did not appear to work so hard as the same classes do at home. From that fact, however, I did not feel myself justified in concluding, as some do, that the native-born are naturally or absolutely indolent, — my conclusion was, rather, that a living was easier got in the provinces than in the home-islands, and that, therefore, they did not require to work so hard to obtain it as we do at home.' (See also vol. ii. p. 174.)

The author's observations respecting the Irish settlers are particularly valuable, though casually made; inasmuch as they show that he has hit upon the real explanation of the frequent

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'it himself, with the help of his sons; he will even do the smith's 'work with his own hands. He will mortgage his farm to buy the 'materials, and will rig it himself. He will then load it with fire-'wood from his own farm, and himself sail the ship to Boston, and 'sell cargo or ship, or both; or he will take a freight to the West 'Indies, if he can get it, and return in due time to pay off his incum-'brances, — or to sell his farm if he have been unsuccessful, and 'begin the world anew.' (Vol. i. p. 31.)

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energy and success displayed by many of the emigrants from the sister island on being transplanted to the New World, in comparison with their listlessness and helpless misery at home. And, so far as we are aware, he is the first among our travellers or speculators who have done so. Where the Irish settled *singly*, and among a population of different origin and habit*, he generally found them doing well, though rarely *so* well as either English or Scotch emigrants. Where they settled *en masse*, and formed a colony of their own, this is the picture he draws of them: —

'The settlers, chiefly Roman Catholic Irish, originally from Bandon, in the county of Cork, are for the most part miserably clothed, keeping wretched-looking houses, have much dirt about themselves and their holdings, nasty-looking pigs running about the doors of their dwellings, and their land and fences for the most part in an untidy condition. It is "Ould Ireland" over again transplanted here, little altered from its home appearance and fashions.' (Vol. ii. p. 17.) Of another settlement he says (vol. ii. p. 176.), '*It consists entirely of 'Cork men*, who have not prospered as yet. According to Mr. Pass (an English emigrant), the South Country Irish are the poorest men that come out, do the worst, and are the least contented. At home they depend upon grants and charity when they can get it, more than on their own industry.' One of these Cork men, a schoolmaster, complained bitterly; they were all steeped in poverty and debt, yet they were industrious, he averred; and '*therefore he inveighed against the Mother Country for not making railways in the provinces, and sending out money to employ the people.*' The same demand all the world over from this spoiled and unthrifty race. 'The management of the Irish (observes Mr. Johnston) is still a problem, *when unmixed with other population*, in whatever country they are. . . . As at home, they get together in junketting and merry-making, and estimate the happiness of a spree far above the every-day comforts of clean well-furnished houses and plentiful meals. But mingle these same men in twos and threes among a great predominance of a steadier race, and the restraint and influence of new example makes their children steadier men than their fathers, and more reasonable and contented citizens.'

We have here the indication of a most valuable truth, the admission and full appreciation of which seems to us indispensable to the future well-being of the sister island. It is this: — Wherever the Irish peasantry are so situated, either by subordination of position or minority in numbers, *as to take the tone from those above them or around them*, they succeed and advance.

* 'There were many excellent and hard-working Scotch and Irish farmers in the neighbourhood. . . . . *These* Irish settlers struck me as representing industry personified.' (Vol. i. p. 64.)

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Wherever they are so far dominant, either from numbers, influence, or concentration, as to overpower such foreign elements of amendment as may have settled among them, or where they are isolated and homogeneous, without a strong, large, and prominent admixture of such foreign superiorities, the failings of their race prevail, and they sink into, or remain in, a low social condition. This lies at the root of the incongruity which has been often observed, and from which so many rash and unsound inferences have been drawn; but the explanation of which Mr. Johnston has so well indicated. It is seen that Irish farmers and Irish labourers often succeed in America and in the colonies, especially in the second generation; that they become diligent, frugal, intelligent, and steady workmen; on which superficial reasoners immediately cry out, 'Here is clear proof that the 'wretched condition of Irishmen at home arises solely from 'English misgovernment and a hopeless social position, and 'from no natural disqualifications of character or race!' The real solution of the incongruous phenomenon is this: — At home, the Irishman is alone, dominant, and uncorrected: he is among Irishmen with the same constitutional failings as himself, from whom he can derive only encouragement in all those qualities which most require enlightenment, shaming, and correction. Thus, 'Ireland for the Irish' — the great cry of their demagogues — would, in fact, be fuel to the fire, brandy to the fever, the exclusion of air to the stifled, the shutting out of light to those who sit in darkness. In the colonies, on the other hand, or in the United States, or even in England, the Irishman finds himself at once in a minority; among a people to whom his filth is an abomination; to whom his idle and untidy habits are disgustful; whose activity awakens his emulation, and whose intelligence can direct his exertions... He is essentially an imitative animal, and needs only a predominant amount of good example before him in order to improve. In foreign countries, or in the colonies, he finds this when he goes there. It is well deserving of consideration, — whether we cannot supply it to him in Ireland? Can we not, in addition to the good already effected by the example, instruction, and enforced system of the inspectors under the Land Improvement Act, introduce a large settlement of English and Scotch farmers throughout the country, who will give that better tone, and diffuse among the natives those better habits and modes of proceeding which they so peculiarly need?

A great deal of our author's attention was directed to an investigation of the probable wheat-exporting powers of the

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North American continent; and the chapters he has devoted to this question are among the most valuable in his book, and derive peculiar importance from his well known and thorough competence to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the subject. We shall not attempt to give an analysis of these chapters — all who feel interested in the matter should study them with care. We shall content ourselves with extracting his concluding summary. (Vol. ii. p. 335.)

'It is fair and reasonable, therefore, I think, to conclude, until we have better data, that the wheat-exporting capabilities of the United States are not so great as they have by many in Great Britain been hitherto supposed, that they have been over-stated on the spot, and that our wheat growers at home have been unduly alarmed by these distant thunders, — the supposed prelude of an imaginary torrent of American wheat, which was to overwhelm every thing in Great Britain — farming, farmers, and landlords, — in one common ruin. I have said that the wheat-exporting capabilities of North America as a whole, excluding Upper Canada, — in regard to which I would reserve any decided opinion, — are lessening rather than increasing, though it may be ten years or more before the diminution becomes very distinctly sensible. The main reasons for this opinion, as I have already given them in Chap. vii., are, 1st., that the virgin soils are already, to a considerable extent, exhausted of their first freshness*, and that a comparatively expensive culture, likely to make corn more costly, must be adopted, if their productiveness is to be brought back and maintained; 2ndly, that the new settlers live poorly and hardly at first, and as their wheat is the only thing they have to sell, confine themselves for some seasons to potatoes, buckwheat, and Indian corn, and send the wheat to market; but as they become more easy in their circumstances they retain more of this grain for their own consumption, while they produce it also at a greater cost; and, thirdly, that as the population increases, that of wheat-consuming individuals who do not raise their own food increases also, and thus every year a larger proportion of wheaten food will be required and retained at home. If the population of the United States, exclusive of California, be now 24,000,000, and if it be increasing, as is said, at the rate of a million a year, so as to promise to these States in 1860 a population of 34,000,000, then it is very safe, I think, to say, that in 1860 their wheat-exporting capability

* 'When this exhaustion has come, a more costly system of gene-
'rous husbandry must be introduced if the crops are to be kept up;
'and in this more generous system my belief is that the British
'farmers will have the victory.' One very important consideration is, that as the virgin soils near the lakes and rivers are exhausted, *those who still seek similar soil are obliged to go further inland*, and thus the cost of bringing their produce to market is greatly enhanced.

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will have become so small as to give our British farmers very little cause for apprehension.'

He elsewhere repeats the same conviction, in language which is calculated to carry great comfort to the hearts of those home agriculturists who are panic-stricken by the prospect of endless supplies of American flour at a nominal price.

'In their relation to English markets, therefore, and the prospects and profits of the British farmers, my persuasion is, that year by year our Transatlantic cousins will become less and less able—except in extraordinary seasons—to send large supplies of wheat to our Island ports; and that, when the virgin freshness shall have been rubbed off their new (and easily accessible) lands, they will be unable, with their present knowledge and methods, to send wheat to the British market so cheaply as the more skilful farmers of Great Britain and Ireland can do.' (Vol. i. p. 365.)

Mr. Johnston differs agreeably from the ordinary run of travellers in America in his estimate of the relative progress and capabilities of the United States and the British provinces, and of the energy and powers of their respective inhabitants. He considers that the latter are even now 'going ahead,' at least as fast as their republican neighbours; that their natural advantages are even greater; and that it will be their own fault if they do not soon surpass their rivals. The current idea of the vast relative superiority of the Yankees appears to have originated in the different mental habits of the two peoples. While the British are always grumbling, the Americans are always boasting; and travellers seem to have taken both parties at their word. 'In the provinces,' observes Mr. Johnston, 'it struck me 'as remarkable that, while among their republican neighbours all 'the geese were swans, the provincials were constantly main-'taining their own swans to be geese. Every thing was wrong 'in the eyes of many I met, and every thing among themselves 'inferior; although in almost every particular, when a close ex-'amination was made, their own superiority was manifest.' Mr. Johnston is clearly of opinion that a splendid future is in store for Canada; that the St. Lawrence is not only destined to be, but is fast becoming, the great channel by which the produce of the Western States of the Union will find its way to Europe. It drains, and is the natural outlet of, all those vast inland seas on the borders of which lie the rising and fertile States of Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and the western counties of New York; and its only available rival is the Erie Canal, which, in spite of all the skill and energy of the Americans, is becoming yearly more and more inadequate to the traffic which

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presses upon it from these mighty regions.* It appears, also, that the cost of transport from the lake coast of Ohio to Liverpool is not only speedier by the route of the St. Lawrence, but 10*s.* a ton cheaper than by the Erie Canal, and in other respects more convenient. The Mississippi, it is true, borders on portions of these States, but it is a route which, for many kinds of produce, is costly and objectionable. Mr. Johnston speaks as follows: —

'This greater cheapness of transport, and facility of direct communication, without transhipment, will also draw into this eastern channel a large traffic which never sought Lake Erie, but made its long and tedious way down the Ohio and the Mississippi. The wheat and other produce of the valley of the Ohio, which was intended for the European markets, has hitherto for the most part descended these rivers; and after a voyage of some thousands of miles has reached New Orleans, whence it was re-shipped to its European destination. But this long water-carriage, in the hot and humid climate of the regions through which these rivers flow, is found to affect the quality of the wheat, so that it rarely reaches Europe in so good a condition, or realises so high a price, as similar wheat which has been conveyed through the Eastern States to the shores of the Atlantic.' (Vol. i. p. 377.)

The common charge of sluggishness and inattention to the interests of the colony brought against the authorities, both home and colonial, Mr. Johnston regards as wholly unjust. Great as have been the exertions of the Americans of the United States to improve and extend their internal navigation, they have been exceeded by those of the British. 'Meanwhile the Canadian authorities, and those of Upper Canada especially, have not been idle. Indeed, I believe they have done more to promote internal water communication than any State of the Union — I may safely say, than any country in Europe — considering the infancy of their country, the extent to which its material resources have been developed, and the actual amount of its revenue and population.' The Welland Canal (for large ships) has been constructed between Lakes Erie and Ontario, at a cost of nearly a million and a half; the rapids on the river near Montreal have been flanked by about fifty miles of canals, at a cost of a million more; and all this has been done by a colony whose present population is under 1,500,000, and whose revenue even now does not (we believe) reach 500,000*l.*†

'Altogether, on the execution of canals and river improvements

* The recent opening of the Erie Railway may perhaps in some respect modify this conclusion.

† It is given at 300,000*l.* in 1832. (Martin's British Colonies.)

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necessary to the direct navigation of the St. Lawrence, from the Upper Lakes to the Atlantic, upwards of 3,000,000*l.* currency, or twelve millions of dollars, have been expended by the legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada. This sum is not only large in itself, but it is especially so, when compared with the revenue hitherto at the disposal of the provincial legislature of the Canadas. When we consider also that the whole canal debt of the State of New York is under seventeen millions of dollars, while the Canadas have burdened themselves with a debt of twelve millions, we shall be willing to allow that the amount of energy displayed by the people north of Lake Ontario and of the Thousand Isles, is not less than has been manifested by the State of New York, nor their faith less in the future growth and greatness of their rising country.' (Vol. ii. p. 375.)

We could quote many passages to the same effect, but we prefer to send our readers to the book for themselves. The author complains much of the restless discontent and impatience of the Canadians, and brings many proofs that they are advancing as rapidly as any people can reasonably desire, and that their future prospects of commercial prosperity are bright enough to satisfy the most towering ambition. Already their population is increasing as fast as that of the Union. Lower Canada has doubled its number in twenty-five years; and that this is not owing to emigration alone appears from the fact, that while the average of births is 1 in every 21, the deaths are 1 in 53. In England the births are 1 in 33, and the deaths 1 in 46. Even in commerce our provinces compare not unfavourably with the States. When our author visited New Brunswick, the trade of the province was suffering under great depression; yet even then its imports and exports exceeded those of the three adjoining States of Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire put together (vol. ii. p. 207.); though the population of the latter was 1,200,000, and that of the former only 210,000. On the whole we think it is impossible to rise from the perusal of these careful volumes without a greatly enhanced estimate of the value of our North American provinces, and a well-grounded hope that our children will see the day when they will form a compact empire at least as powerful and as prosperous as any portion of the Union, if political agitation and the distraction and insecurity which flow from it, are not permitted to mar and blight all these encouraging promises.

At the period of Mr. Johnston's visit to our North American provinces, the discontent consequent on failing crops and a depressed trade had led to much discussion on the question of 'annexation' to the United States; and although Mr. Johnston is of opinion that even then the majority of the population, if polled, would have been found favourable to the retention of

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their connexion with the Mother Country, yet he does not disguise the fact, that the preponderance of aspiring talent in the colony leans towards opposite views. The energetic provincial spirits feel that a wider field would be open to their powers, and higher prizes set within their grasp, by uniting themselves to the great Republic, than by remaining a mere dependency of a distant Mother Country, and wholly shut out from all participation in the great reward of imperial ambition. A Canadian of surpassing ability might well hope to become President of the United States, and to wield all the mighty but short-lived power attached to that office. But no genius, no industry, no eloquence, would raise him to the position of prime minister of Great Britain. Mr. Johnston's observations on this head are just and interesting. Still he is of opinion that the provinces as a whole would lose rather than gain by incorporation with the United States,—and that those who are now loudest in its favour—the Roman Catholics and the old party of the Family Compact—would be among those destined to be most disappointed by the result. The taxation, too, would be far heavier,—some parties declared in the proportion of ten to one. (Vol. ii. p. 160.) The principal cause of the disloyalty and discontent prevalent at the time of which our author speaks, was the decay of the lumber trade; this the colonists hastily, and, as appears, most inconsequentially, ascribed to the alteration of the British timber duties. The following is very instructive:—

'The depression of trade [in New Brunswick] had awakened, as usually happens, the loudest voices of the grumblers; and meetings were being held in which the provincial government and legislature were denounced, organised resistance to the Mother Country recommended, and annexation lauded as the best of boons and the surest remedy for all their sufferings. . . . The speeches of ambitious or disappointed demagogues are by no means an evidence even of their own opinions and belief; and if almost anything can be considered certain in regard to the temporary sufferings of the province, it is that they were not caused by any action either of the provincial or the home governments, or by any evils which annexation to the United States would cure. This is proved by the fact that the adjoining state of Maine, which possesses very much the same natural capabilities and resources of wealth as distinguish New Brunswick, has suffered of late years precisely in a similar way. Thus, in a petition presented to the Legislature of that State, on the 12th June, 1850, it is stated:—"1. That, for some three years past, ship-"building and lumbering have been severely depressed;—2. That, "for a series of years we have been compelled to witness the with-"drawal of much of our capital into other States; and, instead of

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"immigrants, the departure from among us of the most enterprising "young men of Maine;—3. That it is in vain to expect to retain "the natural increase of our population, without holding out induce- "ments for labour beyond what are offered by the pursuits of agri- "culture and lumbering." Were I to sum up in brief all the complaints I heard in New Brunswick, they would not assume so strong a form as in the above words of the people of Maine. And yet, to cure these evils, the men whom I found agitating St. John, professed to believe that annexation to the United States was alone required! Trade would then amend, capital would flow in, emigration would be checked, lumbering would revive, and European emigrants would pour into the new paradise.' (Vol. ii. p. 140.)

Did our limits allow, there are many points of interest in Mr. Johnston's observations on the United States, particularly those relating to taxation, and to the future probable severance of the Union, to which we should wish to have directed the attention of our readers, and to have offered some comments of our own. But we must conclude with strongly recommending the perusal of a book so replete with valuable suggestions and solid information.

ART. III.—1. *Poems by Hartley Coleridge. With a Memoir of his Life.* By his Brother. Edward Moxon: 1851.

2. *Essays and Marginalia.* By HARTLEY COLERIDGE. Edward Moxon: 1851.

MR. DERWENT COLERIDGE has executed, with much success, one of the most difficult of tasks. He has written the biography of a poet in such a manner as to impart a deeper philosophic interest to his verse without detracting from its charm. The fact that as much must be lost as can possibly be gained by a tediously minute acquaintance with the life of an author, had not been overlooked by Mr. Coleridge. He observes, 'It is thought by many that the lives of literary men 'are sufficiently known from their writings, and that any record 'of their private history is at least superfluous. Much may be 'said in support of this opinion. Of poets, more especially, it 'may be affirmed that the image which they put forth of 'themselves in their works is a true and adequate representation 'of the author, whatever it may be of the man: nay, that in 'many cases it may depict the man more faithfully,—may 'show more truly what he was, than any memorial of what he 'did and suffered in his mortal pilgrimage, too often a sad 'tissue, so it is made to appear, of frailty and sorrow.....

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'If the record were to be supplied, as has been attempted, 'by the ordinary materials of the biographer,—by a meagre 'outline of every day facts, filled in by such anecdotes as 'vulgar curiosity most commonly collects and remembers, it 'had better remain a blank.' Much better, we cordially add: but we are happy to be able to say, also, that the record with which we are here presented, is of a very different sort. Vulgar curiosity has not been catered for in it; and a philosophical curiosity will not seek instruction in it without reward. The passages in his brother's life which Mr. Coleridge has sketched for us, whether such as determined his outward fortunes, or such as to a careless observer might have seemed trifles, are those by which the structure of character is indicated, and its progress is traced. A happy power of selection is among a biographer's highest, though least obtrusive, gifts. Mr. Coleridge has exercised it with effect, avoiding that vice of modern biographies, prolixity. Had his memoir consisted of two volumes, instead of half a volume, its force would have been lost in detail, and we should have had a far less vivid picture than is here exhibited to us of the subject it commemorates. The narrative abounds in discriminative criticism, and remarks incidentally thrown out, but full of point. Above all, it is written with frankness and simplicity. Cherishing a deserved respect, as well as affection, for his brother's memory, he has appreciated his character far too well to think that it needs the concealment of infirmities from which the kindliest and most abundant natures are not always the most exempt, and the effects of which are impressed, for evil and for good, upon verse which 'the world will not willingly let die.' In making us acquainted with the man, he has contributed the best materials for a large and liberal comprehension of the poet: nor can we more effectually illustrate Hartley Coleridge's poetry than by first bringing before our readers some features of a life full of interest, though externally but little varied. It is not often that the life and works of an author are presented to us at the same moment, and for the first time. Such may be considered to be the case on the present occasion, since far the larger portion of the poetry has remained till now unpublished; and, in the life prefixed to it, the poetry which follows finds not seldom an emblem as well as an 'efficient cause.'

Born at Clevedon, on the 19th of September, 1796, an eight months' child, Hartley Coleridge was marked from the first by a sensitiveness of temperament no doubt out of proportion to his physical strength. More than one tribute of song greeted him on his arrival into this world. Some of these aspirations

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remained unaccomplished, and some were fulfilled too well. In one of the most beautiful of Coleridge's poems, the poet compares his own early culture with that which he desires for his child.

'I was reared
In the great city, pent mid cloisters dim,
And saw nought lovely but the sky and stars;
But thou, my babe, shalt wander like a breeze,
By lakes and sandy shores, beneath the crags
Of ancient mountains, and beneath the clouds,
Which image in their bulk both lakes and shores
And mountain crags.'

To this prophecy the younger poet alludes in the memorable sonnet prefixed to a small volume of poetry published in 1833. Addressing the 'Father and Bard revered' at a far more advanced age than that father had attained when the above lines were written, he says, in allusion to them,—

'Thy prayer was heard: I "wandered like a breeze."'

Not less tenderly was the 'animosus infans,' addressed in his father's poem 'The Nightingale.'

'That strain again!
Full fain would it delay me! My dear babe,
Who, capable of no articulate sound,
Mars all things with his imitative lisp,
How he would place his hand, beside his ear,
His little hand, the small fore finger up,
And bid us listen! And I deem it wise
To make him Nature's playmate.'

With her youthful playmate Nature played long; and he never ceased to find solace both in her songs and sports. Nature did what Nature may: nor is it her fault if her harmonies, whether of the morn or the eventide, whether lyrical or elegiac, have more power to 'kindle' than to 'control,' and serve rather as wine to the festive, or as an opiate to those in trouble, than as martial music, bracing us for the warfare of life. He had learned, however, to listen to another voice above, and along with, that of Nature; and, for such discernment, he turns also in gratitude to his father. (Vol. i. p. 111.)

In a strain not dissimilar, the same child was addressed at six years old by the Bard of Rydal.

'O thou, whose fancies from afar are brought,
Who, of thy words dost make a mock apparel,
And fittest to unutterable thought
The *breeze-like motion* and the self-born carol;

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Thou fairy voyager! that dost float
In such clear water, that thy boat
May rather seem
To brood on air than on an earthly stream.'

After the lapse of many a chequered year these verses retained their applicability, and were forcibly brought back to the memory even of strangers, who chanced to mark the subject of them as he paced irregularly about, with a vague grace, caught in some stream of thought, — with feet that seemed almost unable to keep their hold of the ground, extended arms, a glowing cheek, and an eye still youthful, flashing beneath long white locks that floated on the air. Wordsworth also indulged in prophecy.

'Nature will either end thee quite;
Or, lengthening out thy season of delight,
Preserve for thee, by individual right,
A young lamb's heart among the full-grown flocks.'

Half the promise was granted if the other half was scattered to the winds. The season of delight had past away: but even when the autumnal pastures had become flecked with patches of monitory snow, the 'young lamb's heart' remained.

The philosopher, whose metaphysical principles ended in the most advanced spiritualism, was, at the period of his son's birth, in the materialist stage of his progress: and it was to the enthusiasm with which he then regarded the speculations of David Hartley, that that son owed his name. He acquired at a very early date, those habits of abstract thought which characterised his boyhood, though apparently the system of the young psychologist tended at least as much in the direction of Berkeley as of Hartley. The following curious anecdote was preserved in a diary kept by Mr. Henry Crabbe Robinson:— 'Hartley Coleridge, when about five years old, was asked a 'question about himself being called Hartley. "Which Hart-'"ley?" asked the boy. "Why, is there more than one '"Hartley?" "Yes," he replied; "there's a deal of Hartleys." '"How so?" "There's Picture Hartley (Hazlitt had painted '"a portrait of him) and Shadow Hartley; and there's Echo '"Hartley, and there's Catch-me-fast Hartley;" at the same 'time seizing his own arm with the other hand very eagerly,— 'an action which shows that his mind must have been drawn to 'reflect on what Kant calls the great and inexplicable mystery, 'viz. that man should be both his own subject and object, and 'that these two should be one. At the same early age,' 'continued Coleridge, 'Hartley used to be in agony of thought,

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'—puzzling himself about the reality of existence. As when 'some one said to him, "It is not now; but it is to be." "But," 'said he, "if it *is* to be, it is."' The relation of the potential to the actual, we must grant to be a somewhat hard riddle for a child of five years old.

From the age of about seven, and during a large part of his boyhood, Hartley Coleridge resided with his uncle, Mr. Southey, at Keswick. In 1808 he was placed with his brother at school at Ambleside, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Dawes, to whom Mr. Coleridge pays a just tribute of respect:—'He was a 'man of lofty stature, and immense bodily strength, and though 'sufficiently exact in the discharge of his scholastic duties, yet 'he evidently attached quite as much importance to the health-'ful recreations and out-of-door life of his scholars, as to their 'progress in Greek and Latin. Morbidly shy, he shrank from 'mixing in society, and in his walks would as soon have met a 'lion as a lady in his path . . . He had the very soul of honour, 'and carried with him in every word and gesture the evidence 'of a manly and cordial nature.' From the lessons of this hardy northern Hartley Coleridge derived at least as much benefit as from the Greek Grammar composed for him by his father,—a monument of paternal affection and industry, not a little characteristic; beginning as it does with a philosophic disclaimer of philosophy, proceeding to the complexities of gender and case, and ending with a pregnant essay on the connexion between Idolatry and Atheism. It was a literary curiosity, well worthy of preservation, and will remind the reader of Milton's logico-poetical exercise, which begins with 'Ens' and 'Predicament,' and concludes with 'Rivers arise!'

One of the chief advantages which Hartley Coleridge derived from his school-residence was, that it afforded him an opportunity of being much in the society of Mr. Wordsworth. It was at this time also that at his beautiful seat Elleray he became acquainted with Professor Wilson, 'who continued to the last 'one of his kindest friends.' Sir George Beaumont and Mr. Basil Montague were also among his friends. His biographer remarks, 'It was so, rather than by a regular course of study, 'that he was educated,—by desultory reading, by the living 'voice of Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth, Lloyd, Wilson, 'and De Quincey; and, again, by homely familiarity with 'town's folk and country folk of every degree; lastly, by daily 'recurring hours of solitude,—by lonely wanderings with 'the murmur of the Brathay in his ear.' At a later period of his life he was described as 'like the Wye, a wanderer 'through the woods.' At school he had much liberty. He

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never played with the other boys, and probably never fought with them. He was not sufficiently adroit for ordinary sports, and his uncle used to tell him that he had two left hands. In his lessons he was neither stupid nor unusually quick. He had no school friendships; but his companions admired him for his singularity, and loved him for the fascinating skill with which he told them tales. His powers in this respect seem to have equalled those of the Sultana Scheherezade, though his aim was much less practical: —

'It was not by a series of tales, but by one continuous tale, regularly evolved, and possessing a real unity, that he enchained the attention of his auditors, night after night, as we lay in bed . . . during a space of years, and not unfrequently for hours together. This enormous romance, far exceeding in length, I should suppose, the compositions of Calprenede, Scudery, or Richardson, though delivered without premeditation, had a progressive story, with many turns and complications, with salient points recurring at intervals, with a suspended interest varying in intensity, and occasionally wrought up to a very high pitch, and at length a catastrophe and a conclusion. . . . He spoke without hesitation, in language as vivid as it was flowing. This power of improvisation he lost, or conceived himself to lose, when he began the practice of written composition.'

At a still earlier period, however, his marvellous power of continuous narration had been yet more signally displayed. Few anecdotes illustrative of childhood are so remarkable as that in which his brother records an instance of this habit. For years the child seems to have lived a double life; and the faith which he reposed in the inward world was at least as great as that with which he regarded the outward. No other incident recorded of his early days is so significant a comment on his after life, both in its strength and its weakness: —

'At a very early period of his childhood, of which he had himself a distinct though visionary remembrance, he imagined himself to foresee a time when, in a field that lay close to the house in which he lived, a small cataract would burst forth, to which he gave the name of Jug-force. The banks of the stream thus created soon became populous, — a region — a realm; and as the vision spread in ever-widening circles, it soon overflowed, as it were, the narrow spot in which it was originally generated; and Jug-forcia, disguised under the less familiar appellation of Ejuxria, became an island continent, with its own attendant isles; a new Australia, or newest Sea-land, if it were not rather a reflection of the old Europe projected from the clouds on some wide ocean somewhere. The history and geography of this region were at one time as familiar to me, to say the least, as any—other portion, I was about to say, of the habitable globe. The details have gradually faded from my memory, and, fitly enough, no written record remains (though an elaborate map

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of the country was once in existence), from which they can be recovered.

> ' "The earth hath bubbles as the water hath,
> And these are of them."

' Taken as a whole, the Ejuxrian world presented a complete analogon to the world of fact, so far as it was known to Hartley, complete in all its parts; furnishing a theatre and scene of action with *dramatis personæ*, and suitable machinery, in which, day after day, for the space of long years, he went on evolving the complicated drama of existence. There were nations, continental and insular, each with its separate history, civil, ecclesiastical, and literary, its forms of religion and government, and specific national character. In Portfomandra, the analagon of England, as I now discern, . . . the tissue was woven with wonderful minuteness, and uniform consistency. The names of generals and statesmen were "familiar to my ear as "household words." I witnessed the war of faction, and had to trace the course of sedition. I lived to see changes of government, a great progress of public opinion, and a new order of things. When at length a sense of unreality was forced upon him, and he felt himself obliged to account for his knowledge of and connexion with this distant land, he had a story, borrowed from the Arabian Nights, of a great bird by which he was transported to and fro. But he recurred to these explanations with great reluctance, and got rid of them as quickly as possible. Once I asked him how it came that his absence on these occasions was not observed; but he was angry and mortified, and I never repeated the experiment. In truth, I was willingly beguiled. His usual mode of introducing the subject was, "Derwent," (for these disclosures in latter years were made to me alone) "I have had letters and papers from Ejuxria.' . . . Nothing could exceed the seriousness of his manner, and doubtless, of his feelings. He was, I am persuaded, utterly unconscious of invention. . . . I have reason to believe that he continued the habit mentally, from time to time, after he left school, and, of course, had no longer a confidant.'

In a letter from Mrs. Basil Montague, in whose house he spent some time when a child, his anxieties on the subject of this imaginary race are thus amusingly depicted:—'One day 'when he was walking very pensively I asked him what ailed 'him. He said, "My people are too fond of war; and I have '"just made an eloquent speech in the Senate, which has not '"made any impression on them, . . . *and to war they will go.*"'

That such movements of mind, however indicative of genius, are yet unhealthy if indulged habitually, encouraged artificially, or left unbalanced by opposite habits, can hardly be doubted. Except in the highest moments of creative energy, the mind should never lose sight of the distinctness of its own conceptions from the phenomena of the outward world. It is this self-pos-

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session — a thing wholly distinct from a morbid self-consciousness — which chiefly separates inspiration from mere enthusiasm. Who can read Shakespeare or Dante, the greatest masters of the world of vision (though the former was stronger yet in a more terrestrial sphere), without perceiving that they ever continue lords over themselves, and that the Spirits whom they summon go and come alike at their command? The keener a poet's intuition of the ideal the more does he require a corresponding urgency in his sense of the real. The knowledge of *what is* and of what *ought to be* are the two opposed wings upon which the poetic mind rises; and the breadth of pinion at each side must be equal if the flight is to be sustained. This is one reason that mere Veracity, as distinguished from philosophical Truth, though it often appears but a condescension to unimportant fact, occupies, notwithstanding, so high a place in the world of Art. The effort to attain it is a perpetual discipline of humility, of attention, of regard for others, and of self-command; and the exercise of it not only stamps upon works of genius that 'note' of *authenticity*, required most by the most unfamiliar themes, but also removes from them the innumerable aberrations or weaknesses which may often be ultimately traced to some moral defect, such as vanity, unsteadiness, or want of a decisive aim. Severity, indeed, is a characteristic of all genuine Art; for while beauty is ever its object, purity is the inseparable condition of its intellectual fruitions. Self-indulgence, therefore, must in all its forms be hostile to the consolidation of the poetic faculty; nor is the Syren more seductive in any other form than that of abstraction which subsides into day-dream, and imagination which feeds ever on its own stores. It is not a predominance of intellect, but a deficiency of will, which banishes us from the world of reality, and converts into a gilded prison the palace-halls of the imagination.

The influence of an education, which, though it included so much of an elevating nature, was yet on the whole one of development, rather than of discipline, was not calculated to supply the deficiencies of a nature rich in resources, but poor in the power of turning them to account; and a childhood and boyhood, 'not only simple, tender-hearted and affectionate, but 'truthful, dutiful, thoughtful, and religious, if not devout,' did not pass into early manhood without tokens of approaching danger. 'A certain infirmity of will, the specific evil of his 'life, had already shown itself. His sensibility was intense, 'and he had not wherewithal to control it. *He could not open a* '*letter without trembling.* He shrank from mental pain. He 'was beyond measure impatient of constraint. He was liable

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'to paroxysms of rage, often the disguise of pity, self-accusation, 'or other painful emotion — anger it could hardly be called — 'during which he bit his arm or finger violently. He yielded, 'as it were unconsciously, to slight temptations, slight in them-'selves, and slight to him, as if swayed by a mechanical impulse 'apart from his own volition. It looked like an organic defect '— a congenital imperfection.' Apparently he was not himself without forebodings. They are referred to in a letter from Mr. Chauncey Hare Townshend, who became acquainted with Hartley Coleridge during his college life, and mentions many interesting particulars connected with him. On one occasion, during a summer vacation which he passed at Greta Hall, he recited in Mr. Townshend's presence Wordsworth's poem, 'Re-'solution and Independence,' in which the poet, illustrating a mood of despondency, says —

'And fears and fancies thick upon me came;
Dim sadness and blind thoughts, I knew not, nor could name.'

'Hartley here stopped, and there was a pause of silence, broken by his saying, in somewhat of an altered and lower tone — "I cannot tell you how exactly this and other expressions in this grand poem of Wordsworth's hit my mood at certain times so exclusively as almost to render me unobservant of its corrective and higher tendencies. 'The fear that kills, and hope that is unwilling to be fed' — These I have known; I have even heard a voice, yes, not like a creation of the fancy, but an audible and sensuous voice, foreboding evil to me."'

His life at Oxford determined the character of his future career. Its miscarriage, as his brother touchingly remarks, 'deprived him of the residue of his years.' The difficulties with which his peculiar nature had to contend on that novel field cannot be better illustrated than by an extract from a letter to his brother, when all was over: —

'With few habits but those of negligence and self-indulgence, with principles honest indeed and charitable, but not ascetic, and *little applied to particulars*, with much vanity and much diffidence, a wish to conquer, neutralised by a fear of offending, with wavering hopes, uncertain spirits, and peculiar manners, I was sent among men, mostly irregular, and in some instances vicious. Left to myself to form my own course of studies, my own acquaintances, my own habits; to keep my own hours, and in a great measure to be master of my own time, few know how much I went through; how many shocks I received from within and without; how many doubts, temptations, half-formed ill resolutions passed through my mind. I saw human nature in a new point of view, and in some measure learned to judge of mankind by a new standard. I ceased to look for virtues which I no longer hoped to find, and set, perhaps, a disproportionate value

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on those which most frequently occurred. The uncertainty of my prospects cast a gloom on what was before me. . . . The complex effect of all this discontent and imprudence was, of course, self-reproach, inconsistency, quickly formed, and quickly broken resolutions, just enough caution to lose my reputation for frankness, increasing dread of my *consocii*, incapability of proceeding in any fixed plan, and an extreme carelessness whenever the painful restraint was removed.'

Notwithstanding the defects here so sternly commented on, Hartley Coleridge's Oxford life was far from being a blank; nor could he say with respect to it, 'I have lost the race I never 'ran.' He not only acquired great social celebrity from his wit and eloquence, but he read hard, and gained the expected prize. He obtained a fellowship at Oriel with high distinction, his superiority not admitting of a doubt. His brother thus continues the narrative: —

'A proud and happy day was it for me, and for us all, when these tidings reached us. Obviously unfit for the ordinary walks of professional life, he had earned for himself an honourable independence, and had found, as it seemed, a position in which he could exert his peculiar talents to advantage. But a sad reverse was at hand. . . . At the close of his probationary year he was judged to have forfeited his Oriel fellowship, on the ground, mainly, of intemperance. Great efforts were made to reverse the decision. . . . A life singularly blameless in all other respects, dispositions the most amiable, principles and intentions the most upright and honourable, might be pleaded as a counterpoise in the opposite scale. It was to no purpose. The sentence might be considered severe; it could not be said to be unjust; and alas! my poor brother did not take the only course which could have discredited the verdict of his judges. The infirmity which was thus heavily visited was not subsequently overcome.'

The rest of his life may be narrated in few words. He lived in London for about two years after leaving Oxford, and passed his time writing for various magazines, projecting graver works, cultivating friendly relations, and now and then embodying in verse the accidents of the moment. The three exquisite sonnets 'to a Friend,' with which his first volume commences, are a record of the joy with which he at this time met in London Robert Jameson, the early companion of his mountain wanderings. We can but find room for one of them: —

'When we were idlers with the loitering rills,
The need of human love we little noted:
Our love was nature; and the peace which floated
On the white mist, and dwelt among the hills,
To sweet accord subdued our wayward wills;

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One soul was ours, one mind, one heart devoted,
That wisely doating, asked not why it doated,
And ours the unknown joy that knowing kills.
But now I find how dear thou wert to me;
That man is more than half of nature's treasure,
Of that fair beauty which no eye can see,
Of that sweet music which no ear can measure;—
And now the streams may sing for others' pleasure,
The hills sleep on in their eternity.' (Vol. i. p. 5.)

To this period belongs the fragment of 'Prometheus,' left unfinished, and not completed afterwards, in part because the subject had in the mean time been appropriated by Shelley. It displays much beauty of thought and imagery, as well as much metrical facility; but if the subject was not too stern a one for the author, at least it was 'above the years which he then had.' The poem is not conceived with that simplicity and grandeur which the mighty myth required. The former quality, indeed, is wanting even in Shelley's splendid version of it; and whole pages of cloudy or of crude metaphysics perplex a poem which might have been rendered first-rate with little aid but that of a pair of scissors. Shelley, however, possessed all the high energy necessary, considering the model whom he emulated rather than imitated; and his work is sufficient to prove that he had strength to bend the bow of Ulysses, though not skill to send the arrow home to the classic mark. Between such a theme and the gentler genius of Hartley Coleridge, there was perhaps as little congeniality as between the suffering Titan and the chorus of Sylphs whom the northern poet sends to console him. The best part of the poem is the 'Conclusion,' a very noble hymn, in which the liberation of the earth is celebrated.

After leaving London he returned to Ambleside, and undertook the management of the school left vacant by the retirement of his old friend, Mr. Dawes. After four painful years of trial, this mode of life was given up. He had not expected much from it, and writes, 'I had a presentiment that it would never 'do, and therefore your commendations seemed like reproaches 'put out to interest. . . . . How could I endure to be among 'unruly boys from seven in the morning till eight or nine at 'night, to be responsible for actions which I could no more 'control than I could move a pyramid?' From Ambleside he removed to Grasmere, where, as usual, he 'won all hearts.' His exquisite appreciation of Nature, as well as the habitual poetry with which he extracted a moral meaning from her face and gestures (for to him Nature was a friend; and his days were spent, not in admiration of her only, but in converse with her,)

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are denoted by many a passage in his letters, not less poetical than his best poetry. He writes thus in July, 1830: —

'And now the day of rest draws to a close. The weather has kept the Sabbath. The morning was the very perfection of stillness. No gay sunshine, no clamorous wind, no drudging rain; the sky wore one grey sober veil, and the mist hung upon the hills as if it paused on its journey; the vapours were gathered up; no light detachments foraged along the mountain sides, to catch the flying sunbeams; but the thick masses formed an even line, like an army drawn up for a decisive engagement, and only halting till the truce of God was past; they divided the mountains as it were in half, concealing the higher moiety, and leaving the lower bulk distinct in dark, damp, solemn visibility. The vale was clad in deepest green, and fancifully resembled the face of one that is calm and patient after long weeping. The few patches of hay, gathered into round cocks, appeared to solicit the prayers of the congregation. All was quiet, pensive, not sad; only the young damsels in their fresh and fragrant garments (such, I mean, as did not think it necessary to look like death, because a man whom they cared nothing about was gone, let us hope, to heaven) tripping along the fields and green lanes, and picking their way in moist high roads, glanced by like living sunbeams, and made their bright blue and pink ribbons dance like things of life.'

And again: —

'The rain has fallen like a blessing on herb, and tree, and flower. The fields, the hills, the lake, so fickle yet so constant in its commingling transitions from light to shade, were possessed in the unity of peaceful gladness, now rejoicing in the soft yellow sunbeams, now pensive not sad, as the clouds floated leisurely along the sky. The birds who love in their seasons, and know not the collapse of despair, nor the fighting chaos of jealousy, nor the shame, the uneasy silence, the self-condemned yet cherished longing of forbidden hope, sang as if there were no evil on earth.' (Vol. i. p. 170.)

In the year 1832 he removed to Leeds, having contracted an engagement with a young publisher resident there, Mr. Bingley, to furnish materials for a volume of poetry and another of prose. To this arrangement we owe the first series of his poems, and also his 'Worthies of Yorkshire and Lancashire.' The latter work, consisting of thirteen lives, and filling a large octavo volume of 632 pages, came out originally in numbers, and having been completed in about a year, indicates on the part of its author no small power of continuous application under favourable circumstances. It is written with much vigour and eloquence, abounding in picturesque descriptions of events, as well as a dramatic delineation of character, and is enriched with many acute remarks and original trains of thought. During the course of the next year Mr. Bingley unfortunately became a bankrupt,

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and the engagement was broken off. In the year 1834 Hartley lost his father. The following extract from a letter, written on that occasion, shows how keenly he felt the wound, and how deep a seat the affections occupied in his heart: —

'It was his wish that he might so meet death as to testify the depth and sincerity of his faith in Jesus. And was he not, while life and breath were granted him, a powerful preacher of Jesus? For myself I can speak that he, he only, made me a Christian. What with my irregular passions, and my intellect — powerful perhaps in parts, but ever like "a crazy old church clock with its bewildered "chimes"—what, but for him, I might have been I tremble to think. But I never forgot him. No, Derwent, I have forgot myself too often, but I never forgot my father. And now if his beatified spirit be permitted to peruse the day-book of the recording angel, to contemplate the memory of God which forgets nothing, in which the very abortions of time, the thoughts which we think we never thought, the meanings which we never meant to mean, live everlastingly; if he may look in that book, or rather, if an intimate knowledge of its contents be consubstantiated with the essence of his beatitude, then will he know that among my many sins it was not one that I loved him not; and wherever the final bolt of judgment may drive me, it will not be into the frozen regions of sons that loved not their fathers.' (Vol. i. p. 111.)

That reverential, and even remorseful, tenderness of affection which constituted so important an element in Hartley Coleridge's character is beautifully revealed in the following sonnet also: —

'Oh! my dear mother, art thou still awake?
Or art thou sleeping on thy Maker's arm, —
Waiting in slumber for the shrill alarm
Ordained to give the world its final shake?
Art thou with "interlunar night" opaque
Clad like a worm while waiting for its wings;
Or doth the shadow of departed things
Dwell on thy soul as on a breezeless lake?
Oh! would that I could see thee in thy heaven
For one brief hour, and know I was forgiven
For all the pain, and doubt, and rankling shame
Which I have caused to make thee weep or sigh.
Bootless the wish! for where thou art on high,
Sin casts no shadow, sorrow hath no name.' (1845.)

The latter years of his life glided away almost without incident. They were spent in the 'Nab Cottage,' on the banks of Rydal Water; the lake, with its two woody islands, lying before his windows, at a stone's throw from the door. In this humble abode he mused, meditated, studied, filled with marginal anno-

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tations many volumes of old divinity and philosophy, as well as many of a lighter sort, recorded his thoughts in countless note-books, and widened every day the foundations of a structure never, alas! to be raised, or never at least to be presented to mortal eye. The end came suddenly, as night in a tropical region. His health had usually been strong: but a sudden fit of bronchitis was sufficient to 'slit the thin-spun life.' On the 26th of December, 1848, his brother was summoned to his bed-side; on the 6th of January, 1849, he was taken to his rest. He suffered with the utmost humility, devotion, and patience; passed his time in religious exercises; and received the Holy Communion in the society of a friend, 'whose 'participation he desired on this occasion,' associating, as was his wont, human and divine love. He was lamented by young and old; for his removal was felt to be a deprivation not easily to be replaced by those many 'friends to whom his visits, 'his conversations, his playful wit, his simple and affectionate 'confidingness, — nay, his very foibles and eccentricities, his 'need of guidance and protection, — had become a refreshment 'and a stimulus,' and among whom, 'not merely the kindly 'affections were drawn out in a peculiar manner, but a love of 'goodness, purity, and truth was fostered by his society.'

Among the many who mourned for him was one whose heart was heavy with a nearer loss. The aged friend who forty-five years before had predicted the future fortunes of the fairy child, survived to look upon his grave.

'The day following he walked over with me to Grasmere, to the churchyard, a plain enclosure of the olden time, surrounding the old village church, in which lay the remains of his wife's sister, his nephew, and his beloved daughter. Here, having desired the sexton to measure out the ground for his own and for Mrs. Wordsworth's grave, he bade him measure out the space for a third grave for my brother. "When I lifted up my eyes from my daughter's grave," he exclaimed, "he was standing there." . . . Then turning to the sexton, he said, "Keep the ground for us, we are old people, and it "cannot be for long." . . . In little more than a twelve month his venerable and venerated friend was brought to occupy his own grave.' (Vol. i. p. 186.)

The fates that attended Hartley Coleridge through life ruled also at his death. He had ever been the sport of Fortune; but Fortune seemed ever repenting her hardness to him. Whenever he tripped it was among friends, not 'among thieves,' that he fell. As often as he went astray, the 'spirit in his 'feet' led him into some kindly place of refuge. The error 'of his way' left comparatively little stain upon a spirit which

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repelled evil as the feathers of a bird shake off rain. The less care he took of himself the more care was taken of him by those, who had humility enough to suspect that their own failings were not less grievous because they were of a nature less likely to bring their punishment with them, and perhaps more likely to cherish self-love and add to worldly wealth. If his foibles cheated his genius of half its reward, his meekness made him feel that 'Best are they paid whose earthly wage is nought.' His death, like his life, was an evil conquered by good. Falling upon him as it were accidentally, it seems not more suddenly to have brought to nought his intellectual designs than it brought to bear the fruits of the spirit. It was also attended by the external consolations, which neither high station nor intellectual prosperity can command. Among the anecdotes of statesmen few are more interesting than that which records the death of Pitt. The hand, which had so long sustained the sceptre of his country, found no hand to clasp it in death. By friends and by servants he was alike deserted; and a stranger wandering on from room to room of a deserted house, came at last by chance to a chamber, untended but not unquiet, in which the great minister lay, alone and dead. It was otherwise with the 'luck-'less,' but well-loved, man of genius. For miles round in the valleys, as he lay dying, there was not one who had not time to think of him. Four physicians sat round a poor man's bed; and strangers contended with kinsfolk for the privilege of nursing him.

The reference to Hartley Coleridge's life which we have made above constitutes in itself the best comment on his works. We shall endeavour to follow it up by extracts from his poems, which, if not always selected from the best among them, are yet calculated to illustrate the compass and variety of his powers. His poetry had very different characteristics at different periods of its author's life. In the earlier poems the imagination holds, relatively, at least, if not absolutely, the larger place; and combines with a pervading sense of beauty to build up an intellectual and ideal sphere analogous to the visionary world in which so much of the Poet's childhood was passed. In that fine region thoughts, sometimes of great loveliness, and as often marked by a lucid brilliancy, float about, self-supported, like birds of Paradise, and seem to find a natural element. The following sonnet may serve as a specimen of the class.

'What was't awakened first the untried ear
Of that sole man who was all human kind?
Was it the glad welcome of the wind,
Stirring the leaves that never yet were sere?

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The four mellifluous streams which flow'd so near,
Their lulling murmurs all in one combined?
The note of bird unnamed? The startled hind
Bursting the brake in wonder, not in fear,
Of her new lord? Or did the holy ground
Send forth mysterious melody to greet
The gracious pressure of immaculate feet?
Did viewless seraphs rustle all around,
Making sweet music out of air as sweet?
Or his own voice awake him with its sound?'

(Vol. i. p. 9.)

The following illustrates a graver mood:—

'If I have sinned in act, I may repent:
If I have erred in thought, I may disclaim
My silent error, and yet feel no shame;
But if my soul, big with an ill intent,
Guilty in will, by fate be innocent,
Or being bad, yet murmurs at the curse
And incapacity of being worse,
That makes my hungry passion still keep Lent
In keen expectance of a Carnival;
Where in all worlds that round the sun revolve
And shed their influence on this passive ball,
Abides a power that can my soul absolve?
Could any sin survive, and be forgiven —
One sinful wish would make a hell of heaven.'

(Vol. i. p. 31.)

Hartley Coleridge's sonnets possess a charm almost peculiar to themselves, even in an age which has abounded in that form of composition. Perhaps no species of short poem admits of so much variety in its degrees of merit. Many of our most popular poets, such as Byron, Shelley, and Southey, have attempted it with little success. In a weak or unskilful hand it becomes at once the most relaxed and the most constrained species of poetry, a single trivial thought being miserably stretched out and nailed down over a gaping framework of fourteen lines. Nor does a merely artificial condensation mend the matter. It is not difficult to force a number of thoughts into a narrow compass; but if these thoughts chance to be heterogeneous, and if their connexion be arbitrary, they will not stand on better terms by reason of the forced proximity. It is not the 'multa,' but the 'multum' of thought that constitutes the intellectual worth of a sonnet. Many of the best sonnets of Milton and Wordsworth contain little more than the expression of a single thought; but that thought is one in which a profound principle is seminally involved; so that in its simple

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enunciation is to be found the core of a moral essay, the heart of a philosophical treatise. Such a thought can never belong exclusively to the logical department of the intellect. Proceeding from the soul, and not from the mind only, it necessarily involves moral sentiment also; and the imaginative embodiment in which it expresses itself is no artificial adornment, but is a clothing consubstantial with its essence. The unity which characterises a good sonnet imparts to it a majesty and might which even the noblest thoughts cannot possess if allowed, as in philosophical poetry they generally are, to run into a series, and thus to become merged in each other, as parts subordinated to a whole. A true sonnet is a complete whole. It hangs self-balanced on its centre, and, for a thoughtful reader, turns forth perpetually a new face to the light of truth. It issues from the contemplative even more than from the meditative order of mind, implying a power among the rarest and most arduous — that of resting upon a single idea, and viewing it in all its aspects, rather than that of using it as a stepping-stone to other ideas. It requires not less a 'shaping' mind, needing, as it does, in the highest degree, that *form*, without which poetic thought has neither consistence nor permanence; and it is no doubt the more seldom successfully produced, because the contemplative faculty and the shaping art but seldom exist together. There are, however, two very different species of sonnet. The philosophical, of which we have been speaking, dates chiefly from Milton, and, in the main, belongs to our northern region. The South had long before produced a form of the sonnet less grave, authoritative, and dogmatic, but exquisite from the equipoise of tender sentiment with a graceful imagination, and from a diction refined at once and concise. Examples of both sorts may be found in the volumes before us; but to the latter, perhaps, the most perfect belong. Many of them possess a certain indescribable sweetness (a quality wholly distinct from softness), which reminds us more of the Elizabethan poetry than of those modern writers whose attempts at tenderness result commonly but in effeminacy. In this respect they resemble the best among old Daniel's Sonnets, but Shakspeare's yet more, from their union of pathos with imaginative subtlety. Like Shakspeare's, too, they are at once steeped in personal interest, and free from all offensive egotism. To write of oneself does not necessarily imply egotism. There is nothing in which man differs more from man than in the mode of handling that dangerous subject. There are poets whose writings indicate rather a human than an individual interest in themselves, as though self had been but the specimen in which

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they had found imaged the psychological history of their kind. In the works of others, and especially in the volumes now before us, self is presented in touches so delicate and forbearing, and in union with such a generous regard for others, as well as for abstract things, that self-pity seems but the sadness of one who can look down on himself with the same feelings which he would bestow on 'a horse over-driven,' or a wounded bird.

To the same department of his verse we may perhaps refer the following poem, in which aspiration is finely mingled with tenderness. It illustrates at once the spontaneous movement, and the artistic grace of his earlier poems; and the stanza, which we have not met with elsewhere, may be called a sort of lyrical sonnet, flowing forward with a 'swan-like grace,' and yet ever winding back into itself: —

'She was a queen of noble nature's crowning:
A smile of hers was like an act of grace;
She had no winsome looks, no pretty frowning,
Like daily beauties of the vulgar race:
But if she smiled, a light was on her face,
A clear cool kindliness, a lunar beam
Of peaceful radiance, silvering o'er the stream
Of human thought with unabiding glory;
Not quite a waking truth, not quite a dream,
A visitation bright and transitory.

'But she is changed, — hath felt the touch of sorrow;
No love hath she, no understanding friend;
Oh, grief! when heaven is forced of earth to borrow
What the poor niggard earth has not to lend:
But when the stalk is snapped, the rose must bend.
The tallest flower that skyward rears its head,
Grows from the common ground, and there must shed
Its delicate petals. Cruel fate, too surely;
That they should find so base a bridal bed,
Who lived in virgin pride, so sweetly and purely.

'She had a brother, and a tender father,
And she was loved, but not as others are
From whom we ask return of love, — but rather
As one might love a dream; a phantom fair
Of something exquisitely strange and rare,
Which all were glad to look on, men and maids,
Yet no one claim'd — as oft in dewy glades
The peering primrose, like a sudden gladness,
Gleams on the soul — yet unregarded, fades —
The joy is ours, but all its own the sadness.

''Tis vain to say her worst of grief is only
The common lot, which all the world have known:
To her 'tis more, because her heart is lonely,

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> And yet she hath no strength to stand alone.
> Once she had playmates, fancies of her own;
> And she did love them. They are past away
> As fairies vanish at the break of day—
> And like a spectre of an age departed,
> Or unsphered Angel woefully astray—
> She glides along—the solitary hearted.'
>
> (Vol. i. p. 44.)

A rich vein of fancy is among the characteristics of Hartley Coleridge's earlier poems. We may name the lines 'to the 'Nautilus,' and an 'Address to certain Gold Fishes,' as specimens. 'Leonard and Susan' belongs to that order of poetry of which the materials are supplied by reflection and human life. To this section—a very different one from that less substantial class in which his early poems may commonly be included—we should refer such pieces as the 'Sabbath Day's Child,' 'To my Unknown Sister-in-law,' 'New Year's Day,' 'Why 'is there War on Earth,' and the beautiful lines 'On the Death 'of Henry Nelson Coleridge,' with which, if our space permitted, we should adorn our pages. This is the section of the author's works which embodied his largest experience, and impregnated it with what was deepest and strongest in his individual character. His poetry has no higher merit than that of being true-hearted, and that is the truest portion of it which speaks to us most of the writer.

The same remark might be applied to most poets. Out of the heart we are told proceed the issues of life; and assuredly the personal being is not less the source, though often a secret source, by which the 'life poetic' is fed. Great thoughts, indeed the greatest, come from it. Literary and scientific works for the most part are produced by certain isolated faculties, working with a definite and restricted aim. Poetry, on the other hand, if it be genuine, flows from the whole being, not from a part of it, and makes report therefore of all that is deepest in the poet. The privilege of fiction permits him to speak the truth. His sympathies with others teach him to know himself; and, with the understanding that nothing which he says is to be interpreted literally, he 'whispers the secret among the reeds.' Even the poets who have prided themselves most on their imaginative superiority to the world of experience and realised feeling, and who have practised poetry most exclusively as an art, have not been able to maintain their boasted reserve; and in as many of their poems as have secured a place in the heart of others authentic traces are to be found of their own. In poetry a 'general confession' is made,—a confession not of facts, but of moods, of hopes and

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fears, of desires and recollections, and of aspirations which but went the further forward because the shaft missed the mark at which it was aimed. The public, indeed, would be but a rude confessor; but for the mere public little of real poetry has ever been written. A book has been well described as 'a letter 'to one's unknown friends.' The expression applies especially to a volume of poetry. True poetry is not an appeal to public admiration, but a voice from a lonely heart, issuing forth in the hope of wakening an echo in answering hearts, be they few or many. Fame, indeed, is also notoriously among the stimulants of poetic exertion; but then 'Fame is Love disguised:'—its appeal is to Posterity, whose award is made when praise is a flattery no more. That award, likewise, is the sentence of unimpassioned justice; and as such it is, perhaps, chiefly desired because it sanctions the sympathy already accorded by congenial minds, and stamps the seal of authenticity and sanity upon thoughts and feelings, dearer to the poet than any applause, but in which, if unconfirmed, he can himself hardly place an unwavering faith.

It is, we think, this personal interest which constitutes the chief charm of Hartley Coleridge's poems. Rich in imagination and intellect, their highest attraction yet lies in the genial temperament and kindly disposition which belong to them. Friendliness and goodwill look forth from them upon all things. We have already seen that, if his childhood was a dream, yet in his later life he was surrounded by all the social relations, and that he appreciated them. At every 'Statesman's' hearth he was a welcome guest. He watched their labours, enjoyed their sports, took his place at the wedding feast or the funeral, and pondered the dispensation of human life, in high or low degree, with a learned eye and understanding heart. And, as he felt he wrote; poetry was not with him an accomplishment cultivated in the spirit of a man of letters. Neither was it an ethical art embodying the speculations of an abstract intelligence. His Muse never lifted either the trumpet of the moral Prophet, or the lyre of the rapt and mystic Bard. She neither sent him with a commission of rebuke and exhortation, nor secluded him from the strife of tongues. She interpreted between him and his neighbours; she freshened and brightened the daily face of Nature; she sweetened the draught of an impoverished life, and made atonement to a defrauded heart. Hence the large proportion of his deepest poems, which were occasioned by domestic events, or the annals of the neighbourhood, — the elegiac verses on old or recent friends; the meditative strains connected with favourite haunts; the birthday and the bridal songs; the stanzas in which familiar incidents are moralised;

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children, whom he
apparently were
A chance
current of slowly

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All, to its little finger's tip,
Of Nature's choicest workmanship.
Their task, their fate, we hardly guess,—
But oh! may it be happiness!
Not always leisure, always play,
But worky-day and holy-day;
With holy Sabbath interspersed,
And not the busiest day the worst.
Not doom'd, with needle or with pen,
To drudge for o'er-exacting men,
Nor any way to toil for lucre
At frown of he or she rebuker;
But still affectionate and free
Their never weary housewifery.
Blest lot be thine, my nestling dove,
Never to work except in love;
And God protect thy little hand
From task imposed by unbeloved command!'

(Vol. ii. p. 128.)

The next poem which we shall extract, is in a very different vein; and if it, too, may in one sense be called 'occasional,' assuredly it is among the noblest of the class. In it one of those men, seldom granted to any age, and whom our own could ill afford to lose, receives a commemoration such as can be given to him neither by the sculptor's nor the painter's art. That a character like that of Dr. Arnold, one which, though abounding in the kindly affections, was yet especially marked by its massive simplicity, its masculine energy, and its ever militant sense of duty, should have attracted the reverence of a man so different, will be a matter of surprise to many. It was not, however, only in their love of wild flowers and hatred of oppression and fraud, that they found a common ground. They shared the same great Christian convictions, and built on them their hopes for the human race. The same Faith which ministered strength to the athlete cast upon the storms of active life, sustained the drooping spirits of the recluse. Hartley Coleridge's nature was also one which, alike from generosity of heart and versatility of mind, had a large power of appreciating the most opposite gifts. We have little doubt that he cordially admired many, who, in him, would have remarked little except his defects.

On the late Dr. Arnold.

'Spirit of the Dead!
Though the pure faith of Him that was on earth,
Thy subject and thy Lord, forbids a prayer—
Forbids me to invoke thee, as of yore

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Weak souls, that dared not meet their God alone,
Sought countenance and kind companionship
Of some particular saint, whose knees had grazed
The very rock on which they knelt; whose blood
Had made or sanctified the gushing well
Round which their fond, mistaken piety,
Had build a quaint confine of sculptured stone; —
Yet may I hope that wheresoe'er he is —
Beneath the altar, by the great white throne,
In Abraham's bosom, or amid the deep
Of Godhead, blended with eternal light,
One ray may reach him from the humble heart
That thanks our God for all that he has been.
What he is now we know not: he will be
A beautiful likeness of the God that gave
Him work to do, which he did do so well.
Whom Jesus loves to them he gives the grace
For Him to do and suffer *in* the world;
To suffer *for* the world was His alone.
But he in whom we joy'd — for whom we mourn —
Did he not suffer? Worldly men say, No!
Of ills which they call ill he had not many;
The poverty which makes the very poor
Begrudge a morsel to their very child,
Was never his; nor did he "pine in thought,"
Seeing the lady of his love possessed
By a much richer, and no better man.
To him the lady of his love was wed,
Soon as his manhood authorised a wife;
And though the mother of his many babes,
To him she still was young, and fair, and fresh,
As when the golden ring slipp'd from his hand
Upon her virgin finger.
Yet he suffer'd
Such pains and throes as only good men feel;
For he assumed the task to rear the boy,
The bold, proud boy, into a Christian man.
'Twas not with childhood that he had to do;
Its wayward moods, and ready penitence,
That still is prompt to kiss, if not the rod,
At least the hand that wields it; not to watch
Sweet instinct reaching after distant reason,
And mere affection train'd to duteous love,
(Though such the solace of his happy home,
Else how had he the hard behest endured?)
Nor was it all — oh, bliss! if it had been —
To teach the young capacious intellect
How beauteous Greece, — and Rome, the child foredoom'd
To catch the sceptre from its parent, — spake,
Fitting high thoughts with words, and words with deeds.

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'Twas his to struggle with that perilous age
Which claims for manhood's vice the privilege
Of boyhood; — when young Dionysus seems
All glorious as he burst upon the East
A jocund and a welcome conqueror;
And Aphrodite, sweet as from the sea
She rose and floated in her pearly shell,
A laughing girl; — when lawless will erects
Honour's gay temple on the mount of God,
And meek obedience bears the coward's brand;
While Satan, in celestial panoply,
With Sin, his lady, smiling by his side,
Defies all heaven to arms! 'Twas his to teach,
Day after day, from pulpit and from desk,
That the most childish sin which man can do
Is yet a sin which Jesus never did
When Jesus was a child, and yet a sin
For which, in lowly pain, He lived and died:
That for the bravest sin that e'er was praised
The King Eternal wore the crown of thorns.
In him was Jesus crucified again;
For every sin which he could not prevent
Stuck in him like a nail. His heart bled for it
As it had been a foul sin of his own.
Heavy his cross, and stoutly did he bear it
Even to the foot of holy Calvary;
And if at last he sunk beneath the weight,
There were not wanting souls whom he had taught
The way to Paradise, that, in white robes,
Throng'd to the gate to hail their shepherd home!'

The religious spirit which animates the lines we have extracted, is one of the chief elements in Hartley Coleridge's poetry. It is not obtrusively put forward, — never, indeed, polemically; and it seems to find expression only because it could not have been excluded. It is this circumstance which gives its peculiar value to the witness he has unconsciously borne. It was because he wrote as a Humanist that he so frequently, though unintentionally, retraces the lineaments of that Divine image after which Humanity was formed. That philosophy, or rather that retrocession from philosophy, which regards man but as the first of animals, is not confined to professed books of metaphysics. However latently it may exist, it is, in fact (a circumstance far too little reflected on) the informing principle of every work in literature or art, not elevated by the opposite principle. 'Only not all are materialists,' asserts a great philosopher. We will not dispute that 'only not all' tend that way, and in their lower moods, or the lower part of their nature,

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reach that end; but no one, we think, to whom Humanity is not as much a sealed book as Divinity,—no one who does not rest contented in a merely sensuous estimate of social relations and responsibilities, can be said to be a materialist, however his speculative opinions may err in that direction. In Hartley Coleridge's poetry, the whole scheme of human life is based upon a spiritual foundation; and every natural affection shines forth, relieved against a background of religious reverence. In it the future world supplies the clue to the labyrinth of the present, and strikes the key-note to all the harmonies of a lower sphere. The region in which his spirit moves, if bedewed abundantly with 'Nature's tears,' and haunted by the sighs of mournful retrospection, is yet ever sweetened by a genial atmosphere of faith and love. Amid many vicissitudes, that faith never failed,—lifting up its head through storm and shower, like the 'frail birth of warmth and light,' the autumnal anemony, ever shaken, but never deflowered, to which he compares it. (Vol. ii. p. 90.) That faith preserved from corruption his whole poetic world. To it he owed that moral orthodoxy which banished from his poetry the spirit of waywardness, and imparted to his estimate of life a uniformly healthy tone.

It is not sufficiently observed how much the excellence of the best poetry is a moral excellence. 'The beautiful is good; the 'good is true,' Hartley Coleridge tells us, and his poetry illustrates the canon: yet few perhaps have recognised the full degree in which Goodness is, in every Art, the soul of beauty and the seal of truth. For imagination, passion, and thought, no moral substitutes, indeed, can be found; but the degree in which these gifts discharge their special functions depends mainly upon their exercise being directed by a prevailing spirit of moral wisdom. The faculties which inspire poetry need themselves to be inspired by that 'higher mind' whose seat is in a wise and generous heart. Without such aid poetry may indeed snatch a temporary charm from Circe; but Nature, our common mother, frowns upon her delusions. The prophet does not differ more from the sorcerer than poetry founded on Nature's goodness and truth is raised above the very highest which has no deeper sanction than that of arbitrary thought and eccentric self-will. No poet is strong enough to stand by himself. It is not what he says, but what Nature says through him, which can endure; not his own thoughts, but the thoughts and experience of universal man, cast in the mould of an all-embracing and sincere imagination. With little of truth or wisdom a poet may indeed delight his own age, or a clique in it; since with its errors his own will so far correspond that he will be in some

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sort the expositor and interpreter of them: but his power is transient; for while truth is ever one, error is ever changing; and with later generations his peculiarities will be out of date.

That the poets whose works have become universal — that Homer and Shakspeare were wise and human-hearted men,—nay, that in mind and moral sense, if not in habitual conduct also, they were good men, we all feel to be true, though we cannot prove the fact. It is worth noticing, however, how many of a less exalted order have owed their estimation in a large measure to what may be called the moral sense of their poetry. What would Chaucer have been without that cordiality which imparts a frank kindliness to the ruder, and even to the coarser touches of his caustic humour? What would Spenser have been without that chivalrous ideal, both older and younger than the knight-errantry which furnished matter for his song, and that purity which cast no fabled light upon his fairy bowers? To descend lower, what would have been Cowper's rank in literature if his verse had not been as sane as its author was sometimes 'distraught in mind;' or that of Burns, if his appreciation of courage, patriotism, domestic virtue, and humble worth, had not exceeded tenfold the sensual and lawless elements in his poetry? It would be equally easy to point out recent poets whose reception with future times will not be in proportion to their estimation in that age which they flattered by kindred weaknesses or partaken errors, even while they denounced its institutions and warred on its conventions. As easy would it be to show how far the difference between what they did and what they might have done, is attributable to a waywardness which preferred originality in error before a truth held in common with the many, to a vanity which turned away from the universal heritage in order to make idols of special acquisitions or individual gifts, and to an egotism which interposed the image of self between the poet and the face of earth and heaven. Nor would it be difficult to point out other poets of the same era, belonging to the catholic, not the sectarian, schools of poetry, who with very various degrees of power, have yet used it aright, and reaped their reward: poets who would scarcely have been good writers if they had not been good men, but who understood the greatness of their vocation, and preserved such a loyal reverence for truth and virtue, that they maintained, at least, the balance of the soul, and suffered not their infirmities to suppress their aspirations, to ascend into the region of their moral mind, and to usurp their functions of poetic power. The result is, that their works contain more than their authors consciously put into them; and

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that for no small period they will delight and elevate their readers, because, however contracted may be the mirrors which they hold up to Nature and to Man, they are capable of casting at least an undistorted reflection.

But to return. Descriptive power is eminently among the merits of the poems before us. In illustration, we may point the reader's attention to the sonnets beginning 'The mellow 'year is hastening to its close,' 'New Year's Day,' 'May, 1832,' 'Summer Rain' and many more. Still more remarkably do they exhibit the faculty for critical disquisition. Criticism, indeed, is seldom looked for in poetry; nor has the attempt often proved successful, from the time of Pope's Essay on Criticism to our own days. It belongs to the class of didactic poetry; and assuredly although to instruct as well as to delight is the indirect office, if not the immediate aim, of every art, the method by which poetry teaches is far removed from the scientific. A long didactic poem in general demonstrates itself very soon to be but prose; yet if the experiment be not extended too far, there is no reason why criticism in verse should not be as sagacious as it may be made poignant and pithy. Hartley Coleridge's union of exact thought with a brilliant wit, qualified him admirably for the task; and many a critical essay may be found condensed in his 'Sketches of English Poets.' They consist of lines written in blank leaves of his copy of 'Anderson's British Poets.' Unfortunately the volume containing his sketch of Pope has been lost; and still more unluckily, not a few of those which remain are comments on certain magnates of their day, with whom this day will have no concern, though a poetical Aristotle were to illustrate them. Among the most felicitous of these descriptions are the sketches of Chaucer, Shakspeare, Daniel, Dryden, and Donne. The last may serve as a specimen: —

'Brief was the reign of pure poetic truth.
A race of thinkers next, with rhymes uncouth,
And fancies fashion'd in laborious brains,
Made verses heavy as o'er-loaded wains.
Love was their theme; but love that dwelt in stones,
Or charm'd the stars in their concentric zones;
Love that did first the nuptial bond conclude
'Twixt immaterial form and matter rude;
Love that was riddled, sphered, transacted, spelt,
Sublimed, projected, every thing but felt.
Or if in age, in orders, or the cholic,
They damn'd all loving as a heathen frolic;
They changed their topic, but in style the same,
Adored their Maker as they would their dame.
Thus *Donne*, not first, but greatest of the line,

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Of stubborn thoughts a garland thought to twine;
To his fair maid brought cabalistic posies,
And sung quaint ditties of metempsychosis;
Twists iron pokers into true love-knots,
Coining hard words, not found in polyglots.'
(Vol. ii. p. 321.)

Many of the best poems in these volumes indicate, in a striking manner, that peculiar temperament of which it has been remarked that 'a humorous sadness, and a humorous 'mirth, are but its opposite poles.' Habits of seclusion, concurring with a pliant imagination, a nervous constitution, and a leisure which yet could never be idle, had developed in their author nearly all the 'humours' which belong to, and sometimes overlay, the poetical character. They are among the qualities which flavour his poetry most richly, whether the predominating mood be pensive or joyous, fitful or grave, that of an anxious foresight, or a half-sportive pathos. The tenderer moods have left behind the choicest fruits. Among them are to be found many love-poems, which, if not coloured with the deeper and darker hues of passion, have yet detained the fleeting lights of a most affectionate fancy. Those lights might sometimes be called lunar gleams; but they are the moonlight of a warm climate. To this class we would refer the stanzas, 'To Somebody,' the sonnets beginning 'I loved thee once,' 'Is 'love a fancy or a feeling?' 'Inania Munera,' 'I saw thee in 'the beauty of thy spring,' &c. &c.

Another and a larger class in this collection may be described as philosophical poetry. Its originality and force are well set forth by a diction which, at all times manly and correct, could be exquisite when it pleased, and yet could, on occasions, drop upon the plainness of a child's speech. His later poetry belongs very frequently to this species; nor can we sufficiently regret that the specimens presented to us had not always the benefit of the author's corrections. How much poetry, especially that of a high intellectual order, gains from the author's last corrections we need hardly observe: polished steel does not differ more from the rough metal than the last copy of a poem frequently differs from the first. Hartley Coleridge's works were frequently both conceived and struck off with extraordinary rapidity—a circumstance owing as well to an acquired tact as to that spontaneity which characterised his genius: but the best of them were also elaborated with all needful care, a care, perhaps, most felt by the reader when least seen. The meditative poetry of the last half century, if not its best, is probably that which best expresses the spirit of the age. Among its highest efforts

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may be named not a few poems in these volumes, such as the sonnets beginning, 'Pains I have known that cannot be again,' 'What is the meaning of the word "sublime?"' 'From infancy 'to retrospective old,' 'When I survey the long and deep and 'wide,' 'Accuse not gracious Nature of neglect.' This sonnet on 'Freedom' will not, we fear, give satisfaction to the Chartists: —

'Say, what is Freedom? What the life of souls
Which all who know are bound to keep, or die,
And who knows not is dead? In vain we pry
In the dark archives and tenacious scrolls
Of written law, though Time embrace the rolls
In his lank arms, and shed his yellow light
On every barbarous word. Eternal Right
Works its own way, and evermore controls
Its own free essence. Liberty is Duty,
Not License. Every pulse that beats
At the glad summons of imperious beauty
Obeys a law. The very cloud that fleets
Along the dead green surface of the hill
Is ruled and scatter'd by a Godlike will.' (Vol. ii. p. 50.)

The following, which traces one of our vaguest instincts to its seat in the Conscience, is a specimen of its author's psychological, as our former extract is of his political philosophy: —

FEAR.

'Dim child of darkness and faint-echoing space,
That still art just behind, and never here,
Death's herald shadow, unimagined Fear;
Thou antic, that dost multiply a face,
Which hath no self, but finds in every place
A body, feature, voice, and circumstance;
Yet art most potent in the wide expanse
Of unbelief, — may I beseech thy grace?
Thou art a spirit of no certain clan,
For thou wilt fight for either God or Devil.
Man is thy slave, and yet thy lord is man;
The human heart creates thee good or evil:
As goblin, ghost, or fiend, I ne'er have known thee;
But as myself, my sinful self, I own thee.'

(Vol. ii. p. 54.)

With the meditative poems may be classed a series with which the collection closes, consisting of pieces on theological subjects. The tone of these poems is serious, earnest, and devout, rather than impassioned. They are very unequal in merit. A few of them, which are doubtless to be regarded but as links in an incomplete series, seem to us but colder versions of narratives

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more poetic in the prose of Holy Scripture; others (those probably which suggested the scheme) embody a genuine vision of some historic fact, or present to us a profound sentiment with the softness at once and the vividness of poetry. They frequently express subtle as well as pregnant truths in singularly condensed language, as in the following lines on Faith: —

'Think not the faith by which the just shall live
Is a dead creed — a map correct of heaven;
Far less a feeling fond and fugitive,
A thoughtless gift withdrawn as soon as given.
It is an affirmation and an act
That bids eternal truth be present fact.'

There is much significance also in a sonnet entitled 'Faith 'how guarded': —

'Yes, thou dost well to build a fence about
Thine inward faith, and mount a stalwart guard
Of answers, to oppose invading doubt.
All aids are needful, for the strife is hard;
But still be sure the truth within to cherish —
Truths long besieged too oft of hunger perish.'

The Bible is the source in which he seeks objects for Faith. For the deficiencies of a written document, the record of the past, our poet seeks a supplement in the 'living voice' of Nature: —

'The word were but a blank, a hollow sound,
If He that spake it were not speaking still,—
If all the light and all the shade around
Were aught but issues of Almighty will.

'Sweet girl, believe that every bird that sings,
And every flower that stars the elastic sod,
And every thought the happy summer brings
To thy pure spirit, is a word of God.'

An interesting portion of these poems might, in these days of illustrated books, be called 'illustrations of the Bible,' picturing forth, as they do, some scene from the Old or New Testament, and closing with a line or two that points the moral. They will remind the reader occasionally of old Drummond of Hauthornden, and certainly are not inferior to the best sonnets in his 'Flowers of Sion.' We refer especially to 'Enock,' 'Hagar,' and 'Moses,' which last we shall quote.

'She left her babe, and went away to weep,
And listen'd oft to hear if he did cry;
But the great river sung his lullaby,
And unseen angels fann'd his balmy sleep.
And yet his innocence itself might keep;

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The sacred silence of his slumbrous smile
Makes peace in all the monster-breeding Nile;
For God even now is moving in the sweep
Of mighty waters. Little dreams the maid,
The royal maid, that comes to woo the wave
With her smooth limbs beneath the trembling shade
Of silver-chaliced lotus, what a child
Her freak of pity is ordain'd to save!
How terrible the thing that looks so mild.'

(Vol. ii. p. 349.)

With the following we must conclude our extracts: —

'MULTUM DILEXIT.'

'She sat and wept beside His feet; the weight
Of sin oppress'd her heart; for all the blame,
And the poor malice of the worldly shame,
To her was past, extinct, and out of date.
Only the *sin* remain'd, — the leprous state: —
She would be melted by the heat of love,
By fires far fiercer than are blown to prove
And purge the silver ore adulterate.
She sat and wept, and with her untress'd hair
Still wiped the feet she was so blest to touch;
And He wiped off the soiling of despair
From her sweet soul, because she loved so much.
I am a sinner, full of doubts and fears,
Make me a humble thing of love and tears.'

(Vol. ii. p. 387.)

The characteristics of Hartley Coleridge's poetry will have been better set forth by the specimens which we have given of its different classes than by any elaborate analysis. That it is true poetry the most careless reader cannot doubt. Its predominant spirit, especially in his later works, is that of a meditative humanity, which marks him on the whole as a pupil in the Wordsworthian school, notwithstanding a buoyancy and sweetness which often remind us of his father's most felicitous, if not his most elevated, vein. The temperament of his poetry, sanguine, pleasurable, and fitful, resembles also that of the elder Coleridge; while in his sonnets he attained an artistic perfection of form never reached by the other. In passion he was inferior to both the poets named; its place being supplied by a fancy which sometimes strayed in the direction of prettinesses, if not of conceits, but more often enlivened his verse with a poignant wit, and gave a sharper edge, and more brilliant relief, to weighty thought. Had he written at an earlier period, future critics could not fail to assign to his genius a place yet higher than will now perhaps be awarded to it; for in that case his

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originality would have been as unquestioned as the freshness, sweetness, and truthfulness of his verse. Poetry, however, no doubt borrows from itself as well as from human life; which is one reason for the copiousness with which, after a long frost, its fountains gush forth at particular periods. Poets learn to sing as children learn to speak, in part by imitation: the imitative power will be liveliest where the apprehensive faculty is most alert, and the sympathies are strongest; and assuredly Hartley Coleridge's nature must have been more sluggish than it was, if he had not caught some part of his inspiration from that which floated in the air he daily breathed.

This consideration is in itself some answer to the question,—why, with powers so various and well trained, and with ample leisure, he did not execute a work of a larger and more important order? Other explanations might also be offered, founded on the peculiarities of his intellect and moral being. His biographer suggests that there 'was some faculty wanting 'in his mind, necessary for the completion of any great 'whole.' The deficiency, he seems to think, lay in the power to systematise. The elder Coleridge, he remarks, could methodise the most magnificent scheme in imagination, and by an intuitive discernment of its central idea; but yet could seldom persuade his thoughts to 'arrange themselves within 'artificial limits,'—'the centrifugal and centripetal forces of his 'mind were well balanced; but the foci of his thought were so 'distant that their orbit became practically unlimited, though 'each portion contained the law of its return, and the prophecy 'of its completion. No such power was ever exhibited by his 'son; he does not appear ever to have realised even the con-'ception of any great whole.' Such a want of completeness in conception would imply a defect of the creative faculty likewise, since the imagination can only create what it has previously conceived, and in its conception the idea of the complete work must be, at least germinally, contained. A plastic imagination is, indeed, very different from a creative energy; and in Hartley Coleridge it was more predominant. Yet on the other hand, no intellectual deficiency need be supposed in order to account for a discrepancy between what his poetry was and what it might have been. We have already remarked how much that poetry owed to the large and generous moral disposition of which it is the expression. The lesson would be incomplete if we did not admit that it lost proportionably from the defect of strength in his moral character. We may often indulge in the stronger vices with apparent impunity; but for every weakness Nature extorts a forfeit; and the penance which she most often

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imposes is one which illudes observation—she denies us the power of fully exerting our powers. In art, as in life, a governing will must marshall all the powers. Self-control is the 'leathern girdle' which, seeming but to restrain, braces the adventurous artist for his ascent up the mountain side. He must be equally prompt to act and patient to wait. His courage must not be impulsive only, nor must his prudence degenerate into caution. His sympathies must advance uncheered by vanity, and unchecked by repulse. His studies must be deliberate acts, converging towards a definite end, not merely an indulgence of curiosity or an escape from the cares of life. If he would be Nature's priest, offering her sacrifice, he needs somewhat of ascetic discipline and renunciation; remembering that though genius must ever be, in some measure, indebted to the mere temperament of genius, it yet should not draw too largely for nourishment upon its meaner part. If he would be Nature's missionary, preaching her faith, he must dare great things: he must not cling to creeks and neighbouring coasts, trafficking but with the products of daily experience, and the spoils of chance encounters: he must push forth boldly, and tempt the deep.

How far, it may be asked, did the circumstances of Hartley Coleridge's life interfere with the largest exercise of his poetic powers? Their influence, we should say, must have been adverse, so far as they deprived him of that masculine invigoration which is often produced by the friendly oppugnancy of pursuits independent of inclination. He would have doubtless been a greater poet if he had been less exclusively a poet: for the stronger, and therefore the loftier the stem, the higher will its blossom and fruitage wave in the air. It is obvious, however, that avocations so utterly at variance with his whole nature as the management of a school must have tended rather to paralyse than to discipline his powers. Literary success might have stimulated his mind to more of continuous exertion; yet on this subject no general rule can be laid down. A mixture of prosperity and adversity seems as necessary for our moral culture as an alternation of sunshine and rain is for vegetable growth: but whether genius be developed most by the bright or the dark ministration depends mainly on the temperament with which it is associated. Melancholy and saturnine natures, especially if they be also proud and irascible, are often provoked to higher exertion by what they regard as neglect or injustice; and under such a stimulus become conscious of powers which, till precipitated into action, were locked up in reserve. Tenderer temperaments, on the other hand, require applause to enable them to shake off their diffidence. Sympathy is the

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air they breathe; and if they find it not for their intellectual creations, rather than labour without its cheering influence, their genius spends itself upon those associations and pursuits in which sympathy may always be bestowed and occasionally received. 'Necessity,' we are told, 'always affected Hartley 'Coleridge with the touch of a torpedo.' This is commonly the case where the active powers, however large in themselves, are not in proportion to the sensibilities, or where the moral sensibilities are encompassed and embarrassed by a throng of nervous sensibilities. Hope is the conducting spirit of such a character, which finds it easier to advance than to stand; and to natures so constituted success is but a minister of Hope.

Such support Hartley Coleridge needed in an especial degree. The humility which is impressed upon all his poems, and the spirit of compunction which stamps upon the best among them their peculiar character, at once searching and subduing, were probably not favourable to those habits of mind which engage men in large enterprises. For the poet, however, as for the man, good and ill fortune were so blended that it is often hard to know them apart. He had a high training as well as a high gift, the helps as well as the hindrances of a poetic age, the benefits, as well as the disadvantages, which proceed from the absence of contemporary fame; he had nature, books, friends, and leisure. A man with these advantages, and fifty-two years of life, may generally be considered to have put forth what was in him and was accessible. So large a bequest as he has left us is seldom so unalloyed a one. A noble moral spirit will long continue to be diffused from his poetry: a moral lesson not less deep is to be found in that poetry taken in connexion with his life. In our remarks on the latter we have but glanced at principles of large and general concern, enforced by himself in many a poem rich in 'heart wisdom,' and strong to diffuse it. Our imperfect sketch can easily be filled up for himself by any reader who is able to afford to so large a storehouse of genuine poetry the time that it deserves. In Hartley Coleridge's 'Essays and 'Marginalia,' he will find all the additional notes necessary for the study of their author's genius, as well as a varied range of discriminative criticism and discursive thought. We regret that our present limits compel us thus briefly to refer to them.

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ART. IV. — *Return of the Number and Nature of the Accidents and the Injuries to Life and Limb which have occurred on the Railways in Great Britain and Ireland, from the 1st of July to the 31st of December, 1850, together with the Number of Passengers conveyed during that Period.* Ordered to be printed 7th May, 1851.

EXEMPTION from fatal accidents, as well as from many minor calamities that flesh is heir to, has long been popularly counted among the blessings of pastoral simplicity. But the probability of any such exemption is questioned by the sceptical: and Arcadia keeps no statistics. This is a controversy, which may well wait. Not so the question, how far we can exempt the denizens of the artificially crowded and restless world in which we live, from any considerable proportion of these evils. Since it is clear that, — whether or not it would be abstractly better to go backward, — onward is the direction in which the world is going and must go; and that the crowding, the restlessness, the untiring energy of exertion, and the marvellous fertility of invention which characterise our own days, will only be enlarged in those of our descendants. At the very outset of any inquiries bearing on such a subject, it is a pleasant thing to remember that science has ever hitherto been able to control its strength to good purposes; and that the motive powers which have possessed the most terrible force, have been under the most absolute discipline and restraint; that, for instance, when the murderer has fled from his victim on the wings of steam, science has overtaken him by a still speedier messenger, and has ranged the officers of justice at the termination of his flight, standing there calm, instructed, and collected, ready to examine his bloody hands, a hundred miles from the place of crime.

Among the various tests of the efficacy with which human institutions fulfil their social office, surely none can be so sensitive as the average vitality of the community. Whenever anything in them is wrong, if it be wrong on a considerable scale, it must tend to add, with more or less remoteness, to the insecurity of human life. The promotion of all such worthy inducements to exertion as excite without exhausting the physical and mental energies, — the regulated liberty which protects without invading, — the high-toned social atmosphere in which depravity cannot live, — the external tranquillity which exempts the body from violence, and relieves the mind from anxiety, —

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the well-regulated monetary or commercial arrangements which save the public from fluctuations and convulsions, — the careful removal of external noxious agencies; — all these are more or less the creatures of legislation, and have an influence on vitality, in so much that where they are materially deficient, — where men are tyrannical, greedy, dishonest, reckless of the safety of their fellow-men and of their own, where they wallow in moral and physical impurity, and oscillate between abject poverty and uncertain riches, — we may be assured that the traces of these malign influences, if they possess any such record, will be palpably marked in their tables of mortality.

The statistics of most subjects often present a startling appearance to those who have already arrived on them at independent conclusions of their own. There are few who would be fortunate enough to approach by guess-work to the exact number of deaths caused by violent accidents in the United Kingdom. Some would enumerate all they remember seeing in newspapers, — others would launch into a sea of figures, of which they do not know the actual meaning. In 1838, according to the Report of the Registrar-general, the number of deaths from violence in England and Wales was 11,727. Either there had been some defect in the returns for that year, or the causes of such calamities were decreasing, while population increased: for the number in the ensuing year was 11,632; in 1840, 11,594; and in 1841, 11,000. We do not find in the Registrar's Reports of later years the causes of death so separated and distinguished, — at least over the whole kingdom.* Scotland and Ireland are both destitute of the valuable machinery of the registration system; so that we know no more directly of vital statistics in these countries, than in China and Japan. But taking the English returns, as a foundation, we may safely calculate that the present population of

* It might be natural to expect that, as the same uniform classes of facts have to be recorded by him every year, the Reports of the Registrar-general should be as uniform as an almanac or tide-table. Each annual volume, however, is an independent book with distinct subjects. And a cursory examination of the volumes shows a satisfactory reason for this. The materials collected by the registration system are of the same class every year; but the ways in which they may be used and applied to each other, especially with reference to a succession of years, are infinitely varied. A considerable number of these applications even would occupy too much bulk for an annual Report, and so each year presents its separate combinations: in one, we have the influence of the atmosphere or of politics on mortality — in another, that of trade, on marriages and births — and so on.

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the United Kingdom is double that of England and Wales in 1840. Making allowance for the proportional number of violent deaths having in the mean decreased, we may perhaps now count them, in round numbers at 20,000 in the year. This is in itself a vast mass of calamity. It would appal the world if it came in considerable instalments. All Europe was startled by the accident which killed 1200 people at the rejoicings for the marriage of Marie Antoinette, and which was in some measure repeated on that of Marie Louise. Our five great naval victories in the late war cost us only 1233 killed, and 3626 wounded; while 20,000 were probably beyond the British loss in battle in any one of its campaigns. Twenty thousand deaths would have cut no mean figure in the human sacrifices of Napoleon: and it will be remembered that the result of the three bloody days of the battle of Paris, was deemed to be grossly exaggerated when the deaths were computed at 8,000.

To avert a portion, say a half or a quarter, of the violent deaths incident to peaceful occupations, would surely be a great boon to the community. We see in other departments of the dark catalogue, what the energy of man can accomplish in rendering life more secure. If we look at the element of starvation, which in some countries is so conspicuous, we shall find that the spirit and mechanism of English society have been brought to bear effectually against it, and that—partly from self-exertion, and partly from the application of the Poor Law, where self-exertion has proved insufficient—the mortality from this cause, more miserable yet perhaps than from violence, is comparatively small. It was, in 1838, 167; in 1839, 130; and in 1840, 137. The mortality test, as lately shown to the Metropolitan Association, by Dr. Southwood Smith, gauges the saving of human life, which will be effected by improving the dwellings of the industrious poor.

Of course, the numbers of the dead only represent a certain per-centage of the direct sufferers on these occasions. How many are injured for every one whose life is extinguished by any class of violent agencies, would be a curious object of inquiry: it would be found to vary greatly with the circumstances which occasion the violence. We happen to alight at this moment on a note of the casualities caused by an attempt, in 1828, to rush out of a church at Kirkcaldy. The Reverend Edward Irving was addressing a crowded audience; an alarm arose for the safety of the building; 28 of his congregation were crushed to death, and 150 injured. In the first quarterly railway accidents' return for 1851, the number of persons killed 'from circumstances beyond 'their own control' is 3, the number injured, 33; while, by the

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class of accidents set down as 'owing to their own misconduct 'or want of caution,' the passengers killed were 7, those injured only 3. But in the succeeding quarterly return the proportion is still more startling; since, where 9 passengers are killed, 138 are injured from circumstances beyond their own control,—though, of passengers suffering from their own misconduct, &c., there are 9 injuries to 13 deaths. A strange and unexpected disproportion this, arising apparently from the injuries caused by slight collisions.

But the immediate deaths, or the immediate wounds, are not all which the public suffer from such calamities. First comes that indefinite circle, disappearing as it widens, of those who suffer in their affections, their interests, or their sympathies. But even in the still waters beyond the last perceptible vibration,—where, outwardly indeed, people might not only seem callous to the misfortunes of the sufferers, but selfishly exulting in their own exemption,—there is a jarring of the nerves, an inward unsettledness, which makes life uneasy, and expands into positive distress as often as the excited imagination succeeds in drawing analogies between the thinker's position and that of the sufferer. In many instances some permanent shock to the nerves, even madness itself, has been attributed to the circumstances under which the patient became acquainted with some frightful accident. In the case of parties present at any of the great catastrophes, as for example in the Sutton tunnel, who shall venture to sum up the mental horror suffered there by the 1,500 victims for three quarters of an hour, amidst damp and darkness, uproar and confusion, the finding of the dead and wounded, while the work of death was going on at intervals,—no one knowing when the next remorseless crash would come, and whom and how many it would slay! Could the calling over of the guillotine lists in the Parisian prisons be an ordeal of greater agony? Yet the primary cause of all this horror was an engine insufficient for the weight attached to it.

Perhaps we have said quite enough, but the importance of the matter will not be questioned; and it will be no waste of the reader's time if we can present him with a few considerations tending to show how far it is within human power to modify those violent jerks and oscillations of the physical world which snap the thread of life, and scatter the hopes and affections clustering round it in desolation and despair.

In the first place we must set it down as an axiom, that in the accomplishment of such an end 'money is no object;' that wherever life can be directly and certainly saved, without some

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counteracting evil,— as, for instance, without causing any crime or recklessness that may afterwards have more deleterious effects on vitality, it *ought* to be saved by the State at whatever cost. When Captain Hunter, the governor of New South Wales, lost his ship by putting back for a man who had fallen overboard, he vindicated himself before a court-martial by saying that he 'considered the life of a British seaman of more value than any 'ship in his Majesty's navy;' and we have always considered the remark as sound as it was humane, presuming it to be applied to circumstances where neither the national defence, nor the safety of others, would be endangered. *Nulla unquam de vitâ hominis cunctatio longa est.* If a human being is in risk of his life, and can possibly be saved; in case a well, for instance, has fallen in, or a building has given way, and there is one beneath who may yet be spared to breathe and live with his fellow men, — is there any wealth, or labour, or enthusiasm, that will be withheld to procure his rescue? Indeed, large as we have calculated the number of deaths by violence, we question whether the proportion would be as small in any other country exposed to an equal multiplicity of dangers.* The cool indifference to life, by which as late as the time of Henry the Eighth we were supposed to be nationally distinguished, has passed into a respect for it which scarcely allows us to hang a murderer. The fatalities, of which we have to complain, have arisen not so much from apathy or bad intention, as from a want of systematic arrangements having the safety of the public for their immediate end.

Though we fear that the few remarks we are about to offer may be characterised by the looseness which generally attends an attempt for the first time to classify and systematise utterly vague and chaotic materials, we shall commence ana-

* As the statistics of this element of mortality are so imperfect at home, we cannot expect to obtain them in a very complete state in foreign countries. In France, according to some tables published by the Registrar-general, accidental deaths were, in 1843, 6,436, and in 1844, 6,729. This would be a small comparative number, if it formed a considerable proportion of the kinds of death counted violent in England. But, while their habits of life are exposed to much fewer risks, there is on the other hand an excess of those worst kinds of violent death which are excluded from our consideration on this occasion. Thus, in 1843, the murders were 306, and in 1844, they were 403. In England, the number of murders in 1840 was 65, and the number in the two preceding years was 156 — being an average of 78 for each year. In France, the suicides were — for 1843, 2,142, and for 1844, 2,200. In 1839, the number in England was 943.

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lytically by adducing two propensities as the great productive cause of fatal accidents. The one is the spirit of gambling, apparently an inherent propensity in mankind, though mostly in the most barbarous; the other is a more topical prejudice or superstition against permitting any thing to interfere with trade. From the valuable things which men will stake, life is not exempt. The most reckless chances are constantly run by the ignorant and the brutal; but even highly civilised people are not entirely exempt from the propensity. Fool-hardiness persists in playing with edge tools the same as with blunt: and the love of excitement and the reliance on their own good fortune add to the perils not only of the Mississippi, but of the Hudson and the Humber. A person of good social position and recognised prudence will commit himself to a questionable steam boat, in the full knowledge that after a certain number of voyages it must founder, but in the trust that the fatal event is not to take place on this particular trip. Men sit without apprehension in crowded meeting-rooms, theatres, and churches, conscious of the edifices being so constructed that, were an alarm of fire to be raised, there would be imminent danger of their being crushed to death by the frantic multitude rushing to escape by narrow doors and winding passages. If no one would knowingly either embark in an unsafe steam-boat, or put himself under the guidance of an unskilful captain or driver, or enter the doors of any public building not properly supplied with the means of tumultuous exit, — if individuals, in short, would run no unreasonable risks, — there would be a self-acting remedy for the deficiencies by which life is so often sacrificed. But we must take the gambling propensity as an innate characteristic of human nature — a fact never more strongly exemplified, in a small way, than on the late boiler explosion at Bristol, or, on a still larger scale, by the passengers of an American steamer subscribing to pay the penalty rather than wait till their vessel was examined. So viewing it, perhaps a method may be found for mitigating its mischief.

We are not now unaccustomed to act on the uniform returns of statistics. They have brought the phenomena which used to be consigned to the chaotic province of chance into systematic order. Among their lessons is this one, very material to the present point, — that those calamities which are to individuals matter of *chance* are to the public matter of *cause and effect.* If there be in existence throughout the country a certain number of agencies of destruction, A. B. and C. may calculate on escaping them, but a determinate number of the community must suffer. Thus the question, so far as the public at large

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are concerned, is no longer one of uncertainty, but of ascertained results. The State can enumerate its dead and wounded from any particular cause of calamity. It can then balance the loss by death and injury against the expense of removing the cause, and calculate whether it shall incur that expense. If we begin at the most reckless end of the community, we find among the mining population, and those connected with the rough labour of public works, a large number of casualties. The workman habitually neglects to use the Davy lamp, or for high wages works in dangerous cuttings; he acts, as though he had put into a lottery,—but the consequence is, that a large number of his class are annually killed by explosions and other accidents, and the corresponding pressure from their deaths appears arithmetically on the poor rate. If in blasting, an iron rod be used instead of a copper one, the chances may be small indeed that a spark shall be elicited and the powder ignited; the sanguine miner therefore takes his chance. But the country would be saved a small amount of annual mortality by the systematic substitution of the safest material. To come to instances of more rare occurrence, which yet it would be practicable to classify over long intervals. On an evening in February, 1849, an alarm of fire was raised in the Dunlop Street theatre of Glasgow, from one of the audience having attempted to light a pipe. There was a frantic rush to the door. At the spot where the money is collected the passage of a theatre is generally narrow. There, some of the foremost of the crowd fell and literally plugged up the passage. Shrieks of distress and alarm made those behind only press more fiercely onward, and in a few minutes the narrow passage was a compact mass of human carcases. Sixty-five lives were thus sacrificed to the neglect of structural rules which are laid down by Vitruvius*, are exemplified in the remains of ancient amphitheatres, and were enforceable by the Roman edile police, on the sound old principle that no structures of a character calculated to endanger the public safety should be permitted to exist. Such accidents as the Dunlop Street and the Kirkcaldy tragedy are ever occurring at intervals of a few years; and we are all acquainted with edifices where the same thing would occur to-morrow if a panic terror should take possession of a full

* Aditus complures et spatiosos oportet disponere, nec conjunctos superiores inferioribus, sed ex omnibus locis perpetuos et directos sine inversuris faciendos; uti cum populus dimittitur de spectaculis, ne comprimatur, sed habeat ex omnibus locis exitus separatos sine impeditione.—Vitruvius, lib. v. ch. iii., *De Theatro ejusque salubri Constitutione.*

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audience assembled within them. Suppose the top of the Crystal Palace had been carried off the other day by Mr. Graham's balloon, and its 60,000 visitors had had to struggle over each other for their escape, how grateful they would have felt for the simplicity of its construction.

As statistical science brings us directly to the sources of these calamities, the progress of the engineering and other practical sciences is ever bringing their causes more completely under human control. In the elements, in the structure of the earth, and in the muscular power of irrational animals, there are sources of destruction, which of course it is beyond the power of man with certainty to overcome. An extreme instance of this was the fall of the Rossberg in Switzerland, where a cake of mountain stratum slipping down some thousands of feet into a valley, buried a village within the crust of the earth, and cast a lake in one huge wave over the district at its opposite extremity, sweeping away houses and villages. Of a like uncontrollable character are earthquakes; such volcanic eruptions as those which became renowned by the death of the older Pliny, and the burial of cities for the instruction of posterity; the avalanches which in spring sometimes heap up the rich narrow valleys of the Swiss graziers with the wintry burden of their overloaded mountains; the inundations, fed from the same sources, and rushing over the alluvial flats which the mineral and vegetable detritus laid down by previous floods has tempted man to hoard and economize as riches; the swamping of the diked polders under the level of the sea in such countries as Holland, 'where the broad ocean 'leans against the land,' and sometimes breaks through it; and not the least terrible, though perhaps the rarest, a forest territory on fire, with the flames devouring unpenetrated and unknown woods, and travelling as fast before the wind as a flood comes down a hill:—such was the New Brunswick conflagration of 1825, which, after laying waste thousands of square miles of forest, bore down on the poor emigrant town of Miramichi, and burnt it like a piece of paper.

Even though utterly unable to control them, science, however, can teach men to flee from places exposed by nature to such calamities. But in our artificial world, a red signal hoisted instead of a green, a plate wrong laid, an insecurely welded axle, a deficiency of water in a boiler, may cause in a travelling village a calamity not less terrible than the fall of the Swiss mountain or some great earthquake. Vast is the power set in motion by science; but, on the other hand, it is more easy to hold it in check for the safety of the thousand travellers

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committed to its mercy, than to curb a spirited horse with a single rider on its back. The progressive substitution of scientifically-created powers for those provided by nature, in the wind, the waters, and the brute creation, makes us, with all our freedom and restlessness, the appendages of a sort of system of machinery, all the operations of which, however potent they may be, are capable of acquiring the regularity and adaptability of clockwork. Hence arise new functions and responsibilities, suited to the means possessed of serving the public by protecting it, or, justly speaking, by performing with precision and accuracy the duties for which the public pay. The more we become civilised, the more we are dependent on each other; and the change in this peculiarity of the progress of our race, wrought and made apparent to us by any rapid improvement in one department of men's habits, becomes positively startling when it is reflected on. Take, for instance, locomotion. The pedestrian, with his staff in his hand, crossing the desert where other travellers adopt the same primitive conveyance, has himself in his own hands. The horseman is not so entirely self-dependent; he is in some measure at the disposal of a brute, but his own skill and courage still avail him much. He who is car-borne has gone a step further in giving up the governance of himself. In case he travel in a vehicle driven by himself or his servant, he retains a considerable command over his fate; though if he travel in a public stage coach he ceases in a great degree, but not absolutely, to have influence over or choice concerning the dangers to which he is to be exposed. The next step, however, in speeding the traveller on his way — the railway train — completes the transition and transfers him from his own care to that of a railway company. The passenger in the express may do much towards endangering his life, as by sticking his head out of the window, or jumping out while the train is in motion; on the other hand, he is utterly helpless for self-protection in case of a collision or any other crisis. He may be excused therefore, perhaps, should he not consent to trust his life and limbs to the cautious foresight and skill of stipendiaries along the line, but should desire to be under the protection of a code of regulations which, instead of making his preservation a matter of merit to the officers who have him in charge, shall render it criminal to expose him to danger.

For the purpose we have in view on this occasion, the calamities which men bring on others are considered distinct from those which they bring on themselves. While human nature remains what it is, careless masons will walk on ridges where they may lose their balance, rash sportsmen will take

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dangerous leaps, and bold swimmers miscalculate the strength they require to reach the shore. People will try wings and balloons, and experiment upon their own safety as *in corpore vili*. To give advice against personal imprudences of this kind, is the province of the ethical philosopher or the religious teacher. The object of the present paper is to indicate causes of destruction, which being caused by large operations, are removable by improvement in the methods of conducting them, and consequently by legislation, — which, though it cannot often save people from themselves, may protect them from calamities occasioned by the selfishness of their fellow men. Nor is it assumed, that even from this arena hazards can be excluded; it will be sufficient if causes of superfluous and gratuitous risk be seriously reduced. There will be danger and violent death in the world, as long as there is heroic enterprise and a high sense of duty conducting to self-sacrifice. Not only the sailor and the soldier, but the chemist, the geologist, the physician seeking the means of combating with disease, the clergyman communicating the consolations of religion to the dying, even the patient scholar at his sleepless desk, — all incur and court the risk of personal injury and abbreviated life. Some of the humbler occupations most advantageous to mankind are notoriously attended with danger — as that of the miner, the mariner, the fisher, even the bricklayer and house-painter; but the risk which *must* be incurred is often small in comparison with that which is unnecessary and useless. No one speaks of closing the navigation of the Thames because the sailor's is a dangerous calling; yet it has been questioned whether, in order to drive a profitable passage trade, at a penny a head, a speculator should be allowed to boil a high-pressure engine which may blow fifty or sixty people to atoms. We must have coal mines,—but is it necessary that for a few additional shillings of profit the butty shall risk a dozen or two of lives? So we shall have railway travelling as abundant and effective as ever, even after it is ruled that the lives of fifteen hundred people are not to be risked to save the expense of keeping a guard at a tunnel's mouth.

The sources of calamity which arise from men, who having a charge over the safety of others, culpably neglect their duty, may be divided into three principal classes — structure of edifices, public and private; locomotion; and gregarious employment. The third we shall find to be mixed up with the other two; as, for instance, in railway service, in manufactories, and in mines. Already some notice has been taken of dangerously defective public structures; more may be afterwards supplied, and perhaps

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it would be trespassing on the department of the architect to go farther into the technicalities of structure and attempt to indicate the necessary protective arrangements. The danger, which in this department it has ever been considered the most essential to guard against, is fire. It is on the whole, however, with all its appalling attendants, generally little destructive of life in comparison with its devastation of property. In the great Hamburgh fire of 1842, which destroyed sixty-one streets, and rendered 20,000 people houseless, the casualties to life were only 39. In the Registrar-general's returns, the deaths from conflagration are not distinguished from others caused by burning, which are all classed under 'chemical injuries.' In the two years 1838 and 1839, there were collectively in the metropolis 2600 deaths attributed to violence, and of these 414 were by fire — 136 males and 278 females — the preponderance of the latter evidently indicating ordinary household operations as the chief cause. In the manufacturing towns of Birmingham, Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, and West Derby, collectively, out of 693 violent deaths in 1839, 170 were from burning — here 99 were males and 71 females. The erection of party walls through the roof is supposed now to secure the metropolis from sweeping conflagrations like those which laid waste Hamburgh and have occasionally desolated the American cities. Among the last, its abundant supply of water must now make an exception of New York. On the other hand, it may be questioned, if our provincial wood and brick-built towns are safe from such a calamity. Nor is the state of warfare with this great enemy in which London is kept — the continued trepidation, the preparations for flight, the necessity of a constantly embodied force, — indicative of that high progress in civilisation which should appear in the prevention of causes of calamity rather than in its encounter and conquest. We must look forward to structural discoveries achieving the higher triumphs; and perhaps the Crystal Palace, among its other services, may, especially by its iron work, lead to the source of discoveries in this direction. Though many of the accidental deaths of London are caused by vehicles, and some by disturbances, undoubtedly we may attribute the greater portion to structural causes. But whatever be the causes, it is interesting to remark that in this great centre of energy and motion — of apparent confusion and carelessness — life does not run more risks, indeed a trifle less, than its average risk all over England. According to the Registrar-general's Report for 1848, the numbers of violent deaths in the metropolis were in the years from 1840 to 1847 inclusive as follows, — in 1840, 1279; in 1841, 1174; in 1842,

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1253; in 1843, 1142; in 1844, 1301; in 1845, 1329; in 1846, 1651; and in 1847, 1578.

We shall have to say something more concerning structural causes when we come to consider the casualties incident to particular employments; in the mean time it appears to be in the department of travelling and conveyance from place to place that existing defects are productive of the most alarming evils, and that the demand for improvement is most urgent.

The habits of the old world mariner, trained in sailing vessels, are not well adapted to the modern system of steam navigation. He has been early imbued with the feeling that his career is to be one of inevitable perils, and that happiness is to be sought, not in efforts to obviate them, but in the enjoyment of the present and the dissipation of reflection. His notions of danger are associated with phenomena so far beyond the reach of human power, that he becomes a fatalist, waiting his time, and scorning precautions which appear but despicable when measured with the great perils of the deep. Hence a sailor seldom knows how to swim; it is a paltry accomplishment, never likely to serve any better purpose than the prolongation of his agony. He has no great respect even for boats as a means of escape; and to offer him a mackintosh safety buoy would only be to encounter his unutterable ridicule. Experience has too sadly shown, that our coasting travellers in those machine-driven vessels, where the powers both of action and destruction are so delicately obedient to human management, are not safe in the hands of these fatalists. It is not long since the public were astounded at learning that the master and mate of a steamer, in apparent ignorance that animal life requires to be fed with fresh air, battened down their passengers air-tight into the hold like dry goods, and killed seventy-five of them. When the master of the Orion was brought to trial, and punished for the carelessness with which he ran his vessel on a well-known rock in good daylight, the incident — not of the wreck, but of the punishment, — was as startling to the class to which the master belonged, as the impeachment of Strafford to Charles the First's courtiers. They looked upon it, we believe, as gross injustice, — punishing a man like a felon, and merely for his bad luck! Let us hope that the Mercantile Marine Act of last session will do something to relieve the public of its danger from seamen of this class.

As the power for mischief in a railway is still greater than in a steam ship, while there is a more specific command over the elements of power, a sense of higher responsibility ought to be entertained, and additional securities provided. In some measure

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this has been the case. We have no doubt of the truth of the assertion often made, that, allowing for the extent travelled, there is a smaller per-centage of casualties on railways than in coaches. It is difficult to get any figures to bear on this question; but we see in one of the Registrar-general's returns that in 1841 the number of deaths caused by waggons, &c. (the &c. meaning, we presume, other vehicles) was 978. On our vast railway lines, whose trains accomplish between sixty and seventy millions of individual journies, the numbers slain, including passengers, railway servants, and the public at large, were in the same year, 1841, 270; in 1847, 211; in 1848, 240; in 1849, 202; and in 1850, 216. Remembering how completely the system is under the command of science and conduct, we hope to see the day when, even with a vastly increased traffic, such a mortality will be looked on as a tradition of railway travelling in its early barbarous state. It used to be thought that a certain class of railway accidents were as inevitable as earthquakes. A belief is now entertained among scientific men, and it is, as we shall presently see, strongly supported by the Reports of the official inspectors, that no accident occurs of which it may not be said, that proper precautions—involving, probably, a considerable outlay—would have prevented it. On the larger and bolder operations the Railway Commissioners say in their Report for 1848, 'All who have had 'occasion to consider the state of our knowledge with respect to 'the strength of materials are aware, that a multitude of experi-'ments, and the investigations of scientific men, have established 'the laws on which the relation between the several dimensions 'of beams of different materials, their stiffness, and their ultimate 'strength depends, when exposed to an action not differing in 'an important degree from a steady load. The experiments 'necessary for the investigation of this subject were within the 'means of the individuals who had leisure and inclination to 'make them; and before our present knowledge was attained, 'numerous structures, which have existed through long periods, 'afforded a variety of examples for the guidance of engineers. 'The failure also of works exposed to the action of weights at 'rest, or moving with comparatively small velocities, was gra-'dual, and not likely to endanger the lives of individuals with-'out some warning of their insecurity. But the last few years 'have rendered necessary the construction of a number of 'bridges, intended for the use of heavy trains passing at great 'speeds, in designing which the known laws relating to the 'strength of materials are most probably inapplicable; while 'the experiments requisite to ascertain those which may be

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'applicable are beyond the means of individuals to make, and 'the highest degree of science will probably be required in 'combining the results of any experiments bearing on the 'subject. Neither can the solution of the question be left to 'time, or to the experience which might be obtained of a 'number of sudden and frightful accidents; the knowledge is 'required at once, for the guidance of engineers who may have 'to design or improve such works, of which a great number are 'likely to be constructed within a short period.'

But it has not been in general from the bold and original experiments of celebrated engineers that the public have suffered. Men so high in their profession feel the responsibility of power, and the risk to which professional character may be exposed by mischievous blunders. It is in the subordinate and simple operations left to ignorant and irresponsible people unwatched and unknown, that danger lurks. A welding has been carelessly finished. A bar or a girder has an internal crack, caused perhaps by sudden expansion or contraction in its manufacture. Through such latent causes, in the midst of a general feeling of security, the infinitesimal overstrain severs the parts, and a crash follows, (as lately in Gracechurch Street,) of which all the realm hears with commiserating horror. Among the other sources of danger believed to be inscrutable, it used to be stated in scientific evidence, that such internal defects in the materials used in connexion with railways were not discoverable. The public were disabused of this notion when they found that every piece of iron to be subjected to a possible strain in the construction of the Crystal Palace, was to be tested by the hydraulic press.

Three formidable accidents reported by the Commissioners of 1850, were caused by fractures where the metal was found porous and crystalline. The history of the girder of a bridge near Gainsborough, which snapped and tilted an engine-waggon into the road beneath, is instructive. Captain Wynne, the inspector, said, 'After examining the bridge, I thought it desirable to 'inquire into the history of the girder, from its casting to its 'leaving the foundry; I therefore requested the attendance of 'Mr. Farmer, at whose foundry it was cast. He informed me 'that he kept an ironmonger's shop; that he was unacquainted 'with a founder's business, and that he entrusted all to his fore-'man, who had worked formerly in some large foundry. I 'therefore sent for the foreman, and he informed me that he had 'been employed in the Phœnix Works at Sheffield; that the 'castings there were confined to machinery, and that he never 'had been engaged in a casting of the same magnitude as the

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'girder. I then visited the foundry, which proved to be a very 'small affair, in very confined premises.' On farther inquiry he found, that several attempts had been made before even *so* successful an effort was accomplished; but that there had been all along differences of opinion about the sufficiency of the girder, and that 'there is one up now still more imperfect.'* The result of the investigation is, that the Commissioners '*hope* that the 'Directors will see the propriety of adopting precautions for the 'safety of the public,' &c.

The railway companies, in their litigations with parties claiming damages for injury caused by accident, strongly endeavoured to carry as a point of law, the principle that they were not responsible for the consequences of these 'latent 'defects' as they were called; but their liability fortunately was sustained. It is not sufficient, however, that the courts, both civil and criminal, are open in case of injury: the public should be protected from risk. But the adoption of preconstituted securities for the sufficiency of materials 'would be 'expensive.' Certainly; and here we are driven back on the axiom with which we started, that the safety of life is the first thing to be provided for. For a decrease of the 20,000 annual deaths by violence, we must look to the statistical classification of the causes of these deaths; and seek to induce the Legislature to take peremptory protective measures against each operative cause,—however much it may embarrass the probable investment of capital or the amount of dividends. It is admitted, that in most of the affairs of life the people of this country require less central interference than those of any other European nation. This may be true, even of railway travelling. The general safety, considering how slight is the governmental control over the powerful corporations entitled to make their profits by conveying passengers and goods in the cheapest manner, is even at present most remarkable. The number of passengers killed was 30 in 1847, 21 in 1848, 23 in 1849, and 32 in 1850. So small a proportion of deaths levied on the travelling community shows that what the companies require is not so much control as regulation. A more effective check on carelessness or parsimony, and a closer responsibility, might reduce the number of accidents nearly to zero. In the meantime we have no hold on companies to prevent them from gambling with the public safety. In other words, though they are pecuniarily responsible for injuries caused by carelessness or defectiveness, and though they know that when any

* Report of Commissioners of Railways, 1850, p. 65.

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flagrant calamity occurs, their line will be for a time deserted, they have it in their power to run risks involving both the lives of the passengers and their own fortunes, in sanguine reliance on the chapter of accidents turning up in their favour, — and we know that they have persevered in doing so.

The Reports of the Railway Commissioners are filled with expostulations to the companies to abandon practices fraught with danger, such as have come under the notice of the inspector from their being of a kind which have occasioned fatal accidents. For instance, when the train went off the rails at Rockliffe, on the Caledonian line, and killed five people, besides doing much secondary mischief, it was found that the whole had been caused by the defective construction of a fixture on a wheel. It would surely be no extravagant interference with freedom of action and the rights of property, to make it penal to employ a wheel of so dangerous a construction. The Railway Board, however, could only gently report that 'it appeared to the inspecting 'officer that the wheel had been improperly fitted in the first in-'stance in the manufactory; and *as a great number of wheels fixed* '*in a similar manner were in daily use upon railways*, and the 'accident had occurred on this wheel after it had travelled from '12,000 to 13,000 miles, the Commissioners caused a circular 'to be sent to the Railway Companies calling attention to the 'remarks of the inspecting officer upon the advisability of an 'examination of all wheels so fixed, and the adoption of mea-'sures to prevent a similar catastrophe.' Yet, if any company chose to disregard this representation, and for the sake of present economy, to take the chance of a similar catastrophe, there appears to be no law subjecting the managing partners to responsibility by punishment as criminals, for this wholesale gambling with human life. People may differ on the propriety of making directors criminally responsible, at least until they are fully warned, and defy the warning. But surely when death has occurred, and scientific authorities point out the distinct cause of it, there should be summary means of interference. It is not enough, that railway servants are punishable by the criminal law for any neglect of duty, according to the nature of the case. A stricter protection of the public requires that some person should be authorised to see that there are no latent sources of danger in the materials or machinery and the general arrangements. Most recent accidents on railways bring home the cause to an insufficient staff of skilled *employés*, and to a dangerous economy overtasking the capacity of subordinate officers. Thus in the alarming accident at Cowlairs, near Glasgow, several people were

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killed from palpable deficiency of service and caution; yet no one was penally responsible; since the subordinate officers who were tried could not be punished for mere failure to do impossibilities; and their superiors, who were well scolded by the bench, had, in lowering their establishment to so fatal a pitch, committed no crime punishable by law. The public will never feel at ease while their safety depends on the discretion of inferior and uneducated officers, with too a heavy an amount of duty economised on their shoulders. A collision occurred on the Leeds and Thirsk line in September, 1849; and it appeared from the report of Captain Simmons that, while eleven passenger trains passed the spot daily, there were two goods trains, concerning which the principal regulations were, — that, 'the goods guards must endeavour to 'work their trains so as not to impede passenger trains,' and 'a 'goods, mineral, or ballast train, when likely to be overtaken by 'a passenger train, shall shunt at least fifteen minutes before the 'passenger train is due, and wait there five minutes after the 'passenger train is past.' Thus, the safety of every traveller on that line depended on the discretion of the guards of those goods trains, who no doubt for their own safety would 'en-'*deavour* to work their trains so as not to impede passenger 'trains,' though perhaps they might sometimes find it a perilous kind of pilotage; and would also shunt 'when likely to be 'overtaken by a passenger train,' provided they knew distinctly when there was such a likelihood. In fact, the accident was occasioned by the guard of a goods train being utterly ignorant whether the passenger train was due or not. This seems a tempting of Providence as it is called,—rather a defying. Captain Simmons naturally suggested,—nothing beyond a suggestion could come from the Railway Board,—that there should be fixed arrangements on the line, 'so that the drivers and guards 'should be relieved from the undue responsibility now attached to 'them, in starting on a journey with no instructions as to the 'getting out of the way of passenger trains beyond the above-'quoted regulations, and a printed passenger time-table.'

The accounts of fifty separate accidents in the last Commissioners' Report (some of them already referred to) show a remarkable generic similarity in the causes at work: the same deficiencies uniformly repeating themselves, with little perceptible difference except that the amount of slaughter varies with the number of victims present at the time. A succinct tabular statement of these accidents and their causes might, one should think, be prepared to good purpose, and be widely distributed especially among railway servants. Some companies would not like this, as it must show the men how great a proportion of cases arises from ex-

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cessive parsimony and an insufficient establishment. It would also show, how often the most respectable and painstaking officers are the victims of these defects. However unpleasant or humiliating such a record might be, it could not but be of service. This system has indeed been partially commenced by the Railway Board in the transmission of circular notices on the prevalent causes of accident. Thus, having had to examine four successive accidents caused by the explosion of the boiler, a circular was sent to the several companies, which ran thus: — 'The Commissioners are informed that these occurrences all 'receive a very probable solution; and the facts connected with 'them tend to establish that the water in the boilers had been 'allowed, either by accident or neglect, to diminish, so as to 'leave the top of the fire-box uncovered, and therefore liable to 'acquire a great heat from the continued action of the fire. 'Under these circumstances, the supply of water has been in-'creased, or, from other causes, it has accumulated at the fire-'box end of the boiler, so as to flow over the heated plate. This 'action would produce a very rapid evaporation; and it is pro-'bable that it has been so rapid and to such an extent, that 'neither the escape of steam through the cylinders nor the 'safety-valves has been sufficient to relieve the pressure suddenly 'produced in the boiler; and explosion has taken place.'

The two most fatal accidents which have latterly appalled the public — that of Cowlairs, near Glasgow, and that of the Sutton or Frodsham Tunnel, — are both, in their operative causes, typified by similar minor accidents, which might have been, but fortunately were not, equally fatal,—and, like them, are traceable to defective and parsimonious arrangements. At Cowlairs an engine was to pass from the front, cross, and get to the back of a train. The nearest crossing point was shut by the carriages of this train — the next by another train. The driver of the latter was requested to move back and open the crossing. He politely did so. One cannot help speculating how his passengers would have felt in the consciousness that this little accommodation exposed them for a couple of minutes to about as much danger as the soldiers who defended Hougemont at Waterloo. The end of the train stretched beyond the signal-post. It was but two minutes exposed, but that was enough; another train coming up with unconscious rapidity, dashed into it. The precaution, which would have averted the collision, was the sending a man back with a hand signal; but there was no one to do this duty. In fact, the few officers present,—the break-headsman, guard, and engineman,—had a fearful press of business and responsibility thrown on them; and they found themselves

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without definite instructions, under circumstances, for which, indeed, they had not sufficient official strength, however fully they might have been instructed. It would seem, from the inspector's Report, that the driver wished a pointsman to take a signal, but the man said he had other things to do. 'He then 'directed his fireman to go and tell the guard to go back with a 'signal. . . . Whilst the fireman was in the act of going to tell 'the guard to go back, the train drawn by Brown's engine 'came in sight from around the curve,' and the crash took place. Could any jury convict the driver, who had asked, first, the pointsman, and then the fireman to tell the guard to go with a signal; or the pointsman, who had other things to do; or the fireman, who could not find the guard in an instant; or the guard, who was not told; or even the driver of the advancing train, who, in unconscious security, was coming up very fast? This tragedy occurred in August, 1850. Within two months we find the same story repeated, in everything but its bloody conclusion; and this was averted only by the peculiar skill and carefulness of the driver of the assaulting train. At Woodlesford, on the Midland line, an excursion train was detained. The weather was foggy, and the train stretched 160 yards beyond the signal; being thus unprotected by it, when another train came up. The driver was proceeding with extreme caution, and the collision was slight; but it might have been more deadly even than that of Cowlairs.

On the 15th July, 1850, a train entered the Blackheath tunnel of the North Kent line, of which the cavernous progress is thus described by the Government inspector: — 'The load 'proved too great for the engine on so steep an incline, and 'with such slippery rails. The train, too, owing to the previous 'delays, commenced the ascent at a very slow pace, when it 'wanted all the momentum of accumulated speed to carry it up 'the incline. The engine had only got a few yards inside the 'tunnel when the driving wheels began to slip, and soon the 'speed was so much reduced, that the fireman jumped off, and 'walked beside the engine shovelling up sand upon the wet 'rails, to enable the driving-wheels to bite, the engine having a 'sand-box only on one side.' Thus was it slowly labouring through the tunnel, when a passenger train ran into it. The Blackheath tunnel, therefore, would have anticipated the terrible catastrophe at Sutton, but for a material element of difference. Instead of human beings, the train broken in upon was freighted with fruit for Covent Garden Market. Sutton has left scars on the public mind too deep to be soon forgotten; and some of our readers will remember the identity

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of the principal cause of the crash with that which we have just been describing. There were others, it is true, in the Sutton case, to make the tragedy more complete. Not only was the engine insufficient to bite the slippery rails, but defects in the carriages acted as a drag. The policemen usually stationed by the tunnel mouths were withdrawn at a time (the races) when they were specially needed; and the trains, instead of having a systematic precedence, were despatched as fast as they could be filled—filled extravagantly beyond the locomotive strength of the engines, as had been represented to be the case by the responsible officers of the company—the slowest happening to be sent off first. Yet, in his analysis of the causes of the previous accident at Blackheath, the Government inspector had embodied what, if it had been put into the shape of an order, and had been enforceable, instead of being a mere expression of opinion, would have guarded against the recurrence of this particular form of destructiveness, of which so fearful a repetition was to recur. The inspector said, 'The causes of this accident 'are at once apparent, namely—1st, the insufficiency of engine 'power, there having been only one pilot engine stationed at 'Woolwich. 2ndly, the imperfect rules laid down for working 'the traffic through the tunnel. 3rdly, the neglect of the guard 'of the fruit train in leaving Strood without his fog-signals, 'and in not at once procuring others from the driver when he 'found that his train was delayed.'

A general review of many reported railway accidents convinces us that a code for merely punishing stipendiary officers is not sufficient protection to the public. There must be something nearer an adoption of the *obsta principiis*. Unpunctuality is a main cause of accident;—an unpunctuality created by imperfect, because parsimonious, organisation. Subordinates, who would act most faithfully under distinct regulations and have a right to expect them for their guidance, are driven to rely on their own discretion; and instead of mere obedience to orders, a fund of individual resources seems to be taken for granted, such as one might be thankful for in effective commanders of armies. Those who are best trained to formal duties, are sometimes the worst fitted for emerging efforts of presence of mind and forethought. What should be as regular as the motions of the clock becomes an entanglement and confusion of persons and machinery, on the sudden aspect of danger and death. The station-master or pointsman has his instructions for acting according to a certain routine of trains; but the routine is not followed; and instead of acting on his instructions, he has to make, on the instant, a new arrangement,

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of which he cannot calculate the results, and with which he cannot get his fellow-officers to co-operate. There is something pathetic in that part of the official Report on the Sutton accident, which describes the efforts of the guard of the fourth train to take a signal to the mouth of the tunnel. After passing the impediments in the tunnel, and beginning to run, he 'had only got back a very short distance, when he heard 'the noise of another engine approaching.' The man's nerves had been very much shaken by the unusual circumstances under which he was called upon to act. Upon hearing the engine apparently quite close to him, while the darkness prevented his seeing any thing beyond the reach of his own small lamp, he completely lost his presence of mind and fell over the ballast in the centre of the tunnel: and there he lay all the time the last train was passing by him, as he himself relates, in such a state of excitement and fear, that he was scarcely conscious of any thing which occurred. In one case described by the Commissioners in their Report for 1850, the station-keeper had no clock or watch, but he took his time from the passing of a particular train; and that train being, on one occasion unpunctual, put him wrong, and a collision was the consequence. To the causes of accident already mentioned we must add badly framed and insufficient instructions, together with an imperfect supply of the minor machinery for a line — such as breaks and signals, and perhaps guards, as seems from what passed lately before the Lewes inquest. Among the multiform origins of railway evils neither last nor least, is the practice of permitting rules to be habitually neglected until some crash reminds the directors and superior officers of their existence.

All these with other latent causes of death are in perpetual operation, and the question still remains — how are we to be protected from them? The power and wealth of the railway corporations have, we all know, made Government loth to interfere with them; but the public now loudly demands increased protection — and it must be given. As we have already said, we do not anticipate that absolute control will be necessary, or the penal punishment of directors for either carelessness or culpable parsimony. It is too clear, however, that penal consequences to culpable officers, though coupled with pecuniary loss to shareholders, are but poor protection. Perhaps the example set by the factories and mining acts may be followed; and, in case of a stringent and minute system of inspection being adopted, to make it criminal in directors to continue any arrangement condemned as dangerous by the proper officer, might be as much security as the subject admits of.

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Hitherto we have looked to the position of the passengers only; but they are not the only persons slain or maimed by railway trains. The companies collectively, and individually every company not in desperate circumstances, have a strong pecuniary interest in the safety of passengers; for, every fatal accident brings after it a collapse of passenger fares. But even this interest, which has been found insufficient to secure the highest degree of care, is wanting, (except as far as Lord Campbell's act creates it,) in the case of the public at large. It is the pecuniary interest of companies to carry their lines through all convenient levels, inhabited or not, leaving it to the public to take care of themselves. Thus we have annually a formidable item of railway accidents in 'trespassers and other per-'sons, neither passengers nor servants of the company;' among whom the slaughter in 1847 was returned as 57; in 1848 as 43; in 1849 as 52; and, in 1850, 48. These numbers represent, in a great measure, victims deliberately offered up to the cheap construction of railways. Level crossings are less costly than bridges or tunnels, and they are sanctioned at so many lives a year. It would, we think, have been a good rule from the commencement, and one of which the cost would have been well repaid to the public in its sense of security and ease of mind, had all railways been, as it were, hermetically sealed, so as to render trespassing in them next to impossible.

There is yet another and a very heavy item of vital responsibility to be laid at the door of railway companies. How do they provide for the safety of their own servants? It is among these that we find the great preponderance of fatalities. Thus there were slain in 1847, 124; in 1848, 138; in 1849, 127; and, in 1850, 128. We cannot doubt that much of this sacrifice of life could be avoided by the adoption of precautionary arrangements at a slight increase of outlay. Here, however, is opened up a vista of other transactions, where life in the labouring class has certainly been far more wantonly wasted than is at present the case in the working of our railways. The attention of the public was strongly directed, a few years ago, by Mr. Chadwick, to the inconsiderate selfishness of contractors for railway cuttings and other like works, in tempting their ignorant servants to put their lives in peril. In a parliamentary inquiry which followed, some witnesses startled the committee by their candour. Reference was made to the use of copper stemmers, instead of iron, for ramming home the powder for blasts; and the expediency of the substitution was supported by such instances as this:—'William Jackson, miner;—He 'was looking over John Webb's shoulder while he was stem-

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'ming a hole charged with powder, when the blast went off, 'blowing the stemmer through Jackson's head, and killed him 'on the spot.' An assistant engineer on the Sheffield and Manchester Railway—there is no occasion to give his name —being questioned about his own practice in this matter, said, 'When I inquired into the thing, I found so very few indeed 'were the accidents that occurred in consequence of the iron 'stemmers which we used, that I did not think it worth while 'to cause the whole system to be altered, and go to the expense 'of such tools;' which elicited from the querist the remark, 'You thought on the part of the company, that it was worth 'while running the risk of two or three men's lives rather than 'going to the expense of more expensive tools.' The same gentleman's examination on the use of 'the patent fuse' was still more candidly characteristic. 'In blasting in this tunnel 'was the patent fuse used?'—'No.' 'Is that not more safe 'for blasting than the common fuse?'—'Perhaps it is; but it is 'attended with much loss of time, and the difference is so very 'small. *I would not recommend the loss of time for all the extra 'lives it would save.*' His unsophisticated ideas as to the worth of human life seem to have almost amused the Committee. Being asked, 'How many deaths were incurred by accident during 'the construction of the tunnel?' he answered, 'Mr. Nicholson 'states twenty-six. I think it may be possible—one or two 'more or less—somewhere thereabouts.'*

This gentleman appears to have been a rigid performer of his duty; and his duty was to blast rocks, not to save men's lives; which, at the rate of twenty-six per tunnel, more or less, he seems to have looked on as a trifling affair. Conscientious fulfilment of defined duties is one of the national virtues; and the engineer's zeal for his own department only points to the propriety of what we have already hinted at,—separate provisions for insuring the safety of life at whatever cost, and their enforcement by persons whose special duty it shall be to carry them out. Many are the important things left undone, which will be done well if we can show them to be any one's special duty or function; but which will be neglected for ever while we can only speak of ultimate results. The nurse to whom sanitary reformers might plead for ever about the dangerous effects of her treatment of her own offspring, will do careful justice to the child she is employed to tend, not because

* Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Railway Labourers (1846). Questions 1592, 1609, 1629.

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she loves it better than her own, but because she has stipulated to bestow on it a certain attention, and so made this her bounden charge. A great change was produced in the health of emigrants by bargaining with the medical superintendents of the vessels for so much per head, not according to the number embarked, but the number landed. It has been said that the increase in the health and vitality of the exiles which followed this arrangement, represented merely the mercenary motive. We hope, however, that it is not a refinement to think it partly owing to a more precise declaration, and a better adjustment of the obligation contracted for. In the one case the surgeon might conceive his duty to be satisfied by attending to the passengers when they were ill and prescribing medicines for them; in the other, the proviso which made it his interest must have also shown him it was his duty to keep them alive, if possible, and, for this end, to keep them in health.

The Legislature of late years has in some measure carried out the object of this paper in the case of manufactories, emigrant vessels, and mines. In the last department, however, there is vast room still for further amendment; and if it do not soon come from the quarters more nearly interested, we should neither be surprised nor grieved to see that the country, impatient and indignant at the perpetually recurring slaughters in these dusky caverns, should angrily demand of the masters, 'for whom did 'seethe a thousand men in troubles rude and dark,' an account of the blood spilt to make their fortunes. Mining workmen, like mariners, are reckless fatalists. But it is clear, that those who ought, in some measure, to rule their destinies, have not yet, in many instances, taken the first step towards the fulfilment of this duty by recording and classifying the character and causes of the several fatalities. Mr. Blackwell, in his Report on the Ventilation of Mines, presented to Parliament in 1850, says, 'The returns 'which can be obtained with respect to the number, nature, and 'causes of accidents in mines, I have found to be in general so 'exceedingly vague and defective, that any conclusions based on 'them would be liable to error. With very few exceptions no 'accounts at all are kept at mining establishments on the subject. 'If accurate registers were to be found at such works of the 'accidents of every class which occur, along with the information 'which might be rendered of their causes, nature, and results, 'a source of very important knowledge and correct conclusions 'would be afforded.' Mankind have too long appeared much of Serjeant Kite's opinion, when he pleaded that his recruit had no visible means of subsistence, 'because he is a miner, and works 'underground.' The class are so far severed, socially and phy-

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ically, from the rest of the world, that they are far from obtaining their fair proportion of our sympathies. But, independently of higher considerations, the world is now too enlightened to require being told that it is unsafe to possess a class in our population, reckless of their lives, and, consequently, of the duties for which men should desire to live.* The Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons in 1835, to inquire into Accidents in Mines, reported tenderly on the conflicting claims of pecuniary profit and human life. After referring to the fact that, since the Davy lamps had been introduced, accidents had rather increased than diminished, — because coal was now worked under circumstances of danger in which it would never have been ventured on before; — 'These facts,' they add, 'led your Committee to a serious part of their inquiry — how 'are these calamities to be prevented for the future? They 'desire fully to recognise the undoubted rights of property, 'enterprise, and labour. They acknowledge their conviction 'that the public interest has been served by the opening of the 'more dangerous mines, and the competition their working has 'created; they do not overlook the anxious care alleged to 'have been maintained to diminish the attendant risk; but *they 'deem it their duty to state their decided opinion, that the 'interests of humanity demand consideration;* and they would 'gladly put it to the owners of these mines, how far any object 'of pecuniary interest or personal gain, or even the assumed 'advantages of public competition, can justify the continued 'exposure of men and boys in situations where science and 'mechanical skill have failed in providing anything like ade-'quate protection.'

We now treat such questions more boldly. In the last session of Parliament was passed the act already alluded to 'for 'Inspection of Coal Mines in Great Britain.'† Some such

* It is an instructive fact, that in Scotland colliers were slaves down to so late a period as the year 1775; and part of that selfishness, which coerced their services for the wealth of their owners, has ever (though it may be decreasing) tinged the connexion between employer and employed in this large department of useful labour. So little better off were the coal districts in England, that the Pretender is said to have reckoned, in '45, on a rising round Newcastle. The Legislature were extremely unwilling to do anything which would touch the profits of the miner, though, in 1846, a Committee of the Commons reported that, during the past twenty-five years, there had been at least 2,070 deaths from explosions, and that the mortality was then proceeding at the rate of 100 a year.

† 13 and 14 Vict. c. 100.

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measure could not be delayed much longer. These subterraneous workshops had forced themselves into notice; though the doors were closed against inquiry. The Commissioners on the Employment of Children in 1842, reported of North Durham and Northumberland:—'In this district the sub-commissioner 'experienced unusual difficulty in obtaining an approximation 'to the true number of the accidents. In general, the medical 'men connected with the collieries either directly refused to 'give any evidence on the subject, or evaded inquiry: while, 'at the collieries, the persons whose office and employment 'rendered them best acquainted with the facts, were equally 'reluctant to afford information.' In other districts a similar callous neglect was indicated by such scraps of evidence as these,—Mr. Thomas Bishop, overseer at Polkemmet, testified: 'We have no record of accidents; nor is it customary to keep 'such, not even of accidental and sudden deaths.' So, another witness, whose brother had been killed and 'brought home 'coffined:'—'No one came to inquire how he was killed—they 'never do in this place.' Dr. Alison, of Edinburgh, said, 'I 'am pretty sure about fifty people under my care, and con-'nected with collieries, have lost their lives in consequence of 'accidents occurring in the works around Tranent; and I do 'not remember of an investigation having been made by the 'sheriff in more than one instance.'* The act of 1850, which requires a return to be made to the Home Office, and in Scotland to the Crown Prosecutor, of every fatal accident within twenty-four hours after it occurs, coupled with the authorised system of inspection, may be expected to remove this dismal obscurity. It is most important to notice in these Reports how many of the minor accidents which cause individual deaths may be obviated, if it be the interest and the desire of the person in charge to obviate them. This is not the proper place for an inquiry into the respective merits of the 'butty,' or contract, and the 'doggy,' or stipendiary system of management: but the information on which Mr. Tancred, in the 'First Report of the Mid-'land Mining Commissioners,' supports the latter against the former, contains strong evidence of the extent to which dangers are avoided by a conscientious system. Thus: 'As to the 'imputation against the butties, of recklessness in exposing 'workmen to danger for their own interests, there is the direct 'evidence of a coalowner, who does not himself employ butties, 'exemplified by what I have seen in his own pit:' and then he quotes the evidence of Mr. Raybould: 'Butties force men into

* Commons' Papers, 1842, xv. 150.

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'danger sometimes, so that I am sure our system is much safer. 'You saw the coals which were ready cut to come down as 'soon as the spurns are cut away. Now sometimes the coal in 'the night will have "given token," *i.e.* shows it is ready to come 'down, and then is very dangerous. Now our doggy goes the 'first thing of a morning to examine all the coal before any 'man is allowed to enter, and he can tell in a moment if the 'coal has given token, by rapping it, and, in that case, he has 'it thrown with the greatest caution. This cannot be made 'piece-work by the butties, so it is done by them in the 'cheapest way; they set men to do it for 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.*, and 'they do it in the readiest way, and throw their lives away.' A working witness drew his distinctions in his own way: 'After a fall of coal, it's worse than a field of battle full of sol-'diers to be forced to go to draw the coals before it's settled 'and made secure; and perhaps the doggies (*qu.* butties) will 'say, "Go in, we must have these coals drawn out." That man 'you were with in our pit is as worthy a man as ever trod in 'shoe leather, and would not put a man to work in a place he 'did not know was safe, for anything.'*

In one sense it cannot be said that the state of the miners is neglected by the members of the Legislature in this country. Reports on their condition are voluminous enough; it has been more written on than the privileges of the peerage. The great difficulty has been to communicate a feeling of responsibility to those who have immediate control over them. Perhaps this may be effected by the arrangements we have just been considering for inspection and for the reporting of accidents. Since, for factories, at all events, we have no doubt that the inspection system has done much to reduce the sickening array of horrid calamities, falling chiefly on children, and arising from a gross sacrifice of their safety to a miserable economy. The difficulty, which the factory inspectors sometimes experience in getting dangerous machines effectually protected, is a painful proof of the necessity of the partial control exercised by them. We find, for instance, in the latest Reports some instructive incidents connected with the cleansing of blowing-machines in cotton-mills. A blowing-machine, or scutcher, is used for cleaning cotton previous to the first manufacturing process. It may be described as a radius of blunt knives, revolving so rapidly as to make 1600 revolutions in a minute. Its extreme velocity makes it appear quite innocent; while, of course, it is only the more instantaneously destructive to any portion of human flesh coming in

* Commons' Papers, 1843, xiii. 60.

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contact with it. The working of it is at the same time so simple, that the rawest hands are set to it; and thus it not unfrequently happened that the country youth, before he had a week's experience at the mill, had his arm torn off by the shoulder. The beater, or radius, works in a case; but the risk of accident arises from the necessity of cleansing it or removing obstructions; and there are holes in the case, through which the arm may be inserted for this purpose. Of course even the most ignorant person will not touch the beater when in gearing: the accidents have generally occurred from ignorance that the momentum acquired makes the wheel revolve after it is disconnected with the moving power. The remedy suggested by the inspector of factories was to report 'as dangerous any blowing-'machine with a beater, which can be reached by the hand 'through any opening, not having a cross-lid door, or other 'covering, secured under lock; the key being in the custody of 'the manager, overlooker, or other competent person; so that 'the beater shall not be reached by the hand while revolving.' This arrangement was resisted by those employers who think there is a legitimate profit in danger. They maintained that the works would be needlessly obstructed by it; but it obtained the sanction of eminent machine-makers. In one instance, where the inspector had served a notice to lock a blowing-machine, he received the following answer from the mill-owner: 'If the markets do not improve, I shall not only 'lock the scutchers up, but the mill also; and if any of the 'humanity-mongers wish to take it, I shall be glad to let it.'* Soon afterwards there appeared in the surgical Report of the district, in reference to this very machine, the following entry. It related to a young woman:—'Fracture of the radius and 'ulna of the left arm. Her arm was struck by the beater of a 'scutching-machine. She was attempting to clean the beater 'before it had stopped,' &c. From some incomprehensible reason, on the penalty of the act being pursued for in this case, the justices did not levy it; but the same Report of the factory inspector which mentions this, gives satisfactory testimony to the penalty being levied in other instances.

With gregarious employment in manufactories, another department of our subject—the proper structure of edifices—is intimately connected.

The fall of a large mill at Manchester in 1824, which, crashing floor after floor, involved the slaughter of a large number

* Half-yearly Report of Inspector of Factories, October, 1849, p. 32.

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of work-people, was attributed by the newspapers to a flaw in the iron-work; and much dissatisfaction prevailed at the time in consequence of all investigation into the cause of the calamity being suppressed, the coroner's jury returning a general verdict merely of accidental death. When a similar crash occurred at Oldham in 1845, killing twenty people, and maiming many others, the Government, with great propriety, appointed a commission to report upon it. It was shown, that the fracture of one of the iron beams would bring down a huge fabric just like a house of cards, (the very words in which a bystander described the late accident in Gracechurch Street): The Commissioners reported, 'Upon a careful examination of fragments of the beam, 'we find the iron employed to be of fair average quality; but 'portions of the beams are of that unequal crystallisation of parts '—(the central portions of the longitudinal sections being more 'highly crystallised and of larger grain than the external)—which 'points to a much quicker cooling of such external parts than 'of the internal: and we also observed cracks of an order appa-'rently in like manner due to an unequal cooling of the mass, 'whence unequal contraction and separation of parts ensued.'* It was further shown, that this was directly caused by an economising practice of removing the iron red-hot from the sand, contrary to the view laid down by an eminent mechanician; who said, 'From my own experience I am satisfied that fire-'proof beams should never remain less than ten hours in the 'sand after they are cast; and for heavy castings thirty or 'forty hours, or more, are sometimes necessary to assist nature 'in a perfect, and consequently a strong and compact process 'of crystallisation.' But this is a troublesome, and therefore an expensive process; and as the quickly-cooled bar, with the element of slaughter hidden in it, looks as well and as secure, it is sent out to do its work.

Thus we see, in a country of large and daring operations such as ours, in how many shapes death lurks under mere insufficiency of workmanship. Whenever it is developed by any great calamity, a proclamation is issued by all concerned, calling on the public to believe it an inevitable and inexplicable fatality,—'a visitation of Providence;'—the materials were all-sufficient;—every thing was done in the best and most efficient manner;—every official person did his duty, and something more. The good-natured press and the better-natured public, after a slight murmur of indignation, undergo a reaction and accept the vindication. Sometimes a bold front

* Commons' Papers, 1845, vol. xvi. p. 547.

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is shown, and it is held that, if cause and effect had been really at work, the calamity which has happened is the very one that was most fully guarded against. Thus, on the occasion of a late fatal colliery explosion, so perfect it was said was the system of ventilation in the mine, that, had the calamity not occurred, a model of the works was to have been sent to the Great Exhibition! Meantime, scientific inspection has done much to clear away this false mist; and though the interested parties fight against cause and effect to the last, science always triumphs.

There is one consolation on looking back to the series of defects to which we have thought it necessary to draw a desultory attention;—it is, that we are on the way forward. A time, not quite forgotten, existed, when, for the continuance of slavery and the slave-trade, it was considered a sufficient argument in this country,—as it still is in some others,—that on these conditions only could sugar, tobacco, and cotton be produced at an eminently remunerating price,—that this could not be accomplished with free labour; in short, that the practice 'paid.' To risk the lives and limbs of human beings for profitable or economically conducted operations, is but a modification of the same principle—a modification which, thanks to our ever-advancing civilieation, is fast dwindling away. The more scrupulously we abstain from tampering with Freedom of Trade, properly understood, the more fully are we entitled to insist on the observance of every condition necessary to the protection of the life or health or morality of the public. If these conditions cannot be complied with, without enlarging the law of criminal omissions and enforcing a severer superintendence over rash and negligent offences in the performance of otherwise lawful acts, there can be no question of the course, which a good citizen and a public-spirited legislature should pursue: *Odor lucri ex re quâlibet non est bonus.*

ART. V.— *Tales and Traditions of Hungary.* By FRANCIS and THERESA PULSZKY. Three volumes. London: 1851.

WE are disposed, on many accounts, to pay more attention to these 'Tales and Traditions of Hungary' than we generally bestow upon the annual harvest of foreign or domestic fiction. They are the productions of a land still very imperfectly known even to travelled Englishmen, and they exhibit national and social features of much interest, ere the latter were dimmed and disordered by revolutionary convulsions. The

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Tales themselves are remarkably well written, and evince a command over our language, not always found even in novelists 'to the manner born and bred.' They add something also to our legendary lore; but they are even more attractive as proofs — and they are not the only proofs afforded by their accomplished authors — of the resolute heart and purpose with which the Hungarian exiles in this country are striving, we trust successfully, to soothe their sorrows and alleviate their privations.

Our sentiments upon the causes and the issues of the late Hungarian Revolution were unreservedly expressed at the time: and we now allude to them, only for the sake of briefly re-affirming them. In the subsequent policy of Austria towards the kingdom, so unfortunately for itself, leagued with the imperial crown, we have seen nothing to commend, nor any reason to hope, that for the future Vienna will learn wisdom, or Hungary subservience from the struggle. On the contrary, instead of two crowns federally connected, we have now before us the melancholy spectacle of one nation suppressed by violence, and of another degraded by breach of faith, and sinking into an abyss of debt, which must sooner or later end in irretrievable insolvency. Hungary may be, like Poland, effaced from the list of independent kingdoms; but Austria is no less blotted out from her place among the independent nations of Europe. For a while enormous armies may sustain her, as the legions of Rome sustained the decaying Empire. For a while loans, monopolies, and commercial restrictions, may film over the yawning gulf in her exchequer. But, virtually, the imperial eagle has become a 'tame villatic fowl,' and must stoop to the lure of the Russian fowler, whenever his policy or his pleasure prompt him to reclaim her.

Our business, however, is with the past rather than the present. In one respect, these volumes have disappointed us. We had expected more legendary and mythical treasures from the border-land of Eastern Europe. Limitary districts, from Teviotdale to Rajahstan the seat of lingering wars and mingled races, have generally been the favourite haunts of popular tradition. But either the Hungarian mind is not actively creative or susceptive, or the great waves of legend had passed into Central Europe ere the Magyars established themselves on the plains of the Theiss and the Danube: for the most stirring and picturesque of the traditions selected by Mr. Pulszky are not of home-growth, but are either modified or imported from other lands. Thus we have tales of German, Jewish, and Slovak origin; we have a Magyar version, and not an improved one, of Cinderella; and in 'Jack the Horse-dealer' we

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unexpectedly encounter an old and valued acquaintance from North Britain. The general spirit and gracefulness of these stories indeed compensate, in some measure, for their want of originality; and the admixture of foreign elements is explained by the fact, that Hungary, like the Dorian States in Greece, was a *congeries* of many races under the supremacy of a single clan.

The Magyar element, indeed, predominant as it was in the camp and the council-chamber, was at no period the most potent or popular ingredient of the national mind. Song, myth, and local superstitions have been, in all ages and countries, quite as much the property of the subject, as of the dominant race. Not Dorians, but Acheans, furnished the staple of the Greek Epos and Drama; the conquered British race consoled itself with the lays of the Round Table; and the Saxon, when, in his turn, he was oppressed by the Norman, soothed his griefs by chaunting the exploits of Hereward and Robin Hood. Spain, indeed, which, in other respects, has so often run contrary to the European current of civilisation, presents a contrast in its ballads also. They were the songs of the victors, and breathe all the fierce bigotry of religious triumph. Yet, even in Spain, the bards of Valladolid borrowed much of their minstrelsy from the infidel poets of Granada, and the lays of the champions of the cross were often merely echoes of Moslem inspiration.

Poor, however, comparatively as Hungary seems to be in indigenous legends, it is, or at least it has been, until very lately, singularly rich in many of the elements which render chronicles picturesque and romance instructive. To the artist, whether he employs the pen or the pencil, permanence is dearer than progression. The broad daylight of our rapidly moving age is less grateful to his eye than the shadows of more stationary and more tranquil eras. Goethe pronounced a cotton mill in full work the greatest poem he had ever seen; yet his Faust was constructed, not out of the suggestions or accompaniments of spinning-jennies, but out of the most august and widely-diffused myth of the Middle Ages. Hungary, eager as it long has been for progress, has been also remarkably faithful to the past in its social aspect. Although in the heart of a continent, its intellectual position, since the days of the good Matthias Corvinus, has been almost insular; and in its deep seclusion the land of the Magyars has cherished the fashions of the age of Wallenstein. On the very brink of the late revolution her national character and relations resembled those of England in 1640 more than any of the social phases of Western Europe in 1848. At the beginning

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of the present century few European travellers had penetrated into Hungary further than Pesth; and the educated Hungarian rarely travelled at all, except as a soldier, or secretary of legation. The language of the Magyars, which is completely Asiatic in its structure, has been a further cause of their isolation from the rest of Europe. A portion of the class of Magnates, indeed, since the period when Maria Theresa drew their ancestors to her court by the double magnet of wealthy Austrian heiresses, and honorary Austrian decorations, has resided almost entirely at Vienna, and affected to deride the barbarous manners of their countrymen. But the nation itself was little influenced by the example of a few courtiers; and to be termed an Austrian was deemed a pointed insult to a Hungarian gentleman. Nor were even the great towns and provincial capitals favourite residences of the native aristocracy. From their Asiatic ancestors, as well as from the semi-feudal pomp which surrounded them in their castles and manors, they had imbibed an earnest passion for country life. They were active magistrates, agriculturists, and sportsmen. They dwelt in the midst of their tenantry. They were splendid and ceremonious in their retinues and their banquets. A marriage, or a funeral, would at times collect a small army of mounted and gaily-clad retainers. They were supreme judges in the county-courts, and general arbiters in all local controversies. They were as jealous of crown lawyers, as the early Christians of pagan tribunals; and they disdained the courtiers much as our Jacobite squires used to disdain St. James's and the partisans of the House of Hanover. Manners and opinions descended, with little change, from sire to son; and in the remoter districts old fashions were mingled with the oriental and patriarchal habits of the original followers of Duke Arpad.

Accordingly Hungary retained, long after the western provinces of Europe had lost them, many of the social characteristics which poets and artists delight in representing. Of these different pictorial elements, as well as of the many sublime and pastoral features which his native land presents, Mr. Pulszky has fully availed himself in his 'Tales and Traditions;' and his sketches of manners which are gradually becoming obsolete in Hungary, invest his narratives with a charm, which many readers will accept as an equivalent for a more indigenous and poetic originality. They reflect in lively colours the lineaments of the various races which compose the kingdom of Hungary; and they have afforded us in reading them a pleasure similar to that, with which we study a picture by Vandyke or

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an episode in Clarendon. The English country gentleman, whom the civil war in 1642 drove first into camps, and afterwards into exile, is no distant type of the Hungarian noble whom the revolution of 1848 hurried from his broad domains, and has since consigned to banishment on the banks of the Thames or the Potomac. The resemblance between the men who sacrificed themselves for Charles Stuart, and the men who responded to the appeals of Kossuth, can scarcely fail to have its due effect with the English reader in rendering Mr. Pulszky's volumes popular.

In collecting and arranging his 'Tales and Traditions,' Mr. Pulszky has had especial reference to the eras and peculiarities of Hungarian society. The first three stories are intended to delineate three distinct phases of national life. In the 'Baron's 'Daughter' we have the contrast between the nobleman attached to the court, and the proud allodial proprietor who disdains to hold his property as a fief from the king. The legal antiquary will recall in this story the recurring feud, both in Frankish and Saxon annals, between the territorial noble and the noble by office and creation. The second story turns upon the opposition between the burghers and the manorial lords; and in the proposed *mésalliance* between a landed spendthrift and the buxom heiress of a fashionable and wealthy tailor, it exemplifies the changes which trade was gradually introducing into society. In the third story, 'the Slovak Legend of Yanoshik,' the common robber appears as the avenger of social injustice; and, after the approved morality of Robin Hood and Rob Roy, levies black mail on the wealthy, in order to relieve the wants of the poor. The following tales in the first of the three volumes are less systematically connected with one another, or with the aspects of national life. Many of them are meant to illustrate the poetical and traditional feelings of the different races in Hungary; and some of the legends scarcely belong to Hungary at all, but have been admitted into the collection merely on account of their popularity at home or their intrinsic merit.

The traditions of Hungary are, however, confined to the first of the three volumes; the second and third are devoted to a tale of modern date. The alleged conspiracy for which Martinovitch, abbot of Sasvàr, and his friends suffered death upon the scaffold in 1794 is the groundwork of Mr. Pulszky's story, 'The Jacobins in Hungary.' It is not difficult to discover that portions of this tale are records of the Austrian system of governing by division and espionage at the present hour; and that the fate of Bathyani and the other illustrious victims of '49 is described and deplored under the mask of grief and in-

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dignation at earlier atrocities. Mr. Pulszky's feelings have, however, betrayed him into no political intemperance, while they add much force and pathos to his narrative. The plot of Martinovitch would, in the hands of most novelists, have afforded a fair pretext for the regular three volumes; and the author of the 'Jacobins in Hungary' has, by his conciseness, set both publishers and writers an excellent example. Mr. Pulszky does not detain the reader by descriptions of fine or wet days, of sunsets or moonlight on the waters, or the furniture of halls and boudoirs, but tells his story in an earnest, rapid, and business-like fashion. The connexion, indeed, between the first and the following volumes is not very obvious; and we should have preferred a total separation of the traditions from the tale. We could also have gladly welcomed a few more rhythmical legends, like that of 'Yanosh the Hero,' which is so gracefully chanted in blank verse by Madame Pulszky. This story is, indeed, in our opinion, the most striking and genial of the entire series; and as some readers are inclined to 'skip' verses which are imbedded in prose, we will attempt, by a brief analysis, to show that 'Yanosh' is a new acquaintance well worth being introduced into England.

The groundwork of the mythical 'Yanosh' is the *obsitos*, or hussar on furlough. This has always been a very popular character with the Hungarian peasantry. After ten — often after twenty — years' absence in garrison or in foreign lands, the hussar returns to the village where he was born. He is welcomed in every hut; his proper realm, however, is the public-house. There he enjoys, not merely 'his hour's import-'ance,' but a species of martial apotheosis. Enthroned in an elbow-chair, and with his pipe and wine-jug before him, he is the oracle, the geographer, and general gazetteer of the admiring villagers. Something of a Bobadil indeed he is, especially 'after the operation,' as Mercutio phrases it, 'of the third 'cup.' His stories are interminable, and extremely fabulous. His chorography is as exact as Gulliver's. He has been in the land of the dog-headed Tartars. His narrative would entitle him to a place in Lucian's treatise '*De Verâ Historiâ.*' He took Napoleon prisoner at Leipsig: but then he was wondrous pitiful, and let him go again because the empress Maria Louisa wept so bitterly. By the same token, the empress gave him her own golden watch, which he would gladly have exhibited to his friends and kinsfolk, had it not passed into the hands of certain Jews. Of Italy he remembers only the intense cold and the huge rosemary bushes. Of France he has not much more to tell, beyond his having fought with the inhabi-

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tants thereof, because they had robbed their king of his crown. But on his march to France—and his cups are now nearer the number of the Muses than of the Graces—'he passed the Alps, 'and saw that they reached up to the moon, so that he was 'able to caress her jolly face.' But at this point of his story apparently some sceptical person begins to cross-question the *obsitos*, in a dialogue, very like some of Hans Andersen's: —

'"What then did the moon do when you kissed her jolly face?"

'"Saucy lad," interrupts the greybeard; "she complacently purred like a cat."

'He proceeds to describe how he got farther and farther to the very last end of the world.

'"And what did you do there?" inquires a pert little girl.

'"Well, I sat down on the brink of the world, and swung my feet over the boundless *nothing*."

'"And have you not likewise been up to heaven, Bacsi?" is again inquired.

'"To be sure, I was there once."

'"Goodness me, how pleasant that must have been! Certainly, up above, there is no need to work, and food and wine are in plenty."

'"Silly boy," retorts the old hussar; "there is work enough. The stars have to be cleaned all day long with chalk and spirits, so that in the evening when they are hung up, they may shine brilliantly, and there is little rest for the soldier, as the old saints have all double sentinels at their doors. But the temple of St. Peter! *that* is the largest building all over the earth, and far prettier than anything I knew in heaven." He continues; "when we were commanded there to the church parade, we were obliged to keep two days of rest, before we could get from the gate to the chief altar."

The 'cleaning the stars with chalk and spirits' is not a mere flight of fancy in the *obsitos*, but a memento typical of his greatest grievance while in active service,—that, namely, of being daily compelled to polish his regimental buttons, and keep them as bright as mirrors. The irksomeness of this duty he can never forget. It haunts his dreams and troubles his banquets.

The hero Yanosh is a mythical hussar. He rises from the peasant to the soldier, passes through a labyrinth of strange adventure, and ends his career by becoming the king of fairy-land. Madame Pulszky has adopted the modern version of this story by Alexander Petöfy—a youthful poet who, in 1848, fought for his country and sang its glory: 'but, since the last 'unfortunate battles in Transylvania, he has disappeared: his 'fate is unknown.' Petöfy's poem is written in four-lined stanzas of Alexandrians—'a measure well adapted in the Hun-'garian language for popular tales.' The English translation is in blank verse, which metre Madame Pulszky adopted 'in

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'order not to be diverted by the exigencies of rhyme from 'following the original exactly.' The following is a brief outline of the adventures of Yanosh:—Yanosh or Yantshe, that is, John or Jack, is a shepherd whose cattle graze on the village common. He loves and is beloved by a fair maiden named Ilush, who is servant of all work to a cruel stepmother. Yantshe, having been making love instead of minding his business, loses the best part of his herd, and is 'pitchforked' off the premises by his wrathful master. Mr. John, after performing a doleful serenade under Ilush's window, leaves her to the novercal mercies, and becomes a wanderer over the face of the earth. A storm, which is very powerfully described, drives him for shelter to a cottage tenanted by a gang of robbers. The robbers insist that he shall either die or join the band. Yantshe adroitly eludes the alternative: drinks his churlish and dishonest hosts under the table, and burns their house about their ears.

After this good deliverance, he 'wanders again over hill and 'dale,' and at length falls in with a troop of hussars, who accept him as a recruit. They are bound for the realm of France, where they are particularly wanted, as 'the miscreant 'Turk' has not merely laid waste the kingdom, but also carried off the king's daughter. Yet, considering the urgent need of the allied forces, their line of march is somewhat circuitous; for they first visit the dog-headed Tartars, who prove to be very worthy folk, Italy, and India! On arriving, however, Yantshe does 'yeoman's service:' he rescues the French princess and makes a hideous slaughter of the Turks. In requital the king of France proposes to abdicate in Yantshe's favour, and to give him, moreover, 'his fair daughter to wife.' But the hero declines both proffers, telling His Most Christian Majesty, that 'If the 'dear Ilush cannot be mine.... I will possess no other in this 'world.' Whereupon the king treats Yantshe as handsomely as Alcinous of yore treated Ulysses. He gives him store of gold out of his treasury and puts him on board a ship with orders to convey him to Hungary—Hungary, in those days, having, like Bohemia in Shakspeare's, a sea-port. The vessel sailed with a favourable wind; but one evening, when hero John, like pious Æneas, was standing on deck, watching 'a host of red-legged 'storks above him in the clouds,'.... the mate predicted foul weather: and on the morning his prediction was so completely verified that Yantshe is washed ashore, but his gold and his ship and comrades disappear for ever. Fortunately, like Ulysses again, he is stranded on his own coast, and on a part not very far from the cottage where Ilush dwells. But here his luck, for the present, ends; for Ilush is in her grave, 'done to death'

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by her cruel stepmother. Yantshe plucks a rose-bud from her tomb, and sets forth again 'to wander to the limits of the world.'

He arrives in Giant-land, and finds its king at dinner with his fifty sons. They are far better than the giants of ancient Britain in our *Jack's* days, inasmuch as they eat, neither Englishmen nor other men, but—rocks. The giant monarch helps Hungary John to a slice of granite. Our hero, naturally resenting such hard fare, yet not altogether warrantably we think, knocks his Majesty on the head with his dinner, and then most unexpectedly finds he has succeeded to all the paternal rights and titles, and that the fifty youthful giants have become his vassals. Next he comes upon a witch-sabbath, and discovers among that unhallowed crew the wicked step-mother of Ilush. He steals their broomsticks; summons, by a few notes of his deceased host's whistle, his fifty giant-vassals; and has the satisfaction of a witch-battue, and of seeing the 'injusta noverca' hurled through the air into Hungary, where the villagers, next morning,

> 'Find her dead
> In Yantshe's native village, on the turf;
> And no one mourned the wicked woman's fate.'

After this signal service to society, hero John comes to the *endless ocean*, beyond which lies Fairy-land. One of his obedient giants carries him across, and after landing, and slaying in three successive days—this being the favourite number in Hungarian legend—three lions, three bears, and a dreadful dragon, he becomes free of the country, bathes in the Lake of Life, and by the same immersion, the rose-bud from the tomb becomes Ilush herself.

> 'The fairy maids admired her all, and soon
> Elected her their Queen; the fairy boys
> Proclaimed the hero king; and in this isle,
> With his Ilush, up to this day, John lives,
> The happy ruler of the Fairy-land.

We have dwelt more especially upon the legend of 'Yanosh 'the Hero,' because it appears to us the best representative in Madame Pulszky's collection of the life of the Hungarian peasant and of the turn of his imagination. It is scarcely necessary to point out the affinity between that poem and the Arabian tales. Indeed, nearly all the elder Hungarian traditions have in them a tinge of orientalism. We have already indicated also more than one parallelism between 'Yanosh' and the Odyssey—the most Asiatic in its character of the Hellenic lays. The reader who is versed in legendary lore will easily discover many other features in common with the cycle of European myths. The imaginative mind of Hungary would

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seem to be eclectic in its character, and to delight less in inventing than in expanding or adorning the traditions of other nations. Its eclectic tendency may probably be ascribed, on the one hand, to the late introduction of the Magyars into Europe, and, on the other, to the variety of races which occupy the land of Hungary Proper. We have found, however, among Mr. Pulszky's traditions no traces of a story which was long supposed indigenous in Hungary,—the story of the Vampyre. Their once troublesome and terrible neighbours, the Tartars, play, of course, no unimportant part in the traditions of the Hungarians. Prior, to say nothing of other authorities, has made us all acquainted with the dread inspired by their name, and the solid and sanguinary fashion of their diet.* But, until we read Mr. Pulszky's book, we do not remember to have met with a reversal of the adage, 'Catching a Tartar.' 'The Poor Tartar' might have been entitled 'The Tartar 'Caught.' The legend is as follows:—

'When in the tenth century, the Tartars, led by their chief, Batu Khan, invaded Hungary, and King Bela was forced to flee from the disastrous battle at Sajó, despair seized upon the Hungarians. Many had fallen on the field, still more were butchered by the faithless enemy; some sought escape, others apathetically awaited their fate. Amongst these was a nobleman, who lived retired on his property, distant from every high road. He possessed fine herds, stately horses, rich corn fields, and a well-stocked house, built but recently for the reception of his wife, who now for two years had been its mistress.

'The disheartening account of the general misfortune had reached this secluded shelter, and its peaceful lord was horrified. He trembled at every sound, at every step; he found his meals less savoury. His very sleep was troubled; he often sighed, and seemed quite lost and wretched. Thus anxiously anticipating the days to come, he sat at his well-closed window, when suddenly a Tartar on his steed galloped into the court. The Hungarian bounced from his seat, ran to meet his guest, and said:

'"Tartar, thou art my lord: I am thy servant: all thou seest is thine. Take what thou fanciest; I do not oppose thy power; command, thy servant obeys."

'The Tartar impatiently sprang from his horse, entered the house, and cast a careless glance on all the precious objects around. His eye was fascinated by the brilliant beauty of the lady of the house, who appeared tastefully attired to greet him here, no less graciously than her consort had in the court below.

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* Was ever Tartar fierce or cruel
Upon the strength of water gruel?
But who shall stand his rage and force,
If first he rides, then eats his horse?

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'The Tartar seized her without a moment's hesitation, and, unheedful of her shrieks, swung himself upon his saddle, and spurred away, carrying off his lovely booty.

'All this was but an instant's work; the nobleman was thunderstruck, yet he recovered, and hastened to the gate. He could hardly still distinguish the Tartar galloping in the distance, and bearing away the lady fair.

'Her consort heaved a sigh, and exclaimed with deep commiseration: "Alas! poor Tartar!"'

Madame Pulszky concludes her portion of these volumes with a very lively and instructive account of the 'Outlaws,' or, as they are often denominated, the 'Poor Lads of Hungary.' The robber is a personage who appears in almost every Hungarian tale. The traveller seldom sees him; but he hears of him at every post-house; for the inn-keepers are always well provided with tales of highwaymen, to detain their customers at night or to induce them to take an escort in the day-time. The Austrian conscription, combined with the reluctance of the peasant to pass the best years of his life in the garrisons of Italy, Galicia, or the German provinces, materially contributes to recruit these roving bands. Deserters, unjust serving men, and fugitives from the police, betake themselves to the woods and marshes, and enjoy a precarious freedom at the expense of the farmers and the manorial aristocracy. There is, however, considerable difference between the races, both in their sense of 'meum and tuum,' and as regards the kind and the degree of the offences which they commit. The German colonists in the Saxonland of Transylvania, in the free towns, and the northern county of Zipsen, are the most rigid respecters of property. Murder and arson are seldom heard of among them, and it is gratifying to learn that they are the best educated and most frugal of the 'nationalities.' The Jews are the accredited receivers of stolen goods, as well as the chief harbourers of thieves; for which offices they are especially fitted by their avocations as publicans and wandering pedlars. But the most active and subtle of thieves is the Gipsy. He is, indeed, a practical Communist, and has inherited from his earliest ancestors the maxim which he so punctiliously observes, 'La propriété c'est le vol.' For crimes of deeper die,—murder, arson, and robbery with violence,—the swarthy Slovaks of the South are in bad odour; and the Wallack rivals even the Corsican in the shrewdness, the patience, and the energy with which he accomplishes his *vendetta*.

The Hungarian occupies a midway station in the statistics of crime. He is rarely a sneaking thief, and as rarely a burglar

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or a deliberate assassin. On the other hand, he is addicted to arson, and frequently commits manslaughter in the frays of the tavern. But his absorbing passion is horse-stealing. His nomadic blood is stirred irresistibly at the sight of a handsome horse or a stately bull. The following anecdote strikingly illustrates the propensity of the Hungarians to cattle-lifting. Indeed, Willie of Westburnflat and the heroes of Teviotdale would have found themselves quite at home in the Hungarian borderland.

'About twenty years ago, Mr. Borbé'ly, a wealthy man, was noted in the country for his eccentricities. He was fond of meddling in the county elections, and once rode from the county of Szabolos, with two hundred peasant-nobles, to an election in the county of Beregh, where his companions had the right of suffrage. Arrived at the frontiers of the county, on the borders of Tisza, he stopped, and said:

'"My noble brethren! we are proceeding to a constitutional solemnity in Beregh: we are to exercise there the greatest privilege of nobility, the right to elect a representative for the diet, and we must be mindful to behave in a manner becoming our station. We shall there see many horses, many oxen; handsome oxen. Let, therefore, every one of us well consult his conscience, and closely examine whether he is able to resist temptation: it is yet time. Whoever does not feel himself strong enough to subdue every inclination to weakness, may step forth and return. We stand now on the boundary, but as soon as we have crossed the Tisza, we are in the neighbouring county; and it would be a cruel shame if fewer of us were to return than have set out, and if several of our number should remain behind in the county-house, not upstairs in the great county-hall as guests, but below in the gaol, shut up as thieves. Consider, noble brethren *, and decide."

'It was a picturesque sight. Borbé'ly in red attire, cut in the peasant's fashion, with the drawn sword in his hand, rode on a roan horse: a white feather flowed on his broadly rimmed black felt hat. Around him were assembled two hundred peasants of Szabolos, all adorned with similar white feathers, their party sign: and in their rear halted forty cars, from which they had descended to approach their leader, and listen to his discourse. When he had ended, they thunderingly cheered him; but two of them left the ranks, and declared they doubted whether they could resist temptation, and therefore preferred to return. Borbé'ly loudly praised their conscientiousness, gave each of them ten shillings for his journey back, and led his other virtuous heroes over the Tisza. His speech had

* The peasant-nobles (freeholders) are always addressed by the higher classes of nobility with the words 'noble brethren.' One feature in common with many others, between the Magyars and the Roman burghers, who accosted one another as 'celsi Ramnes.'

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the wished-for results, and his noble brethren decided the election without getting into any collision with the county justice of Beregh.'

We must now conclude our notice of these very interesting volumes. We have confined our remarks to the strictly Hungarian portion of them, and have very probably passed over some stories which may seem to our readers more attractive even than those we have cited or analysed. For this cause we have omitted the German tale of the Free Shot — a distant cousin of our well-known acquaintance 'Der Freischütz;' the Slovak story of the 'Golden Cross of Körösfö,' which is a variety of an Arabian fable, 'The Buried Palace;' The Jewish tales, which are incorporated in the Talmud; and 'Pan Twardowsky,' which, in an abbreviated form, had already found its way into England and been illustrated by George Cruikshank. Our limits, on the other hand, have compelled us to abstain from abridging the beautiful story of 'Klingsohr of Hungary,' and the indigenous tale of 'Monastir,' a Magyar version of the classical legend of the Spear of Achilles, which at once caused wounds and cured them. The same reason has withheld us entirely from touching upon Mr. Pulszky's 'Jacobins in Hungary,' which, however, its intrinsic merits will sufficiently commend to the reader.

Had these volumes been the result of lettered ease, or the harvest of studious and observant travel, we should have found much to attract us in them. But our interest in their contents is much enhanced by the circumstance of their being the fruits of exile. In the act of composing or collecting these 'songs of 'home in a strange land,' countless associations and recollections must have thronged upon their gifted authors, and rendered their labours a renewal of sorrows. Scenes which they may never revisit, and friends from whom sounding seas and shores, or inexorable death have divided them for ever, must here have once more passed before them in shadowy succession. The sympathy of a nation, with whom their own countrymen have so much in common, we are confident, will not fail them: and while we cordially welcome the present volumes as meet companions to Grimm and Auerbach, we cannot but congratulate ourselves that the English language has been made the receptacle of these gleanings from the 'Tales and Traditions' of the Magyars.

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ART. VI. — 1. *Letters to John Bull, Esquire, on Affairs connected with his Landed Property, and the Persons who live thereon.* By Sir EDWARD BULWER LYTTON, Bart. Eighth edition.

2. *A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Bedford, on the Prospects of Agriculture.* By W. W. WHITMORE, Esquire.

LORD STANLEY has told us, what many of his party have repeated, in language too plain to be misunderstood, that, although the cause of Protection is hopeless during the continuance of the current Parliament, there may yet be hopes of returning to the House of Commons at the next election, a Protectionist majority numerous enough to reverse the present Free-trade policy; that it will then be practicable to impose, in favour of the British farmer, moderate import duties upon agricultural produce, so as to check the downward tendency of prices, and thus enable tenant farmers to conduct their business with an adequate profit. The actual state of parties, as shown by recent parliamentary divisions, imparts some appearance of probability to this expectation of a change of Ministry, at a no very distant day. And as a dissolution of Parliament would accompany or immediately follow a change of Ministry, many of those who believe in its approach are preparing themselves for the coming combat at the hustings; and are consequently putting forth appeals to such constituencies as are supposed likely to prefer men pledged to increase, by legislative measures, the price of the produce which they raise.

Among these anglers for agricultural votes is to be found one who was once counted on the side of the Free Traders. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton is a gentleman who has undeniable pretensions to take his seat among our legislators. Since he last enjoyed that honour, he has become a considerable landowner, and it is understood to be his present ambition — a very natural one — to represent in Parliament the county in which his property is situated, comprising a constituency whose interests are thought to be bound up with those of the order to which he now belongs. The conversion to their ranks of a man of note, such as Sir Edward Lytton, is an event of some importance to the advocates of Protection, who may fairly expect that it will be followed by further accessions to their numbers. For, it is only reasonable in them to suppose, that he cannot have been gained over to their cause save by cogent reasons; and that many others who may not have before bestowed sufficient independent attention on the controversy, will be led to give to his

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conversion a weight which would be denied to the opinions of a meaner advocate. In the absence of any similar apprehension, we did not think it necessary to notice the 'Sophisms of Free Trade,' notwithstanding the numerous editions through which that volume passed.

Having most carefully examined the three letters which Sir Edward has lately published on the subject, we confess that we cannot see in them any arguments which have not been again and again disposed of, or which, proceeding from any writer of less account, would have appeared deserving of further refutation. But, for the reasons already given, it seems desirable at this time, and at the risk of being accused of again slaying the slain, to notice and to controvert the facts and reasonings through the aid of which Sir Edward seeks to justify his abandonment of the Free-trade cause.

While gladly bearing witness to the moderation of language with which he has assailed his former opinions,—a spirit not always found in political adversaries, and especially among recent converts,—we must be allowed to express our mortification that, at the outset of his argument, Sir Edward has allowed himself to cast a slur upon the efforts of society to provide more adequate means of education for the masses of our population. To see in a country squire, bred up to consider fox-hunting as the first of social pursuits, a fear of imparting knowledge to the people, lest they should be above the performance of menial services, would not in the least surprise us; but that an accomplished author, whose successful object it has been for so many years to enlighten the higher classes, should enrol himself among the obscurantists of the lower, does excite in us feelings of very deep regret. Is it possible that Sir Edward can be ignorant, that the facts, which he has derived from the tables of M. Guerry, in favour of the comparative innocence of the illiterate, have been most satisfactorily explained? and that, when they are considered (as statistical facts should always be considered) in all their circumstances, they prove the very reverse of the conclusion to which by inference he would lead his readers? M. Guerry has indeed shown 'that in those departments of France, in which the average of education is highest, it is found almost invariably, that crimes against both life and property are the most relatively numerous;' but Sir Edward has omitted to tell us, that in these same departments, crimes are for the most part committed by persons from whom all instruction has been withheld,—a consequence which seems to lie upon the very surface; since it is precisely in well educated communities that the ignorant would find themselves at the

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greatest disadvantage in the competition for honest employments, and where they would consequently be most tempted to criminal courses. The districts where instruction abounds are, besides, precisely those districts where property abounds also, and where, consequently, crimes against property will naturally be most abundant. We confess that the inference to be drawn from the fact as stated by Sir Edward is one which we were not prepared to find him conceding to the prejudices of the vulgar; and we are the more surprised and grieved to encounter him among the fauterors of these prejudices, because we cannot comprehend how the fallacy, which he is thus instrumental in advancing, is in any wise helpful to his argument in favour of Protection.

The fallacy next brought forward in these letters is, that it is the interest connected with the owning and occupation of land 'which supports the bulk of our poor, which maintains 'the clergy, and defrays the costs that uphold civilisation in 'rural districts.' Now it will not be difficult to show that, not only is there no truth in this position, but that, as respects the support of the poor, it is the very reverse of the truth. If it ever was true, that time has long since passed away. From a period which reaches back beyond the experience of most persons now living, it may be safely asserted, that to the wealth of towns, and the employment which that wealth has given to labour, the landed interest has been indebted for relief from burdens to an incalculable extent. It was shown by the census of 1841, that the number of persons employed in agricultural labour was less absolutely, and, of course, less proportionally, then, than in 1831. The natural increase of the population is always greater in the country than in towns, by reason of the greater longevity attained in country districts, and the larger proportional number of children born in them, who are reared: and as, in this kingdom, where the land has long been fully occupied, there is no room for further employment in cultivating the soil, while the tendency of improvements in the processes of agriculture is rather to lessen than to add to the demand for agricultural labour on any given area, the fact of a decrease in our agricultural population, as proved by the census of 1841, scarcely needed that confirmation, but might have been assumed from the very nature of the case. Let our landowners, who are so clamorous for legislative protection, by means of import duties upon corn, reflect a little upon the consequences to themselves of any effective interference which should counteract this tendency; and it is difficult to imagine that they should not see how fatal it must be,—at least in this point of view,—to their true interests. A duty upon imported grain can only be supposed to benefit the

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British landowner by limiting the quantity imported; for if the same number of quarters should find their way to our markets, it needs no argument to show that the price of home-grown corn would not be increased by the duty, since it is the relation of supply to demand which alone regulates prices. Of course, however, the quantity imported would be limited, for it could no longer answer to the foreign grower to supply us, if, out of the market price which satisfied him when his produce came in free, he should find his net returns diminished through having to pay a duty. If, as our Protectionists would have us believe is always the case, it is the foreigner and not the consumer who pays the duty, and who thus is made to contribute towards our public revenue, what benefit to the agricultural class would arise from this? It would, indeed, prove advantageous to the country at large, could the foreigner thus be brought to relieve us, in any sensible degree, from taxation; but where is the man in his senses who imagines for a moment that any one save the consumer, pays the tax upon that which he uses? If the tax does not add to the price, how can its imposition benefit the home producer, and if it does add to the price, by whom is that addition paid, save by those who are forced to give that higher price?

It is clear, therefore, that an import duty, to have any effect in the direction sought by the advocates of Protection, must limit the supply, must raise the price, must diminish the foreign trade of the country, and must lessen the accumulation of capital, together consequently, with the demand for labour in the towns. What is then to become of the individuals who form the natural increase of the population in country districts? Where are they to find the means of supporting themselves? During all the years in which Protection existed, there were no such means furnished save in the towns; and so inadequately were those means then furnished, compared with what has been experienced since Protection was removed, that the poor-rates, which it is wrongly asserted are principally paid by the farmer, were greatly higher at that period, than they have been since the beginning of 1849. What other reason for this fact can be assigned than that through the repeal of the Corn-law and the all but free admission of foreign grain, the springs of industry throughout the country have been so far relieved, that employment has been found for a greater number of the people than was possible under the restrictive system? Let the advocates for the restoration of that system but succeed in their endeavours, let the manufacturing industry of the kingdom receive the serious check which they would thus give to it, and where are the surplus inhabitants of

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the rural districts to betake themselves? They must remain at home in a condition of hopeless pauperism; the whole of these districts must be converted into great pauper warrens; and the farmer, finding himself, as it were, eaten up by the crowds around him, who in this case will be reduced to forced idleness, would be no longer able to pay rent or to hold his position in society.

Besides, it is an error to assert that the land supports the bulk of the poor. The proportion in which land contributes to that support is every year being lessened through the increase and prosperity of the towns, the rateable property in which is constantly and rapidly augmenting in value. Thus in every way is relief practically extended to the land, by the very means which those who own and occupy the land are seeking to destroy. Even at present the contributions of land to the purposes in question, are not beyond nine twentieths of the whole sum assessed; while real property of other kinds is now so rapidly increasing, that we may fairly expect in a very few years to see the land assessed for less than one third of the sum actually needed. At the same time, this entire sum, through the rapid accumulation of capital, under the more natural system to which we have now reverted,—an accumulation greatly beyond the increase of our population,—will be lessened, not merely with relation to our means of bearing the burden, but positively. Sir Edward brings forward an extract from the evidence of a farmer, who was examined before the Committee of the House of Lords, on the burdens affecting land, which sat in 1846; and he evidently thinks that it greatly strengthens his case. The quotation is as follows:—'The poor-rates on Mr. Heathcoat's factory in 'this parish, have averaged 41*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* a year, for the last seven 'years; on the farm occupied by myself, 58*l.* 2*s.*; so that I 'have paid 17*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* a year more than Mr. Heathcoat. My 'rental is 300*l.* a year, and the profits you can imagine; Mr. 'Heathcoat's profits are reputed to be 40,000*l.* a year!'. It would be well to inquire from what amount of poor-rates this farmer was relieved through the existence in his parish of a thriving manufactory, employing so much labour as could justify the estimate formed of the profits which it yielded: and, further, whether the 41*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* a year paid by Mr. Heathcoat was not altogether called for by causes to which that gentleman did not contribute, but which flowed from the insufficient wages paid to labourers in agriculture, and to the operation of the laws affecting parish settlement;—which laws form, probably, a more fruitful source of expense to the occupier of land than any of the causes of which he is so prone to complain.

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Sir Edward further asserts, that it is the land which maintains the clergy,—by land meaning landlords. In making this assertion, he presumes too much upon the want of knowledge of his readers. He surely does not question the fact that, as respects tithes, the Church has always been joint owner of the soil, and that the revenue which the parson (*persona ecclesiæ*) derives from the soil is as much his property *for the time being*, as the remaining nine tenths are the property of the lay landlord. Until the passing of the recent law for commuting tithes into a fixed money payment, a system of joint ownership, under which one party bore the whole expense of improvement, in the benefits of which the other party participated, was no doubt a very inconvenient system, and had a tendency to check improvement. This evil is now, however, for the most part, if not entirely, remedied; but, even while it continued in operation, the landowner had no just ground for claiming any compensation on that account from the rest of the community. He had inherited, or acquired, his land subject to the payment of tithes in kind, and was in so far only part-owner of the products of the soil; there could, therefore, be no justice in any legislation which should propose enabling him to draw from the rest of the community an equivalent for the remaining part, which never was his own.

In connexion with this branch of the subject, we must take occasion to ask, whether there be not another part of the usufruct of the land, beyond that belonging to the Church, to which the landowner has no ancient and, in strictness, no equitable claim? The *land-tax*, as assessed at the Revolution, and as succeeding to the subsidies of former times, amounts, in fact, to only a small remnant of the revenues which, until the Restoration, the Crown had retained for itself from the yearly value of estates held by its feudal tenants. About the year 1080, when the Domesday Book was compiled, all the great landholders met William the Norman at Sarum, and 'submitted their lands to 'the yoke of military tenure, became the king's vassals, and did 'homage and fealty to his person, obliging themselves to defend 'their lord's territories and titles against all enemies, foreign and 'domestic.' From that time, until the Stuarts were reinstated on the throne of Great Britain, more than 30 per cent. of the whole public taxation of the kingdom was borne directly by the land. For more than 100 years of that period no tax whatever was levied upon personal effects. Sir John Sinclair, in his 'History of the 'Public Revenue,' after describing the various payments exacted from landholders by the Crown, remarks, 'Such was the heavy 'and complicated system of personal slavery, and of financial

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'oppression, to which this country was subject, from the invasion of William the Norman until the restoration of the regal 'government in the year 1660. Fortunately, by 12 Car. 2. c. '24., the whole fabric was demolished at a blow; and it is 'now a matter of just astonishment how a nation who gloried 'in its freedom, and boasted of the mildness and benignity 'of its laws, could suffer itself to be loaded for so many centuries with a burden, which, notwithstanding some partial 'mitigations, seems to have been almost insupportable.' The forms in which this burden was imposed, and the irregularity of its incidence, constituted a special grievance; but the mere fiscal objection to it could only proceed on the ground of its partiality in favour of the industrial portions of the people. The fact, however, shews, that the real property of the kingdom was long held to be the source whence the public service should be provided; and, indeed, the complaint amounts to this, that it was a hardship to oblige a tenant, holding upon very advantageous terms, to pay rent for his land. During the time of the Commonwealth, viz. from Nov. 1640 to Nov. 1659, there was raised for public purposes the sum of 83,331,198*l.*, of which more than 59 millions consisted of land-tax, and sales of sequestered estates. On the restoration of Charles the Second the landowners took advantage of the power which they possessed in the Convention Parliament, to throw off entirely from their own shoulders the old feudal burdens of the State, and to shift them on shoulders less able to bear them. They passed a law absolving themselves from the payment of a rent-charge upon their lands, and levied instead a tax upon all the beer, ale, and other liquors sold in the kingdom; taking care, however, to reserve to themselves all the dues which they had been accustomed to receive from their copyholders. It would be well for our Protectionist landowners, if, when led to make complaint of the *peculiar burdens* placed upon the land, they would remember the *peculiar obligation* which has been thus removed from them, by proceedings of very questionable honesty on the part of their ancestors.

It forms but a weak argument in favour of protecting duties that they were established at the revolution of 1688, when this class of questions was but little understood, and when the possessors of land had it all their own way in Parliament. Sir Edward endeavours to make much of the fact, that,—an act having been passed in 1773 permitting the importation of wheat on the payment of 6*d.* per quarter, whenever the home price should be at or above 48*s.*,—this duty was raised as soon afterwards as 1791 to one more restrictive. What, however, does

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history tell us was the real working of this more restrictive law? The scale it established was a duty on wheat of 24*s.* 3*d.* per quarter when the price should be under 50*s.*; of 2*s.* 6*d.* when the price should be between 50*s.* and 54*s.*; and of 6*d.* per quarter whenever the price exceeded 54*s.* At the date of its enactment, and for three years after, the supply of wheat of home growth was so abundant that we spared considerable quantities for exportation; but in 1795, there set in a cycle of bad harvests, and prices rose far beyond the rate at which importations could take place under the nominal duty of 6*d.*, a state of things which continued throughout the war; so that the act of 1791 cannot be said to have been at any time in practical operation.

In answer to the assertion so constantly made, not only by Sir Edward Lytton, but by all who take up the same side of the question,—that low prices of food must act injuriously upon the labouring class by lowering wages,—we may point to the experience of the past two years, and not of those years only, but of every period when food has been abundant and therefore cheap throughout the kingdom. In every instance where this has occurred, the condition of the labourers, and especially of the farming labourers, has been one of comparative comfort. At various times since the introduction of that system of Corn-laws which began with 1815, and since the monopoly of the home market was secured to the native farmer either by actual prohibition until grain should reach a famine price, or by rates of duty nearly equivalent to prohibition, we have had a series of inquiries by Committees of either House of Parliament into the causes of Agricultural Distress; but in all these inquiries farming labourers were proved to be in possession of increased rather than diminished means. In 1847, by reason of the failure of the potato crop, and the consequent great demand for other descriptions of food, prices rose exorbitantly in comparison with the prices of immediately preceding years; the state of the independent labouring population, and especially of those employed in agriculture, became in consequence one of great trial, so that in many cases they found it impossible to live upon their earnings, and incurred debts for the absolute necessaries of life. We have since had two years of Free Trade and moderate prices; and although these same labourers in agriculture have been forced in some counties to submit to a reduction of their money wages, their condition is improved notwithstanding; not only is their food more abundant, and their clothing more decent, than it had been in their power previously to command, but we know that they have been able to liquidate the debts which the necessities of 1847 had forced

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them to incur. In all other descriptions of employment there has been no talk of reducing wages; quite the contrary,— to such an extent, indeed, that it needs no argument to show, that the condition of the working men must be most substantially bettered: And in the present state of information among them it is equally superfluous to say that 'they know the reason why.'

It is doubtless the conviction of this fact which induces the advocates for 'Protection to Agriculture' to argue in favour of Protection also to other branches of industry. In this, however, they reckon without their host. The working men in our cities and seats of manufacture not only know the reason why they and their families are better fed and better clothed, and why they have less cause for anxiety lest employment should fail them; they also know, that no protective duties could be of the slightest benefit to them, but that, on the contrary, under a system which should limit the demands of foreign markets, they would have less certainty of employment,—that thus they might be driven to accept of lower wages, and with lighter purses have to meet the heavier demands of the baker. Neither is the great value of the home market, a point much insisted on by Protectionists, any secret to those whose industry is put in requisition to supply it: but they know also that this home market is never so extensive nor so good, as when the masses of their fellow countrymen, having abundant, and therefore, cheap supplies of food, have something to spare for other necessaries as well as for some of the conveniences of life. Assuredly, the cause of Protection need not look for allies among the working classes of England.

In the endeavour to show the value of Protection to manufactures, Sir Edward has paraded a few sentences drawn from the writings of professed Free-traders, which he endeavours to pass off as admissions of the value of the system which they write to oppose. With this view, he has pressed into his service passages from Mr. Porter's work on 'The Progress of the Nation,' which, taken from their context, have the appearance of favouring the cause of Protection, but which, when read from the volume itself, have no such tendency. Sir Edward says (p. 24.), with reference to the exclusion of silk manufactures which was enforced until 1824,—'What does Mr. Porter himself remark on 'this head? "By this prohibitory law, the English silk manu-'facturers were legally secured in the exclusive possession of '"the home market, from which, in the then imperfect con-'"dition of the manufacture, they would have been driven by '"the superior fabrics of foreign looms."' Sir Edward omits, however, the reasons which Mr. Porter assigns for this state of

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things — viz., the heavy duties imposed on the importation of raw and thrown silk, and still more the want of all stimulus to improvement, by reason of such legal monopoly; and he omits to quote from the following page the statement that, through the withdrawal of this monopoly, and the improvements in the manufacture rendered necessary in consequence, English silks are now produced at prices and of qualities which enable us successfully to compete in foreign markets with goods produced abroad. Even the English farmer would be a better swimmer now, if he had never been incumbered with, — what must have always been to him unnecessary, — the aid of corks.

Other quotations respecting the cotton manufacture of France and Germany are made from the same author, and with about the same degree of candour. Using *per-centages* instead of actual quantities, Sir Edward would lead his readers to infer that the cotton manufacture under the system of strict protection in France has thriven in a greater degree than the same manufacture in Great Britain under that of freedom. For this purpose he selects the years between 1812 and 1826, and again between 1833 and 1843, and compares the increase during each of those periods in the respective countries. It so happens that in France the quantity consumed in 1812 was unusually low, and in 1826 as unusually high: the increase between the two years thus appears to be fifty-six millions of pounds. If an equal period of time had been selected only one year later — viz., between 1813 and 1837—the increased quantity would have been forty-four millions of pounds, or twelve millions less. In England, between 1812 and 1826, the increase was above 101 millions of pounds. Next, during the ten years from 1833 to 1843, it is inferred that the French manufacturers gained upon their English competitors; but what is the fact? In France, the increase in weight of cotton used between those years was fifty-four millions of pounds, while in England during the same period it was 287 millions of pounds!

It is a favourite plea with the advocates of protecting duties, that by their means great branches of industry are fostered in a more backward country, until such a degree of skill has been acquired in them as will enable it to stand its ground against foreign competition. This is altogether a delusion. It would not be possible to point out any considerable branch of manufacture in any country, success in which is attributable to such a cause. Under this plea, however, the Government of France has hitherto succeeded in persuading the French nation, that it is for their ultimate advantage to pay for iron of home manufacture more than double the price for which they could

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import it from abroad. M. Michel Chevalier, one of the ablest economists of the present day, a professor in the *College de France*, has computed, that since the peace of Paris, the direct loss thus sustained by the French people has amounted to 1,200 millions of francs, or forty-eight millions sterling; a sum which, if employed at common interest, would yield in perpetuity a revenue sufficient to buy, year by year in this country, a quantity of iron equal to the whole of that metal which, under the shadow of protecting duties amounting to 100*l.* per cent., has been produced in France.

The common watch-word, or cuckoo-note, of the advocates of restriction in affairs of trade is, 'protection to native industry.' In the principle fairly involved in this motto we cordially agree. We are as anxious as the most vehement advocate for high import duties on foreign products can be, that the industry of our fellow countrymen should be protected. We only differ as to the means. Their theory of protection is, to guard against competition those branches of industry which, without such extraneous help, could never be successfully pursued: ours, is that of enlarging to the uttermost those other branches, for the prosecution of which our countrymen possess the greatest aptitude: and of thereby securing for their skill and capital the greatest possible return. This protection is best afforded by governments, when they leave without interference the productive industry of the country to find its true level; for we may be certain, that the interest of individuals will always lead them to prefer those pursuits which they find most gainful. There is, in fact, no mode of interference with entire freedom of action which must not be in some degree hurtful; but the mischief which follows upon legislation in affairs of trade in any given country is then most noxious, when it tends to foster branches of industry for which other countries have a greater aptitude.

As often as foreign productions are excluded from our markets, through the imposition of import duties, the effect must clearly be, to cause the consumers here to pay more dearly for productions of our own of the same description; while the producers of other articles which we have the means of producing more advantageously, are deprived of the protection which is naturally their due, by being thereby excluded from the markets they would otherwise find in return for the foreign articles which we are so studious to shut out. How, it may be asked, is a country to be profited by such an interference with the course of action which the nature of things has pointed out? A. can make in England for 20*s.*, an article which he can sell in France for 25*s.*, and B. can make in France an article for 20*s.*, which he can sell in England

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for 25*s*. It is clear that by this interchange both countries must profit, since neither France nor England would consent to pay 25*s*. to foreigners for that which they could make for less at home. But the English Government is seized with the desire of protecting English makers of the article which is more cheaply made in France, and places upon it a duty of 10*s*. In case, then, the English manufacturer can make this article for any price below the cost in France, *plus* the duty, he will have the monopoly of the supply in his own market, and will cause his countrymen to pay more dearly for it than if they had been left to deal with France. If the evil rested here it would be no trifling evil, but it does not rest here. France being deprived of an accustomed market for the sale of a given amount of its products, is no longer able to purchase the goods which used to be furnished by A., the English manufacturer. A. thus loses the profit which he had formerly gained; — for his 'protection' in the production and disposal of which he has a far juster claim than his fellow countryman, who can only carry on his monopoly trade by means of the sacrifices of his customers. It cannot be held that the trade thus unjustly fostered brings a greater amount of profit into the country than that from which Protection is thus withdrawn:—the very reverse of this is the fact. Neither can it be said, that those who are tempted through the virtual monopoly that has been created, to embark their capitals in a business which, without such restriction, could have no existence, are enabled to realise any rate of profit greater than that which, on the average, is realised in the country: since such a result would immediately attract further capital into the same business, by which the markets would be more abundantly supplied, and prices, and consequently profits, would be lowered. In this manner, what at best must prove a very evanescent advantage to a few individuals, is purchased at the cost of depriving an equal number of their fellow countrymen of the only 'protection' which in affairs of trade it is the province of a government to furnish; while the nation at large is impoverished by being made to pay more than it need have paid for that which it consumes. Examine as closely as you please into the history of any trade which is, according to the common meaning of the word 'protected,' and you will find that this is, and must be, the result.

It is surprising, that the opponents of Free Trade should allow themselves to fall into so obvious an error as the opinion which they usually take for granted,—that freedom of trade is identical with the total absence of customs' duties. The only conditions necessary to the establishing of Free Trade are, first, that govern-

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ments shall not impose restrictions which amount to a prohibition, either direct or virtual, on the importation or exportation of any article; and next, that no duty shall be imposed with the view of fostering home productions by means of the advantage given to them over goods of the same description when imported. In other words, that no duty shall be imposed save strictly for purposes of revenue. Import duties may, indeed, be so high as to act injuriously upon trade, by restricting consumption; but this, although unwise and subversive of the object legitimately aimed at by the imposition of duties, is still no interference with the principle of Free Trade. The changes in the sugar duties, now in progress, will be finally consummated in 1854, when one scale of duties will be chargeable on the article, without reference to the country of production. There will still remain rates of duty which will bring some millions yearly to the Exchequer; but we shall then have Free Trade in sugar, as perfect in respect of its œconomical principle, as if all duties on sugar were abolished. This, it is true, would not be the case if we omitted to charge with the same rate of duty any sugar which should be made from products grown within the kingdom. In tobacco we have Free Trade, although the duties charged upon the 'weed' are such as yield to the public revenue 4,300,000*l.* yearly, and although, for the protection of that revenue, and to avoid the evils of Excise regulations, we put restrictions upon the growth of the article at home.

Falling into the common misconception, Sir Edward Lytton remarks, 'But whether Free Trade be, in all cases, right or 'wrong, every one has allowed that we can't have it. To Free 'Trade, fairly and thoroughly carried out, there are more than 'fifty million obstacles to be found in the Budget.' And he thinks to fortify himself on this point by the following quotation from Adam Smith:—'To expect that the freedom of 'trade should ever be entirely restored to Great Britain, is as 'absurd as to expect that an Oceana or Utopia should ever be 'established in it.' If Sir Edward had read on a little farther and quoted the entire paragraph, he would have seen that Adam Smith was expressing, not his belief in the unreasonableness of a system of Free Trade, but his conviction of the mistaken selfishness of the men by whom it was sure to be opposed. We will supply the omission:—

'To expect, indeed, that the freedom of trade should ever be 'entirely restored in Great Britain, is as absurd as to expect 'that an Oceana or Utopia should ever be established in it. 'Not only the prejudices of the public, but what is much more 'unconquerable, the private interests of many individuals, irre-

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'sistibly oppose it. Were the officers of the army to oppose, 'with the same zeal and unanimity, any reduction in the num- 'ber of forces, with which the master manufacturers set them- 'selves against every law that is likely to increase the number 'of their rivals in the home market; were the former to ani- 'mate their soldiers in the same manner as the latter inflame 'their workmen, to attack with violence and outrage the pro- 'posers of any such regulation; to attempt to reduce the army 'would be as dangerous as it has now become to attempt to 'diminish in any respect the monopoly which our manufacturers 'have obtained against us. This monopoly has so much in- 'creased the number of some particular tribes of them, that, 'like an overgrown standing army, they have become formid- 'able to the government, and upon many occasions, intimidate 'the legislature. The member of parliament who supports 'every proposal for strengthening this monopoly, is sure to 'acquire not only the reputation of understanding trade, but 'great popularity and influence with an order of men whose 'numbers and wealth render them of great importance. If he 'opposes them, on the contrary, and still more, if he has au- 'thority enough to be able to thwart them, neither the most 'acknowledged probity, nor the highest rank, nor the greatest 'public services, can protect him from the most infamous abuse 'and detraction, from personal insults, nor sometimes from real 'danger, arising from the insolent outrage of furious and dis- 'appointed monopolists.'

Just three quarters of a century have past since Adam Smith wrote in this despairing strain, and already events have shown how groundless were his fears. The very interests to which he pointed as opposing, and destined always to oppose, the system which he taught, have become so far enlightened by his writings and by the lessons of experience, that it has been chiefly through the exertions of the manufacturing and trading bodies, that the monopolies, which in his day weighed so heavily, and, to all appearance, so hopelessly, upon the springs of the nation's industry, have for the most part been swept away. It is no less evident that it is to their intelligence that we must now look for maintaining the ground which they have won, and for perfecting the work which yet remains to be accomplished.

It has been at all times a favourite argument with those who seek to impose a duty on imported grain as a protection to British farmers, that such protection is needed as a stimulus to production, and as a security against our land being thrown out of cultivation; the consequence of which would be, that

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we should come to be dependent upon foreigners for the most necessary of all articles, and unable at times to keep from starving our constantly and rapidly increasing numbers. But the more reflexion and observation we bestow upon the subject, the more we shall be convinced how utterly baseless is any argument raised upon this foundation. Indeed, our late experience goes to show, that the greatest stimulus to production is given by the low prices which follow upon letting in competition. During the ten years of the present century, —between 1811 and 1820,—the wheat grown on our own soil sufficed for feeding 13,035,639 persons, allowing the yearly consumption of each to be eight bushels. The average price of wheat during those ten years was 88*s.* 8*d.* per quarter, and the mean number of the population of Great Britain was 13,494,217. During the next space of ten years, the mean number of mouths having increased to 15,465,474, we fed from our own soil 1,894,843 more than in the previous ten years. Yet what had been the average price for the whole period? It had fallen to 58*s.* 5*d.*: or 21*s.* 7*d.* per quarter below that, at which it had, in 1815, been declared possible to keep our land in cultivation; and which it was sought to maintain as a minimum, by excluding all foreign imports, when the price should fall below 80*s.* per quarter. In the following decennium, with prices still further depressed to the average of 56*s.* 9*d.*, our farmers provided wheat for 1,697,706 of the mouths which in the same period had been added to our numbers, or for 16,628,188 of the 17,535,826 souls then inhabiting Great Britain. We thus see that the stimulus of competition, while it was chiefly confined to competition between our home producers, added to the previous provision food for 27 per cent. more consumers, at the same time that it reduced the average price by fully 29 per cent. It is not possible to apply the same calculation to the ten years through which we have just passed, because of the occurrence of the Irish famine, and of the demolition of the protective system; but we have every reason for believing, that prices having, through the letting in of foreign competition, fallen still lower,—so that the average of our markets is not now beyond one-half the price declared indispensable in 1815, — the stimulus to increased production is at this moment more effective than ever. By means of draining, and the use of very powerful imported manures, the average yield per acre of our fields is greater than at any former period, and is daily being augmented. It is no true or conclusive supposition against the belief here expressed, that our importations of grain having, since the throwing open

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of our ports, been upon a scale of unusual magnitude, they must have taken the place of home-grown corn, to the injury of British farmers. This supposition is contradicted by the facts. It should rather be said, that these unaccustomed supplies, added to the greater produce from our own fields, have formed a welcome addition to the food of those among the people who had previously been forced to content themselves, as they best could, with the insufficient amount which fell to their share. These additional supplies afford an undeniable test of the privations suffered in former years.

The increased productiveness of the soil in England, to the effects of which we are now alluding, has of late years mainly resulted from the expenditure of capital in deep draining. In many cases, and more especially where little or nothing had previously been done to the land in the way of improvement, the effect has been to double the quantity of all kinds of produce upon farms; and in other cases, where the land had previously been well managed, from one to two quarters of wheat additional per acre have well repaid the expense of the improvement,—the addition to other products arising from the same cause, being, of course, of equal extent. The drainage already performed must have added immensely to the produce of the land, at the same time that it has more than proportionally diminished the cost of production. In this way the occupying farmer has been enabled to meet the altered state of the markets. Meanwhile the success of the experiment has given an impulse to the outlay of capital in this direction, far greater than at any former period. To what must all this tend, if not to a still greater reduction of prices, which may and will be still compatible with increased profit to the farmer? Of course, on lands where draining is necessary for the full productive powers of the soil, and where, through ignorance, or supineness, or want of means, on the part of landlords, it is not carried out, there will be distress sometimes amounting to ruin among occupying tenants. We must expect to hear their lamentations, and cannot withhold from them our pity; but this, useless as it must be to them, is all that we can be expected to bestow; for it would be the height of cruelty to the rest of the community were we, by any legislative interference, to make society pay for keeping back the improvements, by the neglect of which such partial distress will have been mainly caused. Deeply as the case of these unfortunate individuals is to be commiserated, there is yet nothing in it different from the common lot, which overwhelms with ruin some, while the general mass are benefited through the introduction of improvements. If, through considerations of pity for the sufferers, we

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should allow ourselves to throw obstacles in the way of the changes, often painful in many respects, which progress brings along with it, how is the world to advance towards that degree of perfection in any one of the arts of life, by which the increasing well-being of mankind at large is to be secured?

Few persons—none save those who have inquired into the subject—can be at all aware of the amount of misery or of well-being, both physical and moral, which depends on the dearness or cheapness, that is, upon the scarcity or the abundance, of food in a country. These effects are principally felt by those whom, because they are powerless to provide for their own good, by acting on the legislature, we are especially bound to watch over and protect. Even on purely selfish grounds, they demand our especial sympathy and assistance, since, by reason of their want of enlightenment and their numbers, they are exposed to temptation and powerful for mischief in the same proportion. We have already noticed the favourable consequences of low prices to agricultural labourers,—a class which has long occupied the very lowest step on the social ladder in this country. Let us now inquire what these consequences are, as respects the labouring population in towns; and for this purpose we will call Mr. Harris as a witness,—one of the oldest clergymen, both in years and in professional experience, in the east end of London. His parish, where he has been continually occupied for the last thirty years, is one of those outlying parishes on the east side of London, to which many of the poorer class are driven as places of residence, through the absence of equally low priced lodgings in the heart of the town. The following letter from him appeared in 'The 'Times' Newspaper of the 7th of March of the present year. It is so full and convincing in its facts and reasoning, that we cannot do better than give it insertion here. Its testimony is of that eminently practical character which must at once bring conviction to every mind, of the value to many millions of our fellow-subjects of cheapness of food. No one, who has at heart the physical comfort as well as the moral and religious well-being of the poor, we should think, can read it, and any longer withhold his cordial support from a system upon which the temporal, and even the eternal, interests of so many members of society are seen in great measure to depend.

'I am incumbent of this district — Mile-end New Town — 'which has long claimed an unenviable and unhappy priority 'in destitution and wretchedness amidst the poor districts of 'Spitalfields. Poverty producing no ordinary suffering and 'sorrows, has obtained for us an unavoidable, though most un-

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'desirable notoriety. Such has been Mile-end New Town. 'Such it has, in a great measure, but by divine blessing, will 'entirely, I trust, soon cease to be; for the last three years 'there has been a visible progression here to a healthier and 'better state of condition among the poor. I no longer find 'that crushing and hopeless misery in the habitations of the 'people that for years I was familiarized with; a great im-'provement both in the social and moral character of the in-'habitants is apparent and indubitable. I find, in almost every 'house, bread to eat, and enough, and with a sufficiency of 'food, a corresponding change in the dispositions and demeanour 'of the population. And what, I ask, has effected this altera-'tion? Not increased exertions on the part of the clergyman 'or his assistants; not more successful issues to our pastoral 'duties and domiciliary visits; not enlarged liberality on the 'part of the gentlemen in this vicinage, whose endeavours to 'ameliorate the condition of their fellow beings need no eulo-'gists. No, sir, by none of this instrumentality has this mighty 'blessing been achieved, but by what is termed "free trade," 'or more simply by the fact, that the people have food brought 'within their attainment by the repeal of those laws which 'enhanced all the absolute necessaries of life, and thus laid an 'oppressive and down-beating burden on the poor. The re-'moval of the impost from the food of the poor, I consider the 'greatest boon that has ever been bestowed on the humbler 'and destitute ranks of the community. I daily witness among '10,000 of my needy parishioners the blessing which has ac-'companied it.'

The case of Mile-end New Town cannot be imagined to be a solitary one. The same causes must influence every locality placed under the same circumstances; and it would therefore have greatly surprised us to find, from the inquiries we have been able to carry out in different quarters, that others had not come to the same conclusions as Mr. Harris. Medical men, whose hospital practice has made them acquainted with the habits and constitutions of the working-classes, have remarked, that within the last two years a decided change in them has been observable; — that they are more easily brought within the influence of curative processes, and have a much better chance of recovery from the attacks of disease than at any former time within their experience; — that, to repeat the forcible expression of one of our most popular hospital surgeons, 'they are more like red-'blooded animals.' It would be unfair to accuse those by whose influence the supply of food was so long limited in this kingdom, of the many evils of which they were unconsciously the cause.

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But, with the evidence, by which these evils are now brought home to their mistaken policy, it would no longer be ungenerous to hold them answerable for all the misery which would inevitably follow from the reimposition of shackles upon commerce,—and especially upon commerce in articles of food adapted to the wants of the population at large. Looked at from this point of view, it is nothing less than a sacred moral duty, lying especially at the door of every one who can in any degree influence legislation upon the subject, to prevent the reimposition of restrictions, to which such fatal consequences are attached.

Only one argument can be brought forward by the advocates of Protection, in favour of what is called 'a moderate fixed 'duty on corn,' with any semblance of reason. It is drawn from the still inconsistent state of our tariff, in which are retained import duties upon various articles produced within the kingdom, such as foreign boots and shoes, gloves, embroidery, artificial flowers, and silk manufactures. It is a pity, and more than a pity,—it is an injury,—that these blots are not removed from our list of duties. There is, probably, not one of them which might not be so removed with advantage to the makers and dealers in the same articles at home; while the revenue which they yield ought not to form any obstacle to such removal. One half of the duties previously existing upon silk goods was removed in 1846 without producing the slightest effect to the disadvantage of the English manufacturer, who would be prepared equally to hold his ground if the remaining rates were abolished to-morrow. Linen goods, of almost every description, have now for some years been admitted duty free; and in consequence of the energy imparted to it by competition, the manufacture has since enjoyed a far greater prosperity than it had ever before attained in this country. The only branch of the flax manufacture, which forms an exception to our general progress is the one upon which modified import duties are still retained, viz., cambric handkerchiefs; and in regard to *these*, a principal manufacturer of flax goods has declared, that the only thing wanting to its success, in common with all other fabrics of the same description, is the removal of Protection. During the period of high duties the glove manufacture in England was in so barbarous a state, that no lady was to be seen wearing home-made gloves: the low condition of the trade in extent and profits was a necessary consequence. In 1842 the duty upon foreign gloves was reduced to 3*s.* 6*d.* per dozen pairs. This change produced at first great temporary loss to the manufacturers, many of whom were driven

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out of the trade. These, however, were men who would not adopt the requisite improvements, and for every one thus affected many other persons embarked in the manufacture. It soon became greatly extended and much more profitable,—the improvements which were then necessarily adopted, having led in great part to the substitution of English gloves for those of Grenoble and Paris. In short, the spur of competition has produced the result every one might have foreseen. English gloves in general are now undistinguishable from those of foreign make; and we have the testimony of one of our largest manufacturers in favour of the entire removal of all import duty, as no longer giving him any advantage in the home market.

There is not one of the articles upon which duties, having any of the effects of Protection, are still allowed to deform our tariff, that might not be instantly admitted free, without injuring the home producer: nay, without placing our home producers in a safer and better position than they now hold, by causing them to depend for success upon their own exertions, rather than upon the factitious aid of legislation. But, if it were otherwise,—if in the rivalry thus let in upon some few branches of industry, the parties who are engaged in them might be worsted by their foreign competitors,—it must still be better for the general industry of the country that the capital and skill at present engaged in pursuits, which can successfully be prosecuted only through making consumers pay more dearly for their wares than the same could be afforded from abroad, should be transferred to the production of other articles, for which this country is better suited, and which would be exchanged against the cheaper or better productions of foreigners. The Government could not perform a greater service to the cause of Free Trade, nor do more to secure its early and general adoption elsewhere, than by making a clear sweep of these few and inconsiderable duties; which are far more hurtful in their social effects, by leaving an argument in favour of Protection, as founded upon the example of England, than they possibly can be useful in fostering any ricketty occupations, or in adding to the public revenue. The following list, taken from the yearly Finance Accounts for 1850, shows the various articles, the duties upon which it is thus, on principle, desirable to repeal; it shows also the revenue derived from them for that year in the United Kingdom.

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	£	s.	d.
Boots and shoes, and boot fronts	9,110	6	7
China wares	3,427	19	5
Clocks and watches	16,651	18	11
Corks (cut)	5,292	18	2
Embroidery	11,007	3	7
Artificial flowers	15,391	12	4
Leather gloves	43,565	16	3
Manufactures of hair	1,799	19	7
Straw hats	1,283	14	5
Thread and cushion lace	9,621	12	1
Cambrics and handkerchiefs	4,664	11	10
Silk manufactures	218,717	15	0
	£340,535	8	2

There is a question relating to our agricultural condition which has often been put without eliciting any answer that will bear examination;—why is it, we cannot grow agricultural products in this country as cheaply as they are grown in the countries whence our foreign supplies are expected chiefly to come? An attempt to answer this question is sometimes made by pointing to our national debt, and to the consequent high rate of taxation to which we are subjected. But if this argument be good for corn, it must be equally good for cotton and hardwares, and for the numerous other goods of British origin which we export, to the value of sixty or seventy millions sterling in the year; and which, of course, we could not so export if we did not produce them cheaper than they are produced in the countries to which they are sent, that is, than every country under the sun. It will not do to say that these exports are made up of articles, the production of which is cheapened through the use of machinery. For, in the first place, we have no monopoly of machinery, and for several years past, the exportation from our shores of every kind of machine has been free; in the next, what is to be said to our exportation of one kind of the raw produce of agriculture? English wool is habitually and largely exported, and no doubt would find its way more largely than it does to foreign lands, if it were not that we are able, in spite of our debt and consequent high taxation, to manufacture it into various fabrics more cheaply than they can be manufactured elsewhere. If taxation has any effect at all upon the cost of production, the effect must be general; and under any circumstances, it could never justify the casting of the burden which it occasions from off one class of producers, upon all other classes, who have already to bear their own share. The farmers of England have, in fact,

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many advantages not possessed by those of whose competition they stand most in fear. They have the best market in the world at their own door; and have besides, what is no small advantage in itself, better and cheaper means of transport than are elsewhere to be found, so that the prices of their produce are equalised for their benefit throughout the land. Nowhere in this kingdom do we see, as is the case in several other countries, that a distance of twenty or thirty English miles suffices to create a difference in price of 20 to 30 per cent., on account of the difficulty of conveying bulky produce from one spot to another. To this day it occasionally happens in Spain, that bread is almost at a famine price in some places on the coast, while on the plains in the interior of the kingdom, the wheat is left standing in the fields, not worth the expense of harvesting. We have already noticed the complaint so constantly made of peculiar burdens. The 'farmers' friends' have shown a wise discretion in declining any inquiry into the grievance by Parliamentary Committees,—probably from an impression, that while the burdens they could bring forward might not be found of any serious amount, the peculiar exemptions which they enjoy from burdens that press upon other classes would place the balance of advantages on the side of the agriculturists. If even it should be otherwise, and the farmer has really to bear more than his fair share of taxation,—a thing not very probable considering the composition of the bodies by whom that taxation has hitherto been imposed,—common sense would point to a mode of establishing the balance fairly, instead of transferring the extra load to the remaining classes.

We have heard a good deal at Protectionist meetings concerning the disastrous effects which the repeal of the Corn Laws has had on Ireland; and the returns of agricultural produce collected by direction of Lord Clarendon, and presented to Parliament, are continually referred to, from which it would be made to appear that the breadth of land under wheat cultivation in 1847 was reduced in the following year by 178,125 acres. This reduction, even if correctly stated, would not be at all conclusive as to the question at issue; since it might well happen, that under the system which prescribes a rotation of crops there may in any given year be found more or less of land employed for the production of some particular kind of grain. But the candid gentlemen who declaim on the 'startling' fact thus brought to light by an official document, do not think proper to state, that in the later of the two years *the returns are wholly wanting for the counties of Waterford and Tipperary.* The proper way of looking at this matter is to inquire what number of acres

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of land are under cultivation in all its various branches; thus viewed, the argument altogether fails. The total average under crops, as given in the returns, was

in 1847	5,238,575	acres
1848	5,108,062	„
1849	5,543,748	„

Comparing 1847 with 1849, when the returns equally embrace all the counties, there is thus seen to be an increase in 1849, the first year under Free Trade amounting to 305,173 acres. If Waterford and Tipperary are equally excluded from all the years, the quantities will be,

in 1847	4,805,598	acres
1848	5,108,062	„
1849	5,110,771	„

It would not have excited in us the least surprise to find, that under the distressing circumstance of 1847, so fatal to human life, and followed by so unexampled a rate of emigration among the rural population, a greatly diminished cultivation of the soil should have occurred. Accordingly, it is doubly satisfactory to see, that those who remain have thus afforded a strong and practical proof of their disbelief in the Protectionist fears and forebodings of their self-appointed advocates.

One subject, intimately connected with the question of 'protection to agriculture,' and concerning which we used to hear the expression of very serious alarm, appears of late to have been kept pretty much in the background. We allude to the question of rent, a most vital question as affecting the interests of those who have usually been the most clamorous for the imposition of duties upon imported grain. Why is it that the strain of distress has been of late set in a different key, and that the case of the tenant farmers has been so prominently put forward, to excite the pity of the community? Is it that the landowners,—whom the Protectionist agitation mainly, if not wholly, concerns,—are desirous of impressing their tenants with the feeling that, by keeping up the price of corn the burden of rent will be lightened to them to a far greater extent than would take place through any abatement of it which could be reasonably expected from their landlords? This is, perhaps, good policy on the part of the rent receivers, but we cannot compliment the wisdom of those tenants who suffer themselves to fall into the trap. The recovery of Protection must, even to the most sanguine among them, appear extremely doubtful; while it is plainly within the power of any man not bound by the conditions of a lease, to stop short in what is studiously declared to him

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to be the road to ruin. He has only to bring his tenancy to a close, unless his landlord will consent to lighten or remove his burden by a readjustment of the bargain between them, and by granting conditions more in agreement with the altered circumstances of the times, as viewed by the advocates of Protection. We are by no means of opinion that, where the landlord has adopted the improvements pointed out by science, and where the land has not been originally too highly rented, any abatement is called for. Where the case is different, and where, as already explained, the operations of a farm must be carried on at a loss, we cannot for a moment admit the justice, or even the common honesty of a landlord, who would hesitate to enter upon such a readjustment. If we should be wrong in our opinion,—if, as prices now rule, and as they are likely to continue while the world's markets for supplies are open to us,—the tenant can no longer pay the same rent as formerly, we say broadly that the landlord must learn to content himself with a lower rate of income. The necessity must then be put up with of returning to the rents, or nearly so, which he drew previous to the war, and before the successive corn-laws which followed had enabled him to occupy, at the general expense, a higher position in society than is the lot of the landowner in other countries, or than was the lot of his own father or grandfather.

There is one casualty to which farming must always be liable, that of ungenial seasons for the ripening or harvesting of crops. If the trade were carried on upon the principles which are found necessary in other branches of business, the farmer would recognise the propriety of providing out of the abundance of one season for the short-comings of another. But it is notorious that no such principle is followed in matters of rural economy; and, since landlords are, in many instances, justly chargeable with lending themselves to this vicious system, by accepting as tenants men not duly qualified by their knowledge or their means for the due performance of what they undertake as tenants, it is only fitting that they should in this case bear a part in the losses and disappointments attendant upon adverse seasons. From the consequences of one such adverse season the farming interest in some of our best managed counties especially is at this time suffering severely. In Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, and some other portions of the kingdom, the harvest of 1850 proved greatly inferior in quality, and was by no means abundant in quantity. One of the results of this misfortune is to be seen in the average prices of grain, as advertised in the 'London Gazette.' In the same week of the present year, when

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the price of wheat was quoted as being 36*s.* 9*d.* per quarter, the finest Essex wheat was sold in Mark Lane at 52*s.* How exceedingly low, therefore, must have been the prices in some of our markets, to bring down the general average of England and Wales to so reduced a rate. This rate, however, having been quoted as the average, has been held to be the general price of good marketable grain; and has furnished grounds for argument against the admission of foreign produce, upon its being assumed, that it is the foreign produce which has thus brought down the value of our home-grown corn to a price so unsatisfactory to the grower. If the damaged grain of the last harvest could be excluded from the calculation of averages, they would probably be found higher than the rates as advertised, by several shillings per quarter.

The principles which govern trade in farming, should be the same as those which govern every other branch of trade. The profits derived from the employment of capital in the cultivation of land, must be equal to those yielded by other pursuits after replacing the capital employed. If this result be not obtained, it can only be through some mismanagement in the contract between landlords and their tenant farmers;—rent being, in fact, that part of the profit of farming which is realised beyond the ordinary rate of profits on capital engaged in other pursuits. Suppose the rate in the country generally to be equal to 10 per cent., then, in the case of a farm of 300 acres, upon which a capital of 10*l.* per acre is employed, the rate of profit must be equal to 20 per cent., in order to allow the landlord to draw 20*s.* per acre as his share under the name of rent; and if the profits of the farm should come to be less than 20 per cent., the general rate of profit in the country remaining 10 per cent., the deficiency must in the end be made to fall upon the landowner. In no case can diminished prices when they lower profits, — a result which is far from being general, — press, except temporarily, upon the farmers; a fact which appears to be well known by their landlords, however they may endeavour to conceal it from those whose capitals are engaged in extracting from their lands that amount of profit beyond the ordinary current rate, which enables them to pay rent.

If our country gentlemen were somewhat better informed upon subjects connected with social economy and the distribution of public burdens in other countries, they could never permit themselves to urge, by way of plea for protecting duties, the weight of such burdens upon themselves as compared with the case of landowners in those regions, whence our supplies of foreign corn are chiefly derived.

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The following figures are instructive. They set forth the general revenues of some of those countries; they next state the amount of public burden placed in each directly upon the land, and then show them in contrast with the proportion of such burden in this kingdom. If the landowners of England will allow themselves to take into account the wealth and resources of these several countries in comparison with those of their own, they may see reason to console themselves with the conviction that other people are, to say the least, as highly taxed as themselves, while the agricultural body in each is forced to bear a far greater part of the load than falls to their own happier lot.

Countries.	Total Revenue.	Land Tax.	Per-centage of Land Tax.
	£	£	
Austria - -	14,401,375	4,674,222	32·45
France - -	54,855,183	10,399,874	18·96
Belgium - -	4,636,433	734,390	15·84
Holland - -	5,899,580	830,500	14·07
Bavaria - -	3,514,980	462,358	13·12
Prussia - -	13,700,766	1,515,974	11·06
England - -	57,006,412	1,159,322	2·03

After these remarks, our readers will not be surprised to find it to be our opinion, that as respects the actual cost of tillage and distribution, the English farmer does bring his produce to market as cheaply as his competitor in other countries; and,—if there be great distress among a portion of the class, as is unfortunately but too true,—that such distress is far from being general, and is attributable to causes for which the adoption of Free-trade principles is in no wise accountable.

We have already alluded to farms where nothing has been done for their improvement, and where the occupiers being brought into competition with others for whom improvements have been provided, are comparatively unable to meet the reduction of price. The remedy for this state of things is clearly not within the province of legislation, which cannot justly be called on to equalise the profits between those who farm well and those who farm ill, nor between the occupiers of good land and of bad, nor to bring up the profits of the bad farmer of an ungrateful soil to a scale which would be considered by him as constituting a satisfactory level. May we venture to suggest that there are other causes at work, and which in a greater or less degree have always been at work, sufficient to keep many of our farmers in a condition of comparative poverty? or, at any rate, to have prevented those additions to their capital which

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every man in business should seek to realise as the fair return for his talent and industry?

It is the general rule among our farmers, to look at the average prices of grain as the sole evidence of prosperity, or the reverse. Meanwhile, they neglect the causes by which markets are influenced, and seldom consider that, while a high price may be a pretty sure indication that the farmer has but little for sale, a low price may result from more than usual abundance; and that this latter state of things is indeed always accompanied by circumstances which render such low prices more remunerative. A large portion of every crop is consumed upon the farm; and other agricultural produce, besides what is raised by them, is always more or less required by the farmers for their own use. For the first of these quantities it cannot matter what prices are obtainable; while, as regards what is bought, the general cheapness of farm produce must be an advantage. It is besides to be remarked, that, as respects one important branch of farming — the dairy — no change of prices has followed the abandonment of Protection; and in this case the cost of what they buy being lessened, while the returns for what they sell are sustained, the condition of the dairy farmer must be one of comparative prosperity. Let it be granted, however, for argument's sake, that the condition of our farmers has been injured by taking from them Protection, there then arises another question; viz., have they availed themselves of all the means which are open to them for averting the evil? Have they turned their attention to the production of such crops not previously raised, as promise to be remunerative? A highly intelligent tenant farmer has certified on his own experience, that by devoting one tenth of his farm yearly to the growth of flax, the profit has been found to repay all the expenses of its cultivation, and to provide a fund sufficient to pay the rent of the whole farm; while a judicious use of the seed and refuse of the flax crop has enabled him to carry on the general operations of his farm upon more favourable terms than, without such cultivation, would have been possible. There are, besides, many small articles of farm produce habitually imported, for raising which there does not appear to be any peculiar facility in other countries, and which might therefore be advantageously produced at home. It may seem trifling to speak of eggs: but the illustration is only the more striking; and, — if we consider that every year we import from neighbouring countries, in the face of a duty which yields a revenue of nearly 40,000*l.*, much more than 100,000,000 of these articles of daily consumption, — it must appear strange that persons, who are suffering distress from interference with their usual course of

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production, should not have turned their attention to a resource which others with no superior means find it worth their while to attend to. Then the condition of comparative ease, in which the working population are now happily placed through the cheapness of bread, enables them to consume a much larger quantity of meat than was within their reach in former times; and, although considerable capital may be required to keep and fatten any large number of horned beasts, it is not so in the case of pigs, and there is no kind of food more to the taste of labourers and their families than bacon. Pigs may be fed and fattened upon root crops at a moderate outlay; and while they are highly profitable in themselves, the animals furnish a quantity of manure of the most useful description, greatly facilitating and cheapening the general operations of the farm.

It is a very common remark, and we believe not more common than true, that there is a disposition, on the part of many who follow the trade of farming, to undertake more than they have the means to accomplish profitably. The man whose capital is equal to stock and manage 300 acres, will too often be found in the occupation of 400 or 500 acres; and when, at the end of the year, he finds his capital has not increased, but is possibly slipping away, he never thinks of casting the blame upon his own miscalculation. The want of legislative protection, he complains, has prevented him from getting for his produce prices which might have shielded him from the consequences of his own imprudence. It is still more generally the case — and this even with men whose capital is sufficient for what they undertake — to expect that they are to live in a greater degree of comfort and indulgence than falls to the share of tradesmen with equal capital in other branches of business. The man, for instance, who takes a farm of 300 acres, and who stocks and works it adequately with a capital of 3,000*l.*, often lives in a style to which a man of 5,000*l.* capital, or more, employed in a retail trade, would never think of aspiring. He commonly dwells in a very comfortable house, and spreads his table without stint or carefulness; he is glad to see his friends around his board, which, as it is in great part furnished without any money payment, but from the farm-yard, seems to be scarcely counted by him among his expenses: he keeps his saddle-horse for pleasure, — very possibly, too, a hunter, and never misses attending the town on market days, whether his business calls him there or not. The difference between the cost of his dinner, together with what follows it at the market ordinary in the cause of good fellowship, and the cost of the meal at home, is set down — if, indeed, any heed is taken of

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it—to the account of business expenditure. It is, besides, remarked by observant by-standers that, although farming be not without its anxieties, arising from the vicissitudes of seasons, it is without many other and greater anxieties, inseparable from other callings; and that it is seldom pursued with the same assiduity and incessant attention which are indispensable to success in ordinary employments,—in other words, it partakes more of the nature of pastime than of business, and for that reason does not justify the demand for an equally high remuneration in the shape of profits. In corroboration of this opinion, we may mention that, conversing lately with an intelligent gentleman of ample means, who farms more than 4,000 acres, he stated it as the result of his own experience, that any man acquainted with the subject, who should at the present time, and with the prospect of existing prices, follow farming as a serious matter of business, would find that 'there is not a better 'business going.'

We are not aware of having left unnoticed and unanswered any serious Protectionist argument in favour of a recurrence to the system of Corn-laws, from which the country has so lately, and after so severe a social struggle, been relieved. As friends of peace and order, we must, however, venture to point out to our opponents the danger which would be incurred,—if their effort to restore a duty on the importation of food should be temporarily successful, and if it should be followed, as of course they would desire it to be followed, by any serious enhancement of prices. Does the suspicion never cross their minds that, in such a state of things, the millions, who compose the working classes in Great Britain, having experienced for a season the blessings which flow from cheap living, would not fail to question the right of any class to put its class-interests into direct antagonism with theirs, and to plunge them again into want and wretchedness? The careful observer may even now detect symptoms of these feelings, when, in populous places, the choice of a majority of the electors may have fallen upon some one suspected of a desire to favour the Protective System. We are not among the number of the friends of Free Trade, who are supposed to look with apprehension to a general election. We will not, until we see it, believe in the return of a majority to the House of Commons who shall hold the principles of Protection, and be prepared to act upon them; but suppose a Protectionist majority once more to have got possession of the House of Commons, and to venture upon this wild experiment, can it be conceived that organised bodies would not assemble again in thousands through the length and breadth of the land,

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in opposition to a course of legislation so generally felt to be unjust, and again compel their adversaries to retrace their steps? and is it not too probable that they would then insist upon taking full securities against the possibility of having to enter upon a similar contest in future with the proprietors of the soil? This is a consideration upon which we are most unwilling to enlarge; and, in the hope that landed proprietors will not overlook it, we proceed to offer a few remarks on some other branches of the Free-trade question, respecting which much misrepresentation is put forward by its opponents.

It is a favourite theory with those who are adverse to a reduction of duties upon articles of foreign produce, that such duties are paid by the producers, and thus come in aid of the taxation of this country,—a theory upon the exposure of which we do not think it necessary to waste another word. Taking it for certain that every penny of tax upon articles consumed within the kingdom, is paid by the individual consumers, let us inquire what has been the effect on the public revenue, and on the comforts of the people of this United Kingdom, of the progressive reductions which have been made during the past twenty years in our customs and excise duties.

There was collected of these duties, in 1821, the sum of 38,765,814*l.* Between that year and 1849, various duties were repealed and reduced, amounting to 27,801,667*l.*; so that the sum remaining to be collected under these two heads of revenue was reduced by computation to 10,964,147*l.* So great, however, has been the additional power of consuming imparted to the people by the cheapening of articles of general use, that the revenue collected in 1849 from the unrepealed duties amounted to 34,622,284*l.*, being 23,658,137*l.* beyond the computed amount, and considerably more than three times as great as, without such cheapening, we should have received.

The effect of this state of things upon the comforts of the people may be best illustrated by taking a single article of general use, and showing the addition made to the quantity consumed by reason of the relaxation of the Protective System. In 1821, the customs' duty payable on each hundred weight of sugar, the production of British possessions, was 27*s.*, and the quantity consumed within the kingdom was 3,056,882 cwts.,—being equal to an average consumption of 16 lbs. 2 oz. per head. At that time all foreign sugar was completely excluded, by means of a rate of duty greater than the value of the sugar after the duty should have been paid; and thus a most complete monopoly of the home market was given to our sugar-producing colonies. In 1849, when there still remained a protecting duty

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to some extent, but not enough to exclude from use the produce of foreign lands, the rate of duty upon British-grown sugar was lowered to eleven shillings per cwt.: upon which, the quantity used within the kingdom, including that of foreign origin, rose to 6,287,217 cwts. This was equal to an average consumption, by the increased population, of 24 lbs. 1 oz.,—being 50 per cent. greater than the average consumption of 1821; while the loss to the revenue between the two periods was but little more than 4 per cent.,—the rate of duty having been lessened by more than 59 per cent. The value to the people of this approach to the principle of Free Trade, is not confined to the additional command which it has given them over the use of an increased quantity of an article of general desire; but is also to be sought in the additional amount of industry which it has called into action, that so we may provide the means for making returns to the various countries from which this increased quantity has been drawn.

It cannot be necessary to multiply the instances in which the carrying out of Free-trade principles into practical operation has been found to conduce to the comfort and prosperity of the people; and we shall draw our observations to a close by briefly examining the result, so far as can yet be ascertained, of the approximation towards freedom of commerce lately made in our laws relating to Navigation.

It having been shown, by returns presented to Parliament, that the tonnage of British vessels entering the ports of the United Kingdom in 1850, was somewhat less than it was in 1849, occasion was taken to sound the alarm, as though our whole shipping interest was doomed to destruction. The vessels which arrived in our ports during the two years under the British flag, were

	Ships.	Tons.
1849	23,646	4,884,210
1850	22,709	4,700,199
Less in 1850	937	184,011

In addition to this—to them alarming fact—it is seen that a very large increase has been experienced in the number and tonnage of foreign shipping, which entered our ports in 1850, beyond those of the preceding year, viz.:—

	Ships.	Tons.
1850	15,145	2,400,277
1849	13,426	2,035,690
More in 1850	1,719	364,587

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Whatever may be said concerning the decline of British shipping, as revealed by these figures, it is clear that they indicate no decline of British commerce, since it has required 180,000 tons more to convey to us the merchandise which we have imported. But let us inquire how far the figures which we have given above are to be taken as evidence of any real falling off in the employment of British shipping. In the first place, we must remark, that it would have been very surprising, after all that was so industriously circulated, — as it were inviting foreigners to engage in a trade newly opened to them, and in which it was so confidently affirmed they would compete with great advantage to themselves, — if, they had not been tempted in greater numbers than formerly to our shores. Instead of lamenting that we have been visited by 360,000 tons additional of ships under foreign flags, we may rather feel surprise that a still larger number has not been attracted by the golden harvest which was promised them. The real questions at issue, however, are, — has any proportion of our own shipping been deprived of employment in consequence? and has any check been put to the building of additional vessels for the carriage of our constantly increasing trade? It does not appear to have occurred to those who have seized on the fact of a lessened British tonnage having entered our ports, that possibly the prevalence of a contrary wind at the close of the year might have interfered with the arrivals; — in effect those arrivals in the first three months of the present year have exceeded those of the corresponding period of 1850 by 134,000 tons: Neither do they take any account of the comparative tonnage which left our shores *with cargoes*, and which, as not being equally exposed to the uncertainties of weather, might fairly be thought to afford more correct materials for comparison. Now it happens, that the tonnage of national vessels so employed in 1850, exceeded that of 1849 by 198,582 tons; while the excess in the first three months of 1851, over the tonnage in the same three months of 1850, has been 70,000 tons. In making this comparison we have purposely excluded all ships which cleared *in ballast*, in order to steer clear of the objection, that in despair of obtaining employment at home, our vessels have sailed away empty in search of it elsewhere. There is, however, another answer to the assertion of our inability to compete with foreign shipping: and the answer may be received with all confidence by the most sceptical unbeliever in the competing powers of our ship-owners; since it is drawn from the official records of another government, which cannot be suspected of any desire to falsify the facts. It is well known that, by way of retaliation against the

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navigation system of England, the United States of America long since adopted a law which excluded from their ports all English ships with cargoes brought from third countries,—the law, in other particulars also, being copied from the trading regulations of this country. This American law was simply retaliatory; so that, as a matter of course,—when we no longer excluded from our ports the shipping of America, upon its arriving from any third country,—their ports were, in like manner, thrown more widely open to our mercantile marine. We have now before us the returns relating to American trade and navigation during the year ending 30th June, 1850, and therefore embracing only six months during which the more liberal system had been in force. The returns in question show, that in those six months there entered the harbours of the United States, with cargoes from foreign ports, in cases where all such trading had been before prohibited, British shipping to the amount of 68,004 tons. Can there be stronger proof that we are able to compete in their own ports, and under circumstances where we cannot possibly possess any advantage over them, with our much dreaded rivals? It is reasonable to believe, that this competition has been continued, on at least an equal scale, during the second half of the year. Thus, in one single direction, our ships have found a new trade for which, through the operation of the law which was predicted to be their ruin, they have been led by the encouragement of greater profits to abandon for a time the trades to which they had previously been restricted; and this has taken place to an extent sufficient to account for three-fourths of the presumed deficiency, which it has been attempted to convert into a cause of lamentation and despair. A further source of satisfaction may be found in these American returns from the fact, that a still larger amount of British tonnage than that which arrived in the United States from previously forbidden ports, obtained employment in direct competition with American vessels for the conveyance of cargoes from their own ports to foreign countries. This double carrying trade has been prosecuted with almost every part of the world, including the various countries of Northern and Southern Europe, the Foreign West Indies, Mexico, Brazil, and other South American States, China, and the Indian Archipelago. It needs not to be remarked that our shipping thus employed must have been at least delayed for several months on their return home, and could not possibly, therefore, have figured in the list of our arrivals in 1850.

The enterprise of our merchants, now left to their unprotected energies, is daily exploring fresh channels for the employ-

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ment of their capitals. Among these new employments a trade which promises some extension has sprung up between Hong Kong and the west coast of North and South America, to which many of the products of China are now conveyed. During the first half of 1850, thirty ships, measuring 10,776 tons, left Hong Kong with cargoes of those products, consisting of silks, lacquered wares, tea, sugar, and numerous other articles, together with considerable quantities of building materials fashioned by the industry of our own subjects on that island,—such as wrought granite, wooden frame houses, and planed lumber. The proportion of English shipping so employed was 18 ships of 6,842 tons burden, while the Americans furnished only 5 ships of 1,156 tons burden.

But, what is the direct experience furnished by our own ports? We should now look there in vain for those evidences of distress on the part of shipowners which, at different times, while protection to the national trader was the order of the day, were wont to salute our eyes in the form of the broom at the mast-head of scores of stately vessels. In one of those documents, from which the best commercial knowledge may frequently be derived—a broker's printed circular, compiled a very few months ago at Liverpool,—we find it stated; that, 'The continued scarcity of British shipping in the port 'obliges many foreign vessels to be taken for the Brazils and 'other parts which would not otherwise be the case; whilst so 'actively employed elsewhere are our best A 1. ships that great 'difficulty is found in procuring vessels for which a tonnage of '300 to 400 tons is only admissible.' Nor is it in our own ports only, that the want of British shipping is experienced. In a letter which we have seen, dated from Galatz in September last, it is mentioned, that, 'The grain trade is likely to suffer 'very much from want of shipping, and extravagant freights 'may rule. At least 200 vessels are wanted for England, per-'haps 300 may be wanted, and it does not appear that 100 are 'on their way to the Danube.'

Among the alarmists, whose fears were the most loudly expressed when our restrictive system of Navigation Laws was changed, were to be found our shipbuilders. They declared their total inability to meet the competition of the north of Europe and of the United States of America; and statements were brought by them before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament, showing the greater cost of British-built ships in comparison with those dreaded rivals. These fears have proved to be altogether groundless. In the whole of 1850 the foreign-built vessels registered in the various ports of this kingdom

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and its foreign possessions were in number only 57, of 10,499 tons burden; a truly insignificant amount when it is considered that in that year our market was first opened to the foreigner, and that the outcry raised concerning the greater cost of our ships would naturally induce foreigners to send here for sale such vessels as they might desire to part with, and which they might expect to replace on cheaper terms through their own shipwrights.

In the meantime, an important result has followed from the repeal of our Navigation Law—the cheapening of the cost of ship-building in this country. The method of classing ships according to the materials employed in their construction, supplies an unerring test of comparative value. A ship classed as A 1. for twelve years, or for ten years, may be reckoned equal in value to any other ships so classed for the same number of years; in calculating the cost of vessels it is therefore proper to compare those of equal standing. Judged in this way, it may now be confidently affirmed, that English-built ships are at least as cheap as those built in any other country whatever. It was given in evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the Navigation Laws, by an experienced shipbuilder, that the cost of building and fitting for sea a twelve years ship was, in 1847, 22*l.* 10*s.* per ton in the river Thames, at Liverpool, or in Glasgow, and 18*l.* at Sunderland; and 'that 'for every year of diminished period for which a ship may be 'adapted to stand on the first letter in Lloyd's register, about '1*l.* per ton may be deducted from the cost.' We have before us a list of prices at which ships may now be built at Sunderland and fitted for sea in the West India trade. The following figures show the reduction from the prices of 1847, since the change in our system, by letting in foreign competition, has set our shipbuilders upon economising and on adopting such improvements as may enable them to set competitors at defiance:—

Class of Ship.	Cost at Sunderland in 1847.	Cost at Sunderland in 1851.
A. 1. 12 years	£18	£14 10*s.*
11 „	17	13 10
10 „	16	13 0
9 „	15	12 10
8 „	14	11 10

A ship classed A 1. for thirteen years, which it was said in 1847 would cost, coppered and fitted for sea, 24*l.* per ton, has this year been built and completed, under the most careful inspection, for 15*l.* 10*s.* per ton. The tonnage built and regis-

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tered in the several ports of the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands during the last three years, was: —

1848	-	-	- 125,940 tons.
1849	-	-	- 121,266 „
1850	-	-	- 137,530 „

At no period in the commercial history of this country was there more activity than is now shown in our ship-building ports; and it has been remarked, that at no time has the class of ships built been of so high a character as at present: a certain proof that our merchants generally are far from sharing in the fears which were expressed when the question of the Navigation Laws was under discussion. On this point surely Lord Stanley may feel at ease.

In whatever direction we inquire into the results of the Free-trade System, so far as it has hitherto been carried into effect in England, we find the same increased activity, with equal success. Protectionists may strive to get up alarms and endeavour to convince the world, against our senses and the nature of things, that our increased imports and exports, and the augmented burden of the ships on our registers, are proofs of advancing ruin; but their efforts must make less and less impression, as the public become from day to day better acquainted with the subject. Our merchants will laugh to scorn all such absurdities; and while they can refer to their ledgers for records of increased transactions and augmented profits, will be but little likely to join in again putting those shackles upon commerce, under the restraint of which they feel that their action would be crippled and their progress impeded.

Even the criminal returns of the kingdom have been pressed into the service of the Protectionists. By showing that there have been more frequent commitments for serious crimes since the adoption of the Free-trade policy, it has been sought to connect an increase of crime with the cheapening of the means of living by honest labour; — a connexion which could only be imagined by persons predetermined to set at defiance the first principles of common sense. But let us see how the fact really stands. It is stated that the number of commitments has advanced from 47,668 in 1846 to 74,162 in 1849; a truly appalling increase, if unaccompanied and uncorrected by explanation. But these numbers include the commitments in Ireland, which, from causes notorious to all the world, rose during that interval from 18,492 to 41,982. The unreasonableness of including in any such comparison the criminal statistics of Ireland, — considering the distress, through want of food, which has prevailed there, more or less, during the years in question, —

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and the especial extravagance of attributing the increase to causes which have tended to lessen that distress, must be evident to every one. We will conclude what we have to say on this point, by a tabular comparison of the real amount of criminality in England and Wales alone during each of the five years from 1846 to 1850: —

Years.	Committed.	Convicted.	Executed.	Sentenced to	
				Death.	Transportation.
1846	25,107	18,144	6	56	2805
1847	28,833	21,542	8	51	2806
1848	30,349	22,900	12	60	3251
1849	27,816	21,001	15	66	2844
1850	26,813	20,537	6	49	2578

These figures prove that criminality in England and Wales tested by the returns, was really less in 1850 than in any one of the years brought forward. The actual number, both of committals and convictions, was, indeed, greater in 1850 than in 1846; but taking into the account the increase of the population, it was virtually smaller; while the actual number itself is lower than in any one of the three years following 1846. Compared by the test of punishments awarded, which affords the only rational means for judging of the intensity of crime, the last year of the series presents a more consolatory view of this particular objection; since the number sentenced to death and transportation, which include all crimes of a serious character, appear to have been very considerably less in 1850 than in any other of the five years.

We have thus succeeded, we think, in showing that in whatever direction the condition of our population is examined with reference to the effect of Free-trade measures, there is found a great and manifest improvement, with the sole exception of some part of the tenant-farmers, — that their exceptional distress is fairly attributable to the false position in which they have been placed through the unjust legislation of former years, — and that their relief must now be expected principally from their own energy and judgment in a more skilful application of the resources of science to the work before them.

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ART. VII. — 1. *The Roman Wall: a Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive Account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus, extending from the Tyne to the Solway, deduced from numerous personal Surveys.* By the Rev. JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, M. A. 8vo. 1851.

2. *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, in Kent.* By CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F. S. A. 4to. 1850.

3. *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the Site of Ancient Corinium.* By Professor BUCKMAN, F. L. S., F. G. S., &c., and C. H. NEWMARCH, Esq. 8vo. and 4to. 1850.

4. *Description of a Roman Building and other Remains lately discovered at Caerleon.* By JOHN EDWARD LEE. 8vo. 1850.

A FEW months ago we were walking with a reverend and respected friend over one of the fields in his parish, when our attention was fixed on some fragments of Roman tiles scattered over the ground. A labourer came up at this moment, a man well known to our friend, who suggested to him that he might find something curious in digging in this vicinity. 'Aye, 'aye,' replied the labourer, 'we often turn up queer old-'fashioned things; t'other day Jack West and I were trenching 'in the next field, and turned up an old pickle-jar; it was all 'whole and sound; we thought it was a money-pot, but deuce 'a bit was there any thing in it but a few burnt bones. I had 'a mind to bring it you, but Jack West kicked it to pieces.' On our expressing a wish to see all that remained of the unfortunate 'pickle-jar,' he brought us the fragments, which proved to be those of an elegantly formed Roman sepulchral urn — a trace of the footsteps of the conquerors and rulers of the ancient world. We could not repress an exclamation of regret at the vandalism of Jack West; upon which our rustic informant observed, 'La, sir! Jack is such an ignorant fellow! I asked 'him not to break it, but he would do it — there's no bounds to 'his ignorance!'

Such is the story, not only of the destruction of a large portion of the materials which might have thrown light on the history of a period at present most obscure, but also of the sort of false interest in such articles spread among the ignorant peasantry by injudicious collectors, which has only excited a cupidity scarcely less destructive than ignorance itself. The ignorance displayed by Jack West was no doubt boundless, but the self-imagined superior knowledge of his companion was not a

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bit more conservative; nor can it be expected that he will ever be made to value the 'pickle-jar,' except with a view to its expected contents. Six or seven centuries ago our island was covered with monuments of the Roman occupation — monuments which would have told a history which is now lost; whole cities were then standing, walls, and houses, and public buildings, whose ruins had been left by the hostility of barbarian invaders, and spared long afterwards even by time itself. They might have been spared to tell their story for centuries more, but for the wanton destruction of a later age, when no antiquarian societies as yet existed for their protection. Horsley says, in his 'Britannia Romana,' (1732,) that, 'according to Dr. 'Stukeley, a good part of the wall at Verulam was standing 'three years ago; but, as he rode through the old city, he saw 'them carrying off hundreds of loads of Roman bricks to mend 'the highway.' It would hardly be believed, were we not well certified of the fact, that within the last few weeks the act of Vandalism complained of by Stukeley, has been repeated, and that another portion of the walls of Verulamium has been wantonly demolished! What is still worse,—within the memory of man, some of our peasantry have been found ignorant and superstitious enough to break sculptures for fear they might be instruments of witchcraft, and to erase inscriptions lest they should be noxious charms. While, however, the hand of man has been occupied in obliterating the memorials of the past, the hand of time, contrary in this instance to its usual practice, has protected an important portion of them by burying them in earth, the accumulation of centuries; and it is under the surface of the ground that we have now to look for the only records which will ever throw further light on the condition of this country during the first six centuries of the Christian era.

Some of the principal cities raised by the Romans in this country are lying, at the present time, concealed under the soil. It happened in many cases that a monastery or a castle was founded, in the middle ages, near the ruins of a Roman town, expressly because the latter furnished a ready supply of materials for the builders. Not that in the end it made any substantial difference. For, where there was no castle or abbey, these materials served for less dignified purposes. Along the line of the Roman Wall in the north, there is hardly a house, or barn, or even garden wall, the stones of which have not been squared by the hands of Roman masons. Thus were the walls of houses and public edifices gradually broken down: but this process in general did not take place until a period when the earth had already accumulated to a considerable elevation above the Roman

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level; and the mediæval builders seem to have been satisfied with breaking down the walls to the surface of the ground as it then existed. According to the chronicles of the abbey of St. Alban's, the monks of that house dug to the foundations of the buildings of Verulamium in search of building materials; but this was certainly a rare case, and even there recent excavations seem to show that the statement of the chronicles was at least exaggerated. In many cases, as at Silchester (*Calleva*) in Hampshire, Kenchester (*Magna*) in Herefordshire, and perhaps Ribchester (*Coccium*) in Lancashire, the floors and lower parts of the buildings of some of the most important Roman cities in the island lie at no great depth under ground, undisturbed since they were first ruined by their barbarian conquerors. In many other cases, in which the site is still occupied by an inhabited town, where earth accumulates more quickly, the old level has been seldom reached by the foundations and cellars of the houses of a later period; and the Roman remains are only accidentally brought to light on modern excavators sinking deeper than usual. This is the case in London itself. In such a place as Silchester, it would naturally require a considerable expenditure of time and money to uncover the whole area, but by so doing we should no doubt obtain a very exact knowledge of the character and appearance of a Roman city in England, — a sort of Provincial Pompeii, — how its houses and streets were distributed, what were their extent, and how they were inhabited. We should find a multitude of articles of various descriptions, — some of them perhaps remarkable as works of art, but all such as would throw light upon the condition and domestic manners of the inhabitants. And, what is still more important, we might probably find inscriptions which would tell us new facts relating to their history. The solitary urn is in itself of little interest, except so far as it shows that the spot in which it was found has been more or less permanently occupied by the people to whom it formerly belonged. It is by collecting and collating that we gradually arrive at more significant results, in relation first to individual localities, and then, by a more general comparison of these, to the history of the country at large.

Within a few years, much has been done in this way in producing materials for a new and more satisfactory history of the Romans in Britain. The first steps towards this great object must necessarily be taken by local inquirers, and we here feel the advantage of encouraging the formation of local museums and local societies. By collecting and preserving antiquities in the district to which they relate, we give them an interest which

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they would not possess elsewhere; and mere catalogues of local collections of this kind would be of great value to those whose studies enable them by such means to clear up the portions of the history of the country to which they refer. But when we are so fortunate as to meet with gentlemen on the spot who possess both opportunity and inclination to investigate local antiquities of this description, as well as the talents and knowledge requisite to lay the results of their investigations effectively before the public, the interest is increased tenfold: And it is one of the satisfactory results of the antiquarian agitation of late years that many such local investigators have been brought into existence, and that their number is multiplying daily.

We have a substantial proof of this in the four books now lying before us, and we certainly know of no instance in which any one year, or even, we may venture to say, any ten years, have produced an equal number of similar publications distinguished by so much sterling merit. Mr. Collingwood Bruce is a clergyman of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, an active member of the Newcastle Antiquarian Society, who has spent several years in investigating the gigantic remains of the Wall of Hadrian, the most famous boundary of Roman Britain to the north. About two years ago a party of Newcastle antiquaries, under the guidance of Mr. Bruce, made a pilgrimage along the whole line of the Wall, from Bowness on the west (*Tunnocelum*) to its other extremity at the now celebrated locality of Wallsend (*Segedunum*). Their tour, obtaining publicity through the newspapers, called general attention to this remarkable monument of Roman power and enterprise; and Mr. Bruce has ably illustrated it in the book of which the title heads the present article. Mr. Lee is a gentleman of Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, a small town occupying a part of the site of the *Isca Silurum* of the Romans, once a city of great importance. In 1845 he published a quarto volume of 'Delineations of Roman Antiquities found at Caerleon,' a very interesting book in consequence of its site, especially for the inscriptions. To this his 'Description of a Roman Building and 'other Remains *lately* discovered at Caerleon,' forms a supplement, and it is published solely for the benefit of the museum which owes its existence to Mr. Lee's zeal and liberality. Professor Buckman, in conjunction with Mr. Newmarch, another gentleman of Cirencester, has devoted what leisure he could spare from professional occupations to examining into its antiquities. It is the site of *Corinium*, one of the richest and most fashionable of the Roman inland towns; and their volume, as becomes the former glories of *Corinium*, is certainly the handsomest of them all. In honour of many of the subjects described, and especially

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the tesselated pavements, it is properly entitled 'Remains of 'Roman Art;' and it is eminently valuable for the chemical investigation of the Roman materials. Of Mr. Roach Smith we need only say that he has been for some time generally known as the soundest scholar of the day in the Roman antiquities of Britain, and that his character is well sustained by his recent inquiry into the 'Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne.' If we add to the works already enumerated, Wellbeloved's 'Eburacum' (on the Roman antiquities of York), and the 'Caledonia Romana' of the late Robert Stuart, of Edinburgh*, we shall have a series of volumes on the Roman antiquities of particular sites in this country, all (except Wellbeloved's 'Ebu-'racum') published within some half-dozen years, far superior to any thing of the same kind that England had produced before, and equal to the best works of the continental archæologists. Nor ought we to omit the mention of a still more recent publication†, 'The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of 'Scotland,' by Daniel Wilson, Hon. Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; although the Roman period occupies only a comparatively small portion of the whole. Mr. Wilson has undertaken a very large and elaborate classification of the earlier antiquities of Scotland. It is a very instructive and interesting, as well as very handsome book: and, out of a wide range, all of which is well deserving the attention of the antiquary, he has devoted one chapter to the traces which the Roman invasion left behind it. These are more numerous than we should have expected, and are sufficient to show that the conquerors, in spite of their precarious tenure, had time to plant between the Walls some portion of their civilisation and their love of the arts.

It is not, however, in towns and cities alone that the Romans left marks of their footsteps. We can hardly find a spot of ground in England, hill or valley, field or wood, even what is now solitary and uncultivated heaths, but we tread upon sites where Roman hands have been busy. In investigating these numerous traces of antiquity, and placing our investigations together, we become aware that Britain under the Romans was a country abounding not only in flourishing

* Since the above was written, a new edition of Stuart's 'Cale-'donian Romana' has been announced: it is to be published, we understand, for the benefit of his widow, and will contain additions of his own as well as those of the editor.

† Edin. 1851. (Part iii. chap. 2., The Roman Invasion, pp. 363—407.)

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cities and towns, but in country villas and houses, many of them magnificent in appearance and extent, traversed in every direction by excellent roads, its rivers crossed by strong and handsome bridges, forming a communication between districts, some of which were remarkable for their manufactures, while others were covered with well-cultivated farms, from which large supplies of corn were sent annually to Gaul, and even, it is said, to Italy. We do not share Camden's faith in Romano-British vineyards. But the great civiliser, agriculture, must have made immense progress by the time the Britain of Boadicea had become, through its *annona* or corn tribute, an exporting country, and Julian could be sending 800 ships backwards and forwards in one year for British grain. Roman capitalists, indeed, seem soon to have speculated on the capabilities of the island as a field for profitable investment. For among the minor causes of Boadicea's insurrection is mentioned the sudden violence with which Seneca had called in a loan he had forced upon the chiefs against their will. Roman usury appears afterwards to have fattened on the prosperity of the settlers. In the fourth century, a brother of Ausonius the poet is said to have amassed an immense fortune by lending out money at interest in Britain. Facts of this kind bespeak great national progress. But among the *Excerpta de Britanniâ ex Scriptoribus Græcis atque Latinis*, in Mr. Petrie's 'Monumenta Historica Britannica,' they are scarcely visible; and when we look to written history for an explanation of the remains which are constantly reappearing from underground, it is but little that written history has to say. Poussin's *mot* at Rome, on gathering a handful of earth,—*Questa é Roma antica*,—applies to other places besides Rome, and with a still stronger meaning.

The Romans made their first attempt on Britain A.C. 55, under Julius Cæsar; and finally abandoned their conquest A.D. 436, during the reign of Valentinian. Their connexion with the country, therefore, lasted five hundred years. The space was long enough for a distinct and permanent impression. But in the minds of most people the whole of it is confounded with the darkness which preceded and the desolation which followed it. The space begins with a blank of a hundred years (*longa oblivio*). Tacitus treats Cæsar, who left behind him neither garrison nor settlement, as little more than the discoverer of the island. Claudius (*auctor operis*), A. D. 43, set about reducing it in earnest: yet neither he nor Nero appear to have seriously advanced beyond the Humber. The reigns of Vespasian and Domitian were distinguished, by the eight years' successes of Agricola, beginning A. D. 78. But the distant

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island formed so small a speck in the Roman Empire,—not much more than New Zealand in our own,—that we should probably have known little of Agricola or his conquests but for the good fortune, which gave him Tacitus for a son-in-law. It is plain, however, in the general (says Horsley), 'that the 'Roman power was at its greatest height in Britain when 'Agricola resigned; and that under the two following reigns of 'Nerva and Trajan, this island was almost wholly neglected' (*perdomita Britannia et statim amissa*). As the remoter parts of Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland are supposed to be the only places where the Roman armies had not at that time penetrated, their power might perhaps be never spread over a greater geographical breadth of country; but surely it must have been striking deeper root from year to year, and strengthening gradually in all those interests which characterise its provincial sway. The interval of forty years between the landing of Aulus Plautius and the campaigns of Agricola, is far too short a period for the *porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantia* attributed by Tacitus to the Romanised Britons, to be much more than a sarcasm on the servile affectation of the barbarians; especially when we compare it with Xiphiline's picture of the life of the non-Romanised Britons, as Severus found them a hundred years later,—in tents, naked, and with women in common. Hadrian succeeded in A.D. 117, and was saluted by his poet Florus,—'*Ego nolo Cæsar esse, Ambulare per Brittannos, Scythicas pati* 'pruinas,'—as a natural combination. His reign follows on a total blank of more than thirty years, unenlightened by a single inscription,—the first of a series of successive gaps, stretching in all upwards of two hundred years, and making a formidable chasm out of the five hundred that the connexion lasted.

Horsley claims, for the first or historical book of his 'Britan-'nia Romana,' the credit of its being the first history we have of Britain which can be relied on. 'I may venture to call it the 'original and true history of our island.' These chasms in its annals would be much more to be regretted, in case the historical contents of this first book were of the substantial value Horsley supposes. In truth, very little information on what posterity cares most to know,—the amount of art and civilisation which the Romans had planted in Britain,—was to be gathered from professed historians. It is but small compensation, that the construction of the Walls by Hadrian and Antoninus, the battles round them, invasions from without, insurrections from within, conjectural years of turbulence and quiet, a proverbial fertility in tyrants, the deaths of Severus, A.D. 211, and of Constantius, *inter Divos relatus*, A.D. 306, both at York, military revolts and

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contentions for the purple, may be all more or less faithfully recorded,—till the curtain drops over an apparent independence successfully asserted, and assistance afterwards supplicated for in vain. Most history, as hitherto written, has been the history of wars; and Anglo-Roman history has been mainly that of wars with the non-Romanised Britons. Our present inquiry, on the contrary, concerns peace and the works of peace, and the progressive influence of the Roman settlers on the Romanising population. The Romans here are seen in a new aspect, the memorials of which are not in books. From the departure of Constantine, the son of Constantius, for Rome, to become its first Christian emperor, down to the final withdrawal of the Roman legions from the island, there elapsed a period of nearly a century and a half. But long before the close, there were ominous signs that provincial Britain was sharing in the general decay of the empire. As the legions were gradually removed, it became clear that, whatever else the Romans had taught her, they had destroyed her native courage, and not relied sufficiently on her fidelity, to teach her the necessary art of self-defence. The storming of Rome by Alaric so shook the distant provinces, that the Saxon Chronicle says, 'After this, the Romans never ruled in Britain.' And nine years later (A. D. 418), an entry notices the first fleeing of the settlers from the misery to come. 'This year the Romans 'collected all the treasures that were in Britain; and some they 'hid in the earth, so that no one since has been able to find 'them; and some they carried with them to Gaul.' Meantime a ruling population must have been growing up of miscellaneous extraction, with provincial interests of their own, though with more or less of Roman training.

South of the Wall of Hadrian, however, the process of Romanising will have had ample time to become complete, both in character and appearance, before the withdrawal of a single soldier; so much so, that probably an Italian walking through the streets of *Londinium* or *Verulamium* might imagine himself in one of the cities of his native land. It was a part of the Roman policy to establish the troops who had effected the conquest in possession of the vanquished territory; and we learn by inscriptions and other records, that each legion and each auxiliary troop, held the same spot during the whole period that the Romans remained masters of the island. The inscriptions are always found in greatest abundance about the military towns; and they are especially valuable for the light they throw on the disposition and movements of the troops. Hundreds of them still lie buried under the ground which will some day add to our knowledge. The first Roman town in the island which was

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dignified with the privileges of a *colonia*, *Camulodunum* (Colchester) was founded by disbanded veterans, perhaps those of the ninth legion. The Roman legions may indeed be considered as the principal colonists; they built the towns and stations, and have left their name on the bricks of which they were constructed. In many of these towns they were the chief proprietors of the land, which, as we find from their monumental inscriptions, passed from one generation to another by inheritance. When not engaged in war, they were actively employed in public works, and in cultivating the arts of peace. With their families and their relations and friends, they formed the mass of the inhabitants of many of the towns, especially of those on the frontiers.

The inscriptions which are continually found in excavating on these sites, and of which an interesting collection is given in the works at the head of the present article furnish an important supplement to the meagre details left us by the ancient historians. It appears from Tacitus that the four legions which went into Britain under Claudius, were the second, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth. Of these the ninth was nearly destroyed in the war with Boadicea: we are told that it was recruited, and we know that it acted a conspicuous part in the Caledonian war under Agricola, — after which we hear no more of it in this country. The fourteenth legion was recalled under Nero, sent back to Britain by Vitellius, and finally recalled in the reign of Vespasian. But another legion, the sixth, was brought over by Hadrian, and this, with the second and twentieth, constituted the permanent garrison of the island. Agricola himself was commander of the twentieth legion, and it was probably the one most actively employed in the conquest of the Silures; it was stationed at *Deva* (Chester), where it has left a multitude of memorials. Nor are the traces less numerous of the second legion, which was stationed at *Isca* (Caerleon). The sixth legion had its head-quarters at *Eburacum* (York). We see at once the reason of this disposition of forces. The great military stations at Chester and Caerleon commanded at the same time the mountainous districts of Wales, and the coasts where the Irish pirates were accustomed to make their descents; while the former and that at York held in check the Caledonians, and the more turbulent British tribes on their border. Among the very numerous inscriptions found in the North, we trace the detachments as severally employed in the Caledonian wars, or in building the Walls and forts on the Caledonian frontier. All three legions served in Scotland under Lollius Urbicus, and co-operated in building the Wall of Anto-

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ninus, along the line of which many notices of them have been discovered, indicating the portions erected by each. Of the inscriptions comprised in Stuart's Caledonia Romana, thirteen commemorate the labours of the second legion, seven those of the sixth, and six those of the twentieth. An altar from near Carlisle, engraved in the work of Mr. Bruce, commemorates the exploits of two officers of the sixth legion, in the war against the Caledonians between the two Walls. On the line of Hadrian's Wall, inscriptions belonging to the second legion have been found, among other instances, at Milking Gap, between *Borcovicus* and *Vindolana*, at Headswood, at Bewcastle (*Apiatorium*), and at Netherby (*Castra exploratorum*). The sixth legion figures at Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*), at Tynemouth (*Ostia Vedræ*), and elsewhere; while among inscriptions appropriated to the twentieth legion, we may mention those from Cawfield's Craigs, from Chapel House, and from Middleby (*Blatum Bulgium*). One inscription at York mentions the ninth legion, and several found there refer to the second. One relating to the fourteenth legion was unearthed at Wroxeter, in Shropshire (*Uriconium*).

When we think of the Romans in Britain, we must not imagine that the mass of the conquerors and colonists were Romans in anything but the general appellation. On the contrary, the island was taken possession of by a strangely mixed population, and we can hardly figure to ourselves the singular physiognomy which it must have presented. The large garrisons of York, Chester, and Caerleon, were Romans, and Roman blood must have predominated in those and some other places; but the greater number of the Roman towns throughout the island were occupied by people draughted from almost every nation which acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. Thus, at Cirencester, there was a troop of Indians and another of Thracians, both cavalry. A party of Thracian cavalry was stationed at *Uriconium* in Shropshire. The troops stationed at *Coccium* in Lancashire, were Sarmatians and Asturians from Spain. But the best notion of this singular mixture of nations will be obtained from the following list of the military stations on Hadrian's Wall as given in the *Notitia*, corrected for the most part from the monuments by Horsley and Mr. Petrie and Mr. Bruce.

'The tribune of the fourth cohort of the Lingones at *Segedunum* (Wallsend).

The tribune of the cohort of the Cornovii at *Pons Ælii* (Newcastle).

The prefect of the first ala (or wing) of the Astures at *Condercum* (Benwell).

The tribune of the first cohort of the Frixagi at *Vindobala* (Rutchester).

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The prefect of the Savinian ala at *Hunnum* (Halton-chester).
The prefect of the second ala of Astures at *Cilurnum* (Walwick Chesters).
The tribune of the first cohort of the Batavians at *Procolitia* (Carrawburgh).
The tribune of the first cohort of the Tungri at *Borcovicus* (Housesteads).
The tribune of the fourth cohort of the Gauls at *Vindolana* (Little Chesters or Chesterholm).
The tribune of the first cohort of the Astures at *Æsica* (Great Chesters).
The tribune of the second cohort of the Dalmatians at *Magna* in *Northumbria* (Carvorran).
The tribune of the first cohort of Dacians, styled Ælia, at *Amboglanna* (Burdoswald).
The prefect of the ala called Petriana, at *Petriana* (Camberfoot, or Castle Steeds).
The prefect of a detachment of Moors, styled Aureliani, at *Aballaba* (Watch Cross).
The tribune of the second cohort of the Lergi at *Congavata* (Stanwicks).
The tribune of the first cohort of the Spaniards at *Axelodunum* (Brough on the Sands).
The tribune of the second cohort of the Thracians at *Gabrosentis* (Drumburgh).
The tribune of the first marine cohort, styled Ælia, at *Tunnocelum* (Bowness).
The tribune of the first cohort of the Morini at *Glannibanta* (Cockermouth).
The tribune of the third cohort of the Nervii at *Alionis* (Whitley Castle, or Ambleside).
The cuneus of men in armour at *Brementenracum* (Old Penrith, or Brampton).
The prefect of the first ala styled Herculean, at *Olenacum* (Old Carlisle, or Elenborough).
The tribune of the sixth cohort of the Nervii at *Virosidum* (Old Carlisle, or Elenborough).'

From the inscriptions found on the sites, it is proved that these were not moveable troops, sometimes quartered at one place and sometimes at another, but that each of them had been established in the town it occupied, from the time the town was first built to the date of the *Notitia;*—which was compiled not long before the final withdrawal of the Roman legions. Each station was a town, larger or smaller, according to circumstances, inhabited in great part by the families and countrymen of the soldiers to whom it belonged. Thus we have twenty-three towns, commencing with Wallsend (*Segedunum*) and Newcastle (*Pons Ælii*) on the Tyne, and stretching across the island, among which we

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find, on the suspicious policy of universal conquest, no two consecutive towns belonging to people of the same nation. If we begin with *Vindolana*, we have a town of Gauls, then one of Asturians, next, a town of Dalmatians, and so in succession, Dacians, Moors, Lergi, (from what country is uncertain,) Spaniards, and Thracians. Probably all these different populations had adopted Roman manners; it is at least certain that among the numerous articles found on the sites they occupied, everything is purely Roman. Most of them, however, seem to have brought with them the religion and worship which they had learnt from their forefathers; and strange indeed must have been the variety of religious creeds existing contemporaneously in this island under Roman sway. Excavations on Roman sites have in general been rich in monuments of religious worship. Almost every town appears to have had its temples and altars to the chief deities of Rome; but with these we find a singular mixture of Eastern deities, and gods from Africa, from Germany, from Gaul, and from other countries. We learn from an inscription at York, that a legate of the sixth legion built in Eburacum a temple dedicated to Serapis. The same place has also contributed a monument relating to the worship of Mithras, and another dedicated to the *deæ matres*, or popular deities, 'of Africa, Italy, and Gaul.' The god Belatucadrus, (probably a Syrian deity, if not the same as Mars,) was adored on the banks of the Irthing in Cumberland, and at Netherby in Westmoreland. At Chester, there was a god who is described in the inscription by a mixed Roman and Barbaric name, Jupiter Tanaros, supposed to be the Teutonic Thunr or Thor. A cohort of Dacians in Cumberland worshipped a deity named Cocidius. An altar has been found at Netherby dedicated *Deo Mogonti;* and one or two in the county of Durham, dedicated *Deo Vitiri,* — whom Horsley calls a local Deity worshipped in this country. At *Corstopitum* (Corbridge in Northumberland) have been found altars inscribed in Greek to the Tyrian Hercules and to Astarte.

The numerous inscriptions discovered in the stations on the line of the Roman Wall and public roads by Mr. Bruce, place in a strong light this variety of worship prevailing among the Romano-British towns. Altars to Jupiter, Mars, Minerva, &c., prevail everywhere, and all nations seem to have agreed in giving the first honour to them as the deities of all-conquering Rome. At the station of Maryport, on the Solway Firth, a remarkably ornamented altar was found bearing the following inscription: —

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'GENIO LOCI	'To the genius of the place,
FORTVNÆ REDVCI	to returning fortune,
ROMÆ ÆTERNÆ	to eternal Rome,
ET FATO BONO	and to propitious fate,
GAIVS CORNELIVS	Gaius Cornelius
PEREGRINVS	Peregrinus,
TRIBVNVS COHORTIS	tribune of a cohort
EX PROVINCIA	from the province of
MAVRITANIÆ CÆSARIENSIS. . . .'	Mauritania Cæsariensis. . . .'

Two imperfect lines which follow seem to state that Peregrinus had restored a temple to these divinities. He was, perhaps, the officer of the Moors stationed at *Aballaba* (Watchcross). 'Peregrinus,' says Mr. Bruce, 'addresses first the deity of the 'place over which his arms had triumphed; lest the local god 'should not smile benignantly, he resorts to Fortune, who had 'conducted him safely to the land of his adoption; if this deity 'should fail him, he thinks to find a refuge in the genius of the 'eternal city: but driven from that resource, there is nothing 'for it, but to trust to fate or chance.' Fortune seems to have been rather a favourite deity among the stations on the Wall; and it appears that many of the nations brought together to colonise this district adored the sun under different characters. Mithras, indeed, evidently was popular everywhere. A Mithraic cave at Housesteads (*Borcovicus*, occupied by the Tungri), contained altars and various implements of worship. Several of the altars were dedicated to Mithras by name. Another sculpture also relating to the same deity was found at *Cilurnum*, a post of the Astures: while a slab at Carvoran contained a poetical declaration of the belief of the dedicator in the Syrian goddess. Carvoran occupies the site of the Roman *Magna*, the post of the Dalmatian cohort. At Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*), the hunters of the Dacian cohort had erected an altar to Silvanus, the divinity of the woods. At Risingham (*Habitancum*), a small altar, put up by some soldier, to the nymphs, with the following not very intelligible inscription, has outlived more valuable memorials, —

'Somnio præmonitus miles hanc ponere jussit
Aram quæ Fabio nupta est Nymphis venerandis.'

An altar found at Rutchester (*Vindobala*), was dedicated to the gods of the mountains. Others at Thirlwall Castle, and at Benwell (*Condercum*), were dedicated to the god Vitres or Viteres, which is explained as perhaps referring to the Scandinavian Vithirs or Odin. Another at the former of these places informs us of the existence of a *dea Hamia*, while several altars along this line of towns bear witness to the favour with which the *deæ matres* were regarded.

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One circumstance cannot fail to strike us forcibly in considering this strange mythological catalogue, so much apparently out of place. Among the multitude of monuments relating to the worship of the inhabitants of Britain under the Romans — among the immense number of Roman sepulchral interments which have been opened and examined—we have records of almost every religion of the heathen world, but we find not the slightest trace of Christianity. It must be borne in mind that all these temples and altars were standing, and their worship, no doubt, in full vigour, at the time when the Romans abandoned the island. We can hardly doubt but, that in the constant intercourse with Rome, some traveller or some soldier, who had received the Christian doctrines, must from time to time have found his way hither; yet we feel fully justified by the circumstance just mentioned in believing that the faith of the Gospel had not established itself in Roman Britain. How contrary is this to the bold averments of the old Ecclesiastical writers, who would lead us to imagine that the Romans left Britain covered with churches and divided into bishops' sees! And how conformable to the statement that Augustine did not find a single Christian either among the Romans or the Saxons in the South of England!

Our information on the condition of the Roman towns in Britain is as yet very scanty, but we may hope for further information as our researches are continued. Some of the inscriptions now known speak of municipal officers, and of trade colleges or gilds. Many speak of the erection or restoration of temples, baths, and other public buildings. An inscription at Caerleon, engraved by Mr. Lee, commemorates the rebuilding of the barracks; and an inscription at Lanchester in Durham (*Epiacum*), records the building of public baths and a basilica. The Roman towns, with the exception of the military stations, were not for some time protected by walls; a circumstance indicating a sense of security beyond what we should have expected. Such we learn from the history of Boadicea's revolt, had been the case at first with *Camulodunum*, *Verulamium*, and *Londinium*, all which cities were surrounded at a later period with walls of a very massive character. Discoveries made from time to time in London, show us the Roman town gradually increasing from a comparatively small place till it filled the whole space of the present city; and it was only after it had reached this magnitude that the walls were erected. Even then, like most other stations placed in a similar position, it had no wall towards the river; but some excavations near the Thames have brought to light the remains of a wall evidently erected towards the decline of Roman rule;] probably after some attack by water from the

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Saxon pirates, as it appears to have been built hurriedly with stones from ruined temples and other public buildings. *Londinium* seems to have been the chief seat of government, and casual excavations have discovered buildings of extraordinary extent and gorgeously decorated, especially in its north-eastern quarter. It was not a military station; though among the few monumental inscriptions found here two are commemorative of soldiers of the second and twentieth legions, individuals perhaps belonging to the body-guard of the governor of the province.*

When we are unable to judge by any other circumstances of the comparative riches and importance of the Roman towns or villas in Britain, there are two distinctive characteristics which present themselves immediately, and in general without any extensive excavations, — the tesselated pavements, and the pottery. The red ware, to which the name of Samian has been applied, and which is usually ornamented with figures in relief, was certainly imported from the continent; and there are good reasons for believing that it was costly. The absence of Samian ware and of tesselated pavements may, therefore, be regarded as one evidence of poverty. It is singular, accordingly, that we find scarcely any pavements in Kent, and that its villas should not appear to have been much ornamented. No pavements of any beauty have been discovered along the line of Hadrian's Wall, nor is Samian ware frequent in that district. At Ribchester in Lancashire, the red pottery occurs in abundance, and in all probability *Coccium* was a rich town. There are some good pavements, too, in Yorkshire, as we might expect in the neighbourhood of the second city in the island.† But the country of magnificent pavements extended over Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, into Sussex, and northward through Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire. This was the fashionable part of the island under the Romans, and the

* The few London inscriptions now known have been collected and engraved by Mr. Roach Smith, in his 'Collectanea Antiqua.' They were nearly all found in the neighbourhood of Ludgate Street which was the principal road out of *Londinium;* and the sepulchral monuments appear to have stood on each side of it. The site of the Fleet Prison, if dug deep enough, will probably furnish additional monuments of this class.

† Several very elegant Roman tesselated pavements found in Yorkshire, have been recently engraved and published by Mr. Ecroyd Smith, of York; a gentleman who, although, we believe, walking in a comparatively humble path of life, has devoted both time and money to illustrate the antiquities of his country.

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medicinal baths of *Aquæ Solis* (Bath) appear to have been the centre of a district covered with handsome mansions, and stretching uninterruptedly to the bathing towns on the southern coast. The towns in this part of Britain were distinguished by the same characteristics as the country villas; and we need only refer our readers to the work of Professor Buckman and Mr. Newmarch to convince them of the splendour and riches of ancient *Corinium.*

Very little has been hitherto written on the manufactures of this country under the Romans, and it is not till lately that the researches of antiquaries were at all directed to this subject. Mr. Roach Smith has found in London traces of the woollen manufacture; and there can be no doubt that many articles of other kinds in common use were made in the island. The great mass of ordinary pottery was formed of the clay of the banks of the Medway, on what are now called the Upchurch Marshes, not very far above Sheerness. Over an extent of several miles, at a depth of from two to three feet, one continued layer, in some places more than a foot thick, of Roman pottery has been exhumed. It exists both broken and whole, but chiefly broken; and is evidently the damaged refuse of immense manufactories, in activity from the earliest to the latest period of Roman rule. There are traces of similar works in the neighbourhood of Dymchurch, on the southern coast of Kent. To the late Mr. Artis we owe the discovery, at Castor in Northamptonshire (*Durobrivæ*), of potteries which furnished vessels of a more ornamental description, with figures in relief, exhibiting considerable artistic skill. In this instance not only the pottery but the kilns were found in a perfect state. *Durobrivæ* was evidently a flourishing town, and its manufacturers most likely, of a superior class to those at Upchurch and Dymchurch. Mr. Artis uncovered numerous houses, many of which presented very handsome pavements and remains of frescoed walls, and he gathered together numerous articles which showed the affluence of the former inhabitants. All these formed the subjects of a series of large engravings, published at the expense of the late Earl Fitzwilliam, but which unfortunately were left without a descriptive text.* In speaking of the

* E. Tyrell Artis was a self-educated man, who, by his zeal in antiquarian and scientific pursuits, attracted the attention of Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Holland, as well as of the old Duke of Bedford. The two former noblemen procured his election as a member of the Antiquarian and Geological Societies, and paid the expenses of making him a life member. He wanted facility in committing his ideas to

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industrial establishments of the Romans, we ought not, perhaps, to overlook several rather considerable manufactories of forged coins, which have been found at Edington in Somersetshire, at Lingwell-gate near Wakefield in Yorkshire, and at one or two other places. Among the exports of Roman Britain were iron, lead, and tin; but the antiquities of the districts which produced these metals have not yet been carefully investigated. Pigs of lead, with the Roman imperial mark, as though the mines were the immediate property of the emperor, have been frequently found in spots, where they seem to have been accidentally left when on their way to the coast for exportation. The principal iron districts under the Romans were, the forest of Dean and its neighbourhood in Gloucestershire, and the wealds of Kent and Sussex. In these localities the country for miles is covered with beds of scoriæ, which are proved to be Roman by the frequent occurrence of Roman pottery and other articles. Their process of smelting was, however, so imperfect, that in modern times smelters have often found it more profitable to recommit the old scoriæ to the furnace, than to dig for fresh ore. Traces of lead and iron works are found in Northumberland, and are described in Mr. Bruce's interesting volume.

'In Allendale and Alston Moor numerous masses of ancient scoriæ have been found, which must have resulted from the reduction of lead from its ore. In the station of Corchester, portions of lead pipe have been found. It is an inch and a half in diameter, and has been formed by bending round a flat strip of the metal, and soldering the joint. Iron has been produced in large quantities. In the neighbourhood of *Habitancum* masses of iron slag have been found. It is heavier than what proceeds from modern furnaces, in consequence, probably, of the imperfect reduction of the ore. In the neighbourhood of Lanchester the process seems to have been carried on very extensively. On the division of the common, two large heaps were removed, the one containing about four hundred cart loads of dross, the other six hundred. It was used in the construction of some new roads which were then formed; a purpose for which it was admirably adapted. During the operation of bringing this common into cultivation, the method adopted by the Romans of producing the blast necessary to smelt the metal was made apparent. Two tunnels had been formed in the side of a hill; they were wide at one extremity, but tapered off to a narrow bore at the other, where they met in a point. The mouths of the channels opened towards the west, from

writing, which is the reason we have no text to his plates of the antiquities of *Durobrivæ;* and we believe the only explanation of them now existing is in the possession of Mr. Roach Smith, who took notes of them from the mouth of Mr. Artis.

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which quarter a prevalent wind blows in this valley, and sometimes with great violence. The blast received by them would, when the wind was high, be poured with considerable force and effect upon the smelting furnaces at the extremity of the tunnels.'

A still more remarkable fact (often questioned, but established by Mr. Bruce's researches) is the use of mineral coal by the Romans in Britain:—

'In nearly all the stations of the line, the ashes of mineral fuel have been found; in some a store of unconsumed coal has been met with, which, though intended to give warmth to the primeval occupants of the isthmus, has been burnt in the grates of the modern English. In several places the source whence the mineral was procured can be pointed out; but the most extensive workings that I have heard of are in the neighbourhood of Grindon Lough, near Sewingshields. Not long ago a shaft was sunk, with the view of procuring the coal which was supposed to be below the surface; the projector soon found that, though coal had been there, it was all removed. The ancient workings stretched beneath the bed of the lake.'

Enough, perhaps, has been said to show the interesting character of the recent discoveries relating to Roman Britain, many of which are laid before the public in the volumes we are reviewing. It must, however, be remembered, that nearly all made hitherto have been merely accidental; and that, with very rare exceptions, we have had no extensive and well-directed excavations. For this purpose a conjunction of two conditions, which are not always found together, is required — the opportunity of working, and the money to work with. In some cases the circumstances of the ground will not allow it to be excavated; and in others, though much less numerous, the proprietor of the ground has discountenanced the interference of the antiquary. This must be the reason of railways having been, as we learn from Mr. Wilson, a principal means of antiquarian discovery in Scotland. Much the same indeed has been the case in England. The want of the necessary funds is a still greater impediment, and one which it is not always possible to overcome. Nearly all the books before us put forward claims of this kind. At Cirencester, we believe that for weeks together hardly a day has passed without something new coming to light, which shows how much might be gained by more extensive and systematic excavations; and an appeal has been made through the press for subscriptions to enable the local antiquaries to undertake them. At Caerleon the necessary works have generally been carried on by the proprietors of the ground, with the aid of a subscription for building and arranging a museum. But the fund being exhausted before the work was completed, its insufficiency appears to have cast a damp on the ardour of the neighbourhood;

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and Mr. Lee also is obliged to appeal to a wider public. About three years ago an accidental discovery led to some excavations at *Verulamium* (St. Albans); and these soon laid bare the remains of a Roman theatre, — the only building of the kind yet met with in this country. A small sum of money was collected, but quite inadequate for the purpose. In consequence of which, after a considerable portion of the building had been exposed to view, the material was carried away, and the earth thrown in again; and the spot is, we believe, marked at present only by a flourishing crop of turnips. A pamphlet printed by Mr. Grove Lowe, the intelligent director of the excavations, is the sole more appropriate memorial of it now remaining. It is clear that subscriptions by private individuals will never suffice for the numerous demands which the lately awakened spirit of national research is making upon us. If a rich and chartered body, like the London Society of Antiquaries, were resolved to carry out the promise of its title, it could do something towards making these dry bones live again, both in encouraging and assisting; but in the meantime we will only mention, as a proof how far that body is from taking the lead at present, that of the gentlemen to whom we owe the valuable publications enumerated in the earlier part of our article, one only, Mr. Roach Smith, adds F. S. A. to his name. Much might be accomplished by noble and wealthy proprietors of historic sites in their individual capacities — fully as much by their example as by their success; though the site of many could not fail to reward the adventurer in these scientific 'diggings.' Ribchester, for instance, may safely be recommended to Lord de Tabley, who, if we mistake not, possesses sufficient literary and antiquarian taste for the undertaking. It would alone furnish a local museum of the highest interest. The example set by the Hon. Mr. Neville at Chesterford in Essex, and in its neighbourhood, ought to find imitators. Permission has, we understand, been given for the most extensive excavations at Pevensey, and other places, as well as at *Verulamium;* but local antiquarian societies are not rich enough to undertake them. A careful inquiry into the area of Pevensey would probably set at rest the much debated question of its identity with the Roman *Anderida.* We cannot help thinking that the English Government might lay aside from the public money a small sum yearly for purposes of this kind. Doing so, it would only be following in the track of almost every government in Europe.* Mr. Roach Smith ear-

* The republican government of France has not been wanting in a proper feeling for the antiquarian monuments of the country.

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nestly solicited assistance from the Treasury, towards the excavations at Lymne (the *Portus Lemanis*), but without effect.

Few spots would better repay excavation than the towns and stations along the line of Hadrian's Wall, the ruins of which, from the wildness of the district, have been less disturbed than most other places. They have suffered chiefly in very recent times, from local improvements made by men who did not trouble themselves about the remains of antiquity. Although we often listen with regret to Mr. Bruce's account of the depredations to which these monuments have been exposed from the vandalism of the last hundred years, he astonishes us by his descriptions of what still survives; and we cannot but feel a strong desire to see something farther of localities of which in a former lecture on this subject he assured us, that 'some excavations recently 'made at *Cilurnum and Borcovicus* show us that, were the 'requisite skill and labour bestowed, we might in our own land 'walk in Roman streets, and traverse Roman temples, little 'inferior in interest to those of Pompeii.' In the book we have now in our hand Mr. Bruce tells us of Housesteads (*Borcovicus*):—

'"This," says Gordon, "is unquestionably the most remarkable "and magnificent station in the whole island;" and "it is hardly "credible what a number of august remains of the Roman grandeur "is to be seen here to this day, seeing in every place where one casts "his eye there is some curious Roman antiquity to be seen: either "the marks of streets and temples in ruins, or inscriptions, broken "pillars, statues, and other pieces of sculpture, all scattered along "the ground." Stukeley, in the vehemence of his admiration, denominates it "The Tadmor of Britain." Let not the visitor, however, approach it with expectations too greatly excited. There is very much to admire, but not a great deal to strike the eye at first sight. The altars and sculptured figures which lay in profusion on the ground when Gordon and Stukeley were there, have been removed, but the ruins of the place remain as complete and vast as ever. The city is, in a great measure, covered with its own debris, but the ex-

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On the 8th of February last the National Assembly voted, without discussion and almost unanimously, the sum of sixty-one thousand francs, for repairing and restoring the Roman amphitheatre at Arles, — a sum quite sufficient to uncover and bring to light half-a-dozen Roman towns in this country. An accidental occasion for very extensive discoveries has just arisen, which we trust will not be neglected by our local antiquaries. We allude to the new sanatory law. When the new system of sewerage is brought into operation in cities and towns which occupy Roman sites, such as Lincoln, Canterbury, Leicester, &c., the excavators will in all probability reach the Roman level: their proceedings must therefore be carefully watched.

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cavations which have recently been made show us that when they are continued throughout the entire station, the ancient *Borcovicus* will be the Pompeii of Britain.'

Of Chesters (*Cilurnum*) Mr. Bruce tells us:—

'This station has, as usual, the form of a parallelogram, the corners being rounded off. It contains an area of fully six acres. In the latter part of the last century, when the mansion and estate of Chesters came into the possession of the family of Clayton, this area was covered with the ruins of buildings which had apparently stood in straight, narrow streets; and although the surface of the station has since been levelled and made smooth, in order to fit it for its use as part of the Park, yet its ramparts and fosse, the wall and vallum as they approach and leave it, and the road leading to the river, may all be distinctly discerned; even the ruined dwellings of the interior area, as if dissatisfied with their lowly condition, struggle to rear themselves into notice.'

From the north let us turn our attention southward to the series of fortresses, whose history has been treated with so much ability by Mr. Roach Smith. When Mr. Smith found his appeal to Government, in the case of Lymne, ineffectual, he first raised a small sum of money among his immediate friends and acquaintances so as to commence the excavations, and then threw himself upon the public. In this instance the public responded sufficiently to enable him and his colleague, Mr. Elliott, of Dymchurch, to prosecute their researches with great effect. Richborough (*Rutupiæ*) has been excavated to some extent by the liberality of Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich. Reculver (*Regulbium*) has been excavated only by the sea; but that agent has discovered much, which will help to illustrate more especially the period when the Roman influence merged into that of the Saxons. *Rutupiæ* is well known in history as the principal port by which Roman Britain was entered from Gaul, and consequently from Rome. The lofty and massive walls of its citadel still remain almost entire: while, the numerous pieces of sculptured white marble and other materials which are continually found in the area within, prove that it once contained public buildings of importance. Indeed, it still contains one building of great magnitude, the object of which no antiquary has yet been able to explain, although it no doubt served some end connected with the position of the place as the chief seaport in Britain. In the middle of the area of the *Castrum* is a rectangular platform, a hundred and forty-five feet long, by a hundred and four wide. In 1822 an excavation ascertained the singular fact that beneath this platform there existed an extensive subterranean edifice with no traces of an entrance

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to it. Its discoverer conceived the idea of making one under the wall. But, after sinking a shaft to the depth of about twenty-two feet, without finding the bottom of the wall, he was compelled by springs to abandon his operations. The platform extends beyond the walls of this subterranean edifice on the longer side twelve feet, and on the shorter ten; so that the extent of the subterranean works on the exterior is a hundred and thirty-three feet by ninety-four. In the autumn of 1843, Mr. Rolfe made excavations round the building, in the hope of finding an entrance under the platform; and he spent two months in the vain attempt to penetrate through the solid mass of the wall. We expect that, if the entrance be ever found, it will be by clearing away the earth and rubbish from the surface of the platform. Mr. Smith observes, 'that 'the subterranean building was constructed for some extra- 'ordinary and important purpose is obvious from the fact, that 'nothing at all analogous to it has been discovered at any of 'the Roman stations in this country, or, as far as can be ascer- 'tained, on the Continent. It would therefore appear that this 'extensive and peculiar structure was built for some great public 'object connected with the locality, which, as has been already 'shown, was the chief line of transit to and from Britain. It 'may not, therefore, be unreasonable to suppose that a place 'of such strength and security may have served as an arsenal 'for arms and other military equipments; and it may also have 'been used as a receptacle for provisions for the troops in 'emergencies, as well as a temporary and occasional storehouse 'for corn.' In the anxiety to obtain some insight into the character of this building, the traces of the town of *Rutupiæ*, which seems to have lain over the fields in the north and north-west of the fortress, have been rather neglected. The latest of Mr. Rolfe's discoveries, as recorded in Mr. Smith's book, is a Roman amphitheatre on the summit of the hill, to the south of the station, which was unexpectedly found to have been surrounded with walls.

The excavations at Lymne have been going on steadily since the publication of Mr. Smith's book, and have only been partially interrupted during the winter. In most of the Roman towns and stations the large tiles of the construction are stamped with the name of the legions which built them; but the tiles or bricks at Lymne bear the inscription CLBR, in rather late characters. This Mr. Smith explains with great plausibility, as signifying *Classici* or *classiarii Britannici*,—the British marines. In fact, the great number of coins of Carausius found here, in proportion to those of other emperors,

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leave little doubt but that the *Portus Lemanis* was a principal station of that usurper's fleet. At a subsequent period, perhaps, no longer back than the eleventh or twelfth century, a land-slip must have overthrown the principal entrance and many parts of the walls. It has so much disturbed the interior, that in some parts no traces can be found of the buildings which once stood within; and in others they are lying in such confusion that it is impossible to make out their original plan. The bare walls of some very extensive edifice have been traced in the upper part of the area; and a large house, in a tolerably perfect state, has been uncovered in the south-east corner, eight or nine rooms of which are now opened. Further excavations must uncover other remains, and we may expect ere long to be made better acquainted with the character of this once important town.

These southern fortresses point more particularly to the later period of the Roman occupation of Britain, concerning which history leaves us entirely in the dark. The foes with whom Roman Britain had at this time to contend were its old assailants, the Caledonians, — or, as they were now called, the Picts and Scots, — in the north, and those new assailants, who, under the general appellation of Saxons, were infesting its south-eastern coasts. At the time to which the 'Notitia Im-'perii' refers, *i. e.* the earlier years of the fifth century, the twentieth legion appears to have been withdrawn from the island, and the second legion had been moved from *Isca* to *Rutupiæ;* but the sixth legion still remained stationed at York, and exactly the same troops held the towns on the northern border who had occupied them from the first. This last circumstance proves that down to the date in question the inroads of the Caledonians had produced no permanent effect; though A.D. 396 is supposed to be the year of the first embassy by the Britons to Rome for succour, and of the sending over of a legion to them by Stilicho. The mixture of races and religions as planted in Britain by the Roman Conquest naturally produced a ruling population, which sympathised neither with the vanquished natives nor with their distant Roman masters, and which had now adopted the island of the western ocean as their only home. They frequently challenged their independence, and elected emperors for themselves. When Rome at last withdrew its legions, it only conceded to this population that right of providing for its own government, which it had so often asserted before.

The condition of Britain under the Romans, might perhaps be compared with that of Ireland as it existed under En-

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glish rule no very long time ago. The towns were entirely peopled by the conquerors: they alone were capable of holding municipal privileges or power: and the country was covered with the houses of gentry and landholders, who were all either descended from the old conquerors or new settlers. The peasantry only were British, — that class who were in ancient times equally slaves under one race of rulers or another, and who were only spurred into insurrection by political agitators or by foreign invasions. The destruction of one half of the Brigantes by Lollius Urbicus — which no doubt annihilated the chiefs of the tribe — is a fact made known to us only by accident; though we cannot doubt but that similar events must have occurred repeatedly in other parts of the country, until probably scarcely any of the British aristocracy was left. Still, as in Ireland, the peasantry, having no attachment to their lords, were easily excited to revolt; and a successful inroad of the Caledonians would always be attended by a corresponding agitation among the Britons. Let us look at the state of the county of Wexford in the rebellion of 1798, and we shall have an exact picture of what Britain must have been under the later inroads of the Picts and Scots. When the latter succeeded in penetrating into the interior of the country, the British peasantry no doubt rose in every direction, not with any united plan or object, but for the mere purpose of sharing in the plunder and devastation. It was the principle of the military force of the towns rather to defend their several homes than to join with one another in one common effort. When they were taken by surprise and the legions were not at hand to oppose the insurrection in the field, they shut themselves up within their walls: and left the invaders and insurgents to range over the country at will, burning the houses of the gentry and slaughtering all who had not succeeded in making their escape. We find abundant traces of these devastations in the remains of Roman villas, which are from time to time uncovered by the excavations of antiquaries, and which present all the marks of having been burnt in a hostile inroad. Here and there, as in the Wexford insurrection in Ireland, towns, when too weak to resist, or which were delivered up by treason, will have shared the fate of private houses. Proof of this occurs in our subterraneous researches. The northern invaders appear to have entered usually by the western extremity of the Wall, where they were perhaps joined by marauders from Hibernia. In their way south, upon more than one occasion they must have taken by storm the Roman town which occupied the site now called Maryport. Mr. Bruce informs us from Lysons what aspect it pre-

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sented, upon a partial excavation during the last century. 'The workmen found the arch of the gate beat violently down 'and broken; and, on entering the great street, discovered 'evident marks of the houses having been more than once burnt 'to the ground and rebuilt: an event not unlikely to have 'happened on so exposed a frontier. The streets had been 'paved with broad flag-stones, much worn by use, particularly 'the steps into a vaulted room, supposed to have been a temple. 'The houses had been roofed with Scotch slates, which, with 'the pegs which fastened them, lay confusedly in the streets. 'Glass vessels, and even mirrors were found, and coals had 'evidently been used in the fire-places.' In one of the last incursions of the barbarians, the town of *Coccium* had experienced a similar fate. Dr. Whitaker gives the following account of excavations in its modern representative, Ribchester. 'The inscribed flag-stone found in 1811 having sufficiently proved the existence of a temple, further search was 'determined upon, and, in the summer of 1813, leave having 'been obtained to dig in the adjoining gardens between the 'river and the churchyard, the first appearances, at the depth 'of about three feet, were a stratum of charcoal, evidently 'formed by the conflagration of the roof, and nearly in the 'centre a cavity in the earth had been made, by the uniting of 'the ends of the beams at their fall, large enough to contain a 'man sitting. Beneath this was a confused mass of large 'amphoræ, some almost entire at first, and many beautiful 'remnants of pateræ in the red Samian ware, mingled with 'which lay several human skeletons, all of the largest size, in 'every direction. Every appearance about the place indicated 'that it had been taken by storm, and that the defenders had 'been buried in the ruins of the roof.' We seem to be reading the story of the capture of *Camulodunum* by the Britons under Boadicea, when the veterans were destroyed in their last asylum — the temple of Claudius.

For many years before they abandoned the island, the Roman rulers had been courting the alliance of the Saxons, — partly perhaps to avoid their hostility — and had no doubt allowed them to settle on the coast extending from the south of Kent to the Wash; for this, we think, is implied in the term *littus Saxonicum*, which the Romans now applied to it. Antiquarian discoveries in these districts seem to show that the Saxons lived there intermixed with the Roman population; partook their manner of life; were buried side by side with them; and succeeded them as citizens. There are many reasons for believing that, when the Roman legions withdrew

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[illegible], and the other fortresses [illegible] of Saxon soldiers. [illegible] districts are chiefly found the [illegible] *minimi*, and which seem [illegible] of the Roman money. The [illegible] possession of the fortresses of [illegible] itself, at the earliest period to [illegible] their own writers. Thus a new [illegible] general population, on the same [illegible] of the Roman towns. The Saxons [illegible] from abroad, better fitted per- [illegible] Pict and Scot even than the Roman [illegible] naturally led to a struggle for [illegible] the towns. The latter would often [illegible] and would thus be induced to [illegible] confederacies, which would expose [illegible] in detail. Besides, many of the auxiliary [illegible] in Britain had been drawn from different parts [illegible] would readily fraternise with the new [illegible] that the hostilities to which this new [illegible] gave rise, were of long duration; for the towns [illegible] used to war, and (unlike the later Britons) [illegible] the skill nor the spirit to defend themselves. In [illegible] same, taken by assault, were plundered and [illegible]; others sought terms and surrendered upon condition, [illegible] the absolute sovereignty of the Saxon chiefs, but [illegible] naturally their own municipal existence and laws,—which will have thus become the foundation of our corporate towns. The Roman population was no longer recruited from [illegible], and therefore it gradually died away or merged into the Saxon race. The rich and powerful city of London must often have been attacked; but it seems to have repulsed its assailants, and to have preserved its independence after all the other towns had succumbed. Like the city of Paris among the Franks, it [illegible] to have stood among the Anglo-Saxon States, without [illegible] to the sovereignty of any of them,—a free-trading [illegible] which only acknowledged the supremacy of the [illegible] at a much later period, the various Saxon [illegible] merged into one.

[illegible] of the Romans in Britain, as far as it [illegible] from the monuments which modern [illegible]. The books before us are well cal- [illegible] of these researches, and how [illegible] knowledge they are opening

Sir F. Palgrave has already made excellent use of the discoveries which preceded the date of his English Commonwealth, in the chapter where he describes the condition of the country as a Roman province. His account of the Roman buildings is very striking, and some of our readers may be surprised at their size and duration. 'The country was replete with 'the monuments of Roman magnificence. Malmesbury appeals to those stately ruins as testimonies of the favour 'which Britain had enjoyed; the towers, the temples, the 'theatres, and the baths, which yet remained undestroyed, excited the wonder and admiration of the chronicler and the 'traveller; and even in the fourteenth century, the edifices 'raised by the Romans were so numerous and costly, as almost 'to excel any others on this side of the Alps. Nor were these 'structures amongst the least influential means of establishing 'the Roman power. Architecture, as cultivated by the ancients, 'was not merely presented to the eye; the art spake also to 'the mind. The walls, covered with the decrees of the legislature, engraved on bronze or sculptured in the marble; the 'triumphal arches, crowned by the statues of the princes who 'governed the province from the distant quirinal; the tesselated 'floor, pictured with the mythology of the State, whose sovereign 'was its pontiff; all contributed to act upon the feelings of the 'people, and to impress them with respect and submission; the 'conquered shared in the fame, and were exalted by the splendour of the victors.' Sir F. Palgrave is equally confident in his political conclusions; 'As the fragments of the capital and 'the mutilated cornice, enable us to judge that the forum of '"Aquæ Solis," was surrounded by edifices, erected according 'to the rules which were exemplified at Treves or Arles; so 'with an equal degree of moral certainty, we are enabled to 'reconstruct the fabric of the State, from vestiges of institutions, which formed part of a consistent and uniform plan.'

Sir James Mackintosh, however, in a calmer tone, if with less appropriate knowledge, warns us not to draw too wide an inference from the character of the buildings of the Romans in Britain, any more than from that of their military roads. 'The Roman remains' (he says) 'seem rather to in'dicate the luxury of the military stations, than any desire to 'adorn their province by civil architecture. . . . Roman cul'tivation was extended to it in a less degree than Spain or 'Gaul. The writers of the latter province were respectable. 'Those of the former, the most famous of their age. Roman 'Britain did not produce a single literary name.' The notion that the *causidici Britanni* might have made sufficient progress

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to be taking their standard of eloquence from Roman Gaul, was only food for satire in the age of Juvenal. What benefits our ancestors may have derived at a later day from either Norman lawyers or the institutions and laws of Rome is a distinct question. It is probably true, that we are tasting the fruits at this day, of the imperial care in providing for the government and privileges of towns. 'Thirty-three towns, or rather town-'ships, were established in this island from Winchester to In-'verness, with various constitutions and stages of dignity... 'and it cannot be doubted that the remembrance and remains 'of them, contributed to the formation or preservation of those 'elective governments in towns, which were the foundations of 'liberty among modern nations.' When we remember that most of the barbaric conquerors of the west entrusted the preparation of their codes of law to Roman lawyers; and are reminded also, that Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, born A.D. 639, had studied Roman law at York, and that there is a description of the same school by Alcuin, in 804, we surely may conclude, — that a system so universally popular was more widely studied in England at this early period, and must have had a more positive influence upon early English law, than our legal antiquaries have as yet had the industry or candour to identify. 'A pro-'vince in which Papinian presided, must have been familiar 'with Roman law.'

ART. VIII. — *History of Greece.* By GEORGE GROTE, Esq. Vols. VII. and VIII. 1850. 8vo.

MR. GROTE has only advanced two volumes since we last spoke with him: but most readers, we think, will feel that the progress he has really made is very considerable. It is not that he has despatched a larger portion of time within the same compass: on the contrary, the narrative lengthens perceptibly as it proceeds, and the eighth volume, originally proposed as the limit of the whole work, terminates at a point which stands but little more than half way in the story as treated by its last exponent, Bishop Thirlwall. But the interest of a history is not to be measured by space of time: and the writer who has to follow Thucydides* at the distance of two

* Mr. Cobden, not many months since, talked to his hearers at the Manchester Athenæum about 'the whole of the historical works of 'Thucydides.' As he professed to weigh this voluminous cargo, in respect of its practical utility to an Englishman of the present day,

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thousand years, may be excused if his own necessities, no less than those of his subject, induce him to indulge in expansion. Mr. Grote's last *livraison* concluded with the first stage of the Peloponnesian War: the present publication conducts us through the remaining, and much more eventful part of that mighty struggle, down to the death of the man whose name is, more than that of any other, identified with it. Grecian history had now at length begun to acquire that fulness of political significance which renders it, in the prophetic language of its great eye-witness, a possession for all time. Previously to the age of Pericles its embodiment was more or less romantic, its reality a matter for abstract discussion and critical deduction, its most faithful contemporary record the prose epic of Herodotus, its best modern exposition works of a Niebuhrian character, where the story-teller is constantly obliged to merge himself in the essayist. After that date it assumes a real and life-like concreteness, as tangible now as it was during the acting of it; while a philosophical narrative is made possible not only by the credibility, but by the intrinsic nature of the events related, which are felt at once to belong to times akin to these latter days of our own. We are anxious to call attention *in limine* to the deep interest of the period, not merely for its own sake, but because we are not likely to recur to it at any length. Mr. Grote's subject is the Peloponnesian War: ours is not the Peloponnesian War, but Mr. Grote's History.

At first sight it may appear that where a history thus as it were relates itself, the praise of the historian must necessarily be diminished. Such an inference, however, would be as unfair in the light of a general remark, as it would be obviously untrue in the particular instance of the present work. Because a story is able to force itself on the attention in spite of its narrator, it by no means follows that it can gain nothing from the manner in which it is conveyed: while, on the other hand, there will always be something unreal and unsatisfactory in the employment of high talent to glorify an uninteresting or unworthy subject. Mr. Grote complains, feelingly, in his Preface of 'the 'insufficiency of written materials,' not only as 'compelling him 'to leave much of his picture an absolute blank,' but as 'greatly 'spoiling the execution of the remainder:' and we can scarcely doubt that literary ambition, no less than personal convenience, would lead him to prefer his present task, where he has events

against a single copy of the 'Times,' it may be well to remind him that Thucydides has left us but one work, of no extraordinary bulk, and generally regarded as a model of condensation.

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of pith and moment to describe, and excellent authorities to rely on, to any successes which he may have achieved earlier in the day by scrutinizing the Messenian wars, or discussing the institutions of Solon. We do not mean to say that he has now developed any peculiar power which he had been previously prevented from displaying. Feeling as we do that no writer of our times can better afford to dispense with inappropriate compliments, we do not claim for him any marked narrative ability, or assert, in common critical parlance, that his style improves as he goes on. He recounts the issue of the battle of Arginusæ as he recounted the Hellenic legends, the difference being that the modern business-like language, half scientific, half colloquial, which serves to give a suitable notion of a great political crisis, is perceived to be out of place when applied to the fair humanities of classical mythology. The narrative itself is not that of an accomplished artist, but of a practical man. He speaks of the execution of the ten generals much as he might have spoken of it to the House of Commons, bringing out the facts in a straightforward way, and pointing his moral by weighty and impressive considerations, which a mere writer would probably have disposed of by some other means. It is this thoroughly practical character, indeed, which gives its charm to the whole book, considered as a literary work. The author is perceived to be full of his subject, and full too of all accessary knowledge which the history of other countries, and other times, as well as his own experience can supply. The mixture of disquisition with narrative, strictly so called, is a reflection of the process naturally going on in the mind of the reader, who feels that what is said appears as he himself might have said it, if he had enjoyed the requisite opportunities for such a labour. In this respect Mr. Grote is not unworthy of being compared with the original Thucydides, as the natural representative of the intelligence and education of his time, expressing his views in the readiest and most unaffected manner; though the contrast between the prolixity of the modern utilitarian, who 'has no time to make short cuts' to his object, and the compressedness of the ancient, 'always crowding upon him-'self,' is sufficiently curious, and we may add, not uninstructive. Even the mere style of the book, the wording and turn of the sentences, obvious as it is on the surface to the plainest critical objections, is seen in the long run to have a felicity which greater brilliancy and gracefulness of composition might have failed to realise. No attempt has been made to render it terser or purer than the tenour of ordinary conversation; and for that very reason it forms a transparent medium for transmitting the

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desired character and colour at first hand, a mirror of the thoughtful wisdom and austere enthusiasm which inform and animate the writer. A picturesque style, as we had occasion to remind our readers in a former number, is apt to produce an untruthful effect, just as one of its principal ingredients, a well sustained metaphor, may deceive in proportion to the success with which it conveys a homogeneous impression *in aliâ materiâ*. On the same principle we cannot quarrel with Mr. Grote for giving a lower place to geographical illustration than is assigned to it by some recent writers, who maintain that historical events cannot be understood unless seen in relief against a background of natural scenery. The appreciation of history is, after all, a matter of faith rather than of sight, and a calm judgment will beware how it suffers sensation to encroach on the province of reflection. The temper of the English historian, we confess, is one with which the impulsive nature of a Greek would have had little sympathy, nor do we imagine that his work would have been adapted for recitation at the Olympic games. But the homage paid by the countryman of Bacon to the countrymen of Plato is not rendered less significant by the broad contrast of their respective national peculiarities; and the insight which can detect the fundamental identity of the two great methods of philosophical inquiry, may help us to discover a real harmony between the ardour which created the Athenian institutions, and the diligence and deliberation which delight in estimating their character and results.

It is no mere arbitrary connexion of thought which leads us to associate Mr. Grote's name with that of the great father of modern inductive philosophy. The conception of a scientific treatment of history is as yet so little understood, much less admitted, in England, that we almost seem to require an apology for venturing to characterise the present work as the first attempt which has been made within our knowledge, at least by an Englishman, to deal with history in the concrete as a portion of science. Mr. Grote, it is true, does not expressly speak of himself as desiring to regard his subject in this light; but it is sufficiently apparent that he recognises it both in theory and in practice. His general philosophy is evidently that of the positive school, as represented by M. Comte in France, and Mr. J. S. Mill among ourselves,—men, whose greatest triumph is that they have been able to imagine a science of society, and to indicate the conditions, whether practicable or not, under which its existence is conceivable. The chapter on Socrates, at the end of his last volume, places his sympathies beyond doubt: they were, however, abundantly clear at the very outset. In a

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note to one of his earliest chapters, he mentions, as an unquestionable truth, M. Comte's cardinal 'doctrine of the three 'successive stages of the human mind in reference to scientific 'study, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive.' This doctrine, it must be remembered, is insisted on by its promulgators, not as applicable merely to ordinary physics, but as the 'fundamental law of mental evolution;' and the *nisus*, which issued in its discovery, seems to have originated in the special necessity of providing a method for social science. Acknowledging it as an historical fact, and employing it as a solution of the development of the Greek mind, Mr. Grote is naturally led to adopt it as a law for his own guidance, and to see in positive inquiry the latest and most perfect birth of time. Few things are more remarkable in his book than the total absence of the theological spirit, which refers events to providential agency, instead of tracing them to what are ordinarily called second causes,—a fact which, whatever else it may prove, is at any rate significant as to the intellectual position he has taken up. Nor is he more solicitous to occupy a metaphysical ground, and explain history, *à priori*, by the supposed operation of essential powers, whether conceived of modestly as abstract principles, or realised with that startling distinctness of personification which a German admires in Hegel's prose, and an Englishman scarcely tolerates in Shelley's poetry. Every page bears the marks of a thoroughly positive habit of mind, exhibiting a Newtonian disdain of mere hypotheses, and seeking to astonish, not by ingenuity, but by completeness and universality of knowledge. His treatment of the legendary period of Greece, in his earlier volumes, which we have before had occasion to discuss on its own merits, is a specific instance of this peculiarity. It would of course be a misnomer to suppose that the positive method necessarily obliges an inquirer to forego the hope of extracting historical truth from fable, and to regard the legend simply as a legend. As a matter of fact, however, it has a tendency to do so by the attention which it enforces to the laws of physical investigation, and the rigour with which it excludes those considerations which generally tempt men to fill up blanks in history by the help of their own theories. That Mr. Grote's work contains nothing inconsistent with a positive view it would be in the last degree hazardous to affirm,—since a human science, like history, must always be expected to give far more scope for popular looseness of reasoning, and vicious metaphysical notions than natural philosophy can ever have done even in the days of the schoolmen: a point which will perhaps become clearer as we proceed. But it may be safely asserted

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that English literature has, as yet, produced no instance in which the progression has been so distinctly made, and so consciously maintained.

Resting, as we do, the scientific pretensions of this history on its positive character, we must add a few words to prevent misconstruction. We are by no means prepared to join M. Comte and Mr. Mill in maintaining either the immediate possibility, or the absolute finality, of the positive method, still less to echo the less sober and guarded language indulged in by inferior writers of the same school. It is conceivable that history may, in the distant future, be found to be susceptible of those theological and metaphysical explanations which the world is at present unable to accept, even from a Vico or a Hegel; and in the mean time considerations drawn from divine Providence and the general fitness of things may afford food for something more than empty speculation to the individual reason and the individual conscience. Such truths, however, it is obvious, as at present apprehended, cannot be converted into a scientific basis for historical research; and the writer who employs them is in equal danger of discrediting his religious or philosophical belief, and of falsifying or neglecting the facts which it is his business to relate. The positive method, on the other hand, like its prototype, the Baconian induction, has the merit of attempting a work which, though destined, we fear, to remain long unaccomplished, does not lie so obviously out of the immediate reach of human faculties. Depending not on opinions but on facts, it will not suffer from the overthrow of systems built up on foundations independent of its own. The fruit may be more useful than shining, but the tree will never cumber the ground. The scientific worth of systematic discoveries made by an induction from the records of history, and tested by an appeal to the facts of the human mind, must remain firm in any case, whatever may be the formal or final causes to which the whole series of events owes its being; just as ordinary physical researches proceed undisturbed, while theologians and moralists are disputing about the conclusions which may legitimately be deduced from the aspect of the world of matter. There is no waste of labour, no possible squandering of ingenuity on questions which may turn out after all to have been wrongly raised or erroneously stated in the first instance. The course is one which, in Bacon's language, 'is not confined, 'like theories, to individuals,' but may be followed with equal success by persons differing most widely in their opinions on other subjects of inquiry and in their general mental constitution, so long as they honestly restrict their attention to the

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problems which they have to solve, and do not introduce considerations for which a warrant has to be found elsewhere. Besides, the radical difference of object, which prevents it from making common cause with other kinds of inquiry, prevents it no less from being necessarily at war with them. It may have advantages which they have not; but these by no means secure it an exclusive right to attention. The question of right has to be tried in another court, in which it appears not as a judge but as a contending party. All that it can do of itself is to invite cultivation by the promise of more substantial proceeds than its rivals can at present hold out; and the force of its representations will depend on the minds which it addresses. Properly understood, it makes no claim to absolute intellectual dominion, but merely relies on those arguments which have in all ages been the strength of practical men against idealists. It is in this light, we venture to say, that Mr. Grote's work will be regarded by an unbiassed reader. The absence of expressions or statements indicative of theological belief, will be looked upon not as a declaration of hostilities, but as an omission which might have been dictated even to a divine by the Christian virtue of soberness of mind. Those who remark a deficiency in theory will set it down to the taste and temperament of the writer, rather than to his adoption of principles which forbid the use of hypotheses to the learned as well as to the unlearned. They will judge him as they judge other eminent authors, by what he has done, not by what he has failed to do; and recognising him as a disciple of the philosophy of fruit, will feel that no historian has better qualified himself for assisting at the Baconian vintage, the gleaning of the grapes of knowledge, which forms the reward of the careful and patient cultivator.

Leaving this high ground, on which we have scarcely been able to touch, we come to another aspect of Mr. Grote's history, which will probably be more interesting to the majority of our readers — the political. We scarcely know what M. Comte, who seems to regard modern liberal opinions as a vicious mass of metaphysical abstractions, will say to his disciple's applications of the *doctrine critique.* To us, however, they seem quite in keeping with the general tone of the work, be their bearing on its scientific pretensions what it may; and indeed eminently characteristic of the spirit in which a practical Englishman of the best sort will convert the past into a means of instruction for the present. Since Dr. Arnold's History of Rome no such attempt has been made to view the ancient world by the light of contemporary political experience; and Mr. Grote's teaching

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is superior to Dr. Arnold's in proportion as it is more definite and systematic, as well as more business-like and practical. Our recollections of the Roman History of Dr. Arnold are too recent to suffer us to be unjust, even for a moment, to the union of calm wisdom with high enthusiasm which pervades the whole,—the result of the convictions, deep and serious, even if mistaken, of one who refused to understand politics in any other than their ancient Greek sense, and tolerated no lower standard in the State than that which he believed to be the apostolic law of the Church. But we need not look beyond the antecedents of the two men to see that Mr. Grote's qualifications in this particular are higher than any to which the historian of Rome could lay claim. If the one had 'the Bible, and Aristotle, and all history,' for the formation of his opinions, the other, already an Aristotelian and a historical student, if not a divine, enjoyed the invaluable privileges of a parliamentary career at a time when public events were more than usually stirring. Mr. Grote may have been too abstract for the House of Commons, even on a popular question like the Ballot; but the training which he there went through has been all-important as a means to a further end. The very faults of his audience must have enabled him to remedy many of his own original defects; though unfortunately he could not repay the obligation by communicating his peculiar excellences to his hearers and making them argue questions like men of science. Having been a philosopher among politicians, he is now able to take rank as a politician among philosophers. The senatorial arena has made him a hard and straightforward hitter in a field where flesh and blood pugilism is uncommon. The plain and homely directness of his style, to which we adverted above, comes out with sufficient prominence in his political expositions to show that he has lived with men who, surrounded as they are by conventional forms, generally contrive to let an opponent know unmistakeably what they think of him. The illustrations too which his multifarious knowledge has accumulated, both in text and notes, have something of a blue-book character about them, and remind us in matter, as well as in manner, of the documents and statistics which a speaker has to get up for a debate. Dr. Arnold's references, though varied and copious, are those of a man who has never had occasion to collect a political library; nor do we remember in his work any passage which can be compared for speciality of information with the monetary discussions in Mr. Grote's chapter on Solon, or the comparison, in the sixth volume, between the colonial governments of Athens and England. Nor is Mr. Grote's philosophical power less remarkable than his practical acquaint-

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ance with detail. He has studied politics as a science, both in itself and in the subordinate sciences which minister to it, with a zeal which the occasions of political life may have stimulated, but which must have been owing in the first instance to innate aptitude and love for the subject. Technicality and precision are attributes which belong to him as a *doctrinaire* no less than as a man of business; contrasting strongly with that indefiniteness and uncertainty of tone which speculative deficiency and absorption in moral subjects tend almost unavoidably to produce in the political views even of the most liberal English theologian. Still, where we have two such eminent examples of success amid a crowd of failures, we will not be so impolitic or ungrateful as to separate them broadly from each other by an invidious comparison of their respective works, so long as it is open to us to class them together as having similar conceptions of the task before them, and see in the History of Greece an adequate realisation of the sketch drawn out in the Oxford Lectures on Modern History.

If a historian is to be a politician, it seems to follow almost as a matter of necessity, that he must be, to a certain extent at least, a party man. Dr. Arnold perceived this, if, indeed, he did not mean to anticipate opposition by selecting a crucial instance, when he spoke of Mitford as an author who has been preserved, in spite of his defects, by the salt of his political zeal. Certainly it is hard to conceive how a man can impart a contemporary interest to the politics of past times without a sympathy more or less pronounced with one or other of the parties of his day. Hegel, we believe, in discussing the very events with which Mr. Grote has last been occupied, contrived to hold the balance with judicial impartiality between Socrates and those who condemned him, representing the victim as necessarily sacrificed in the collision between the old and the new: but such lofty serenity of contemplation is not to be expected, perhaps not to be desired, from an Englishman and a non-transcendentalist. No one has left more earnest warnings against the dangers of party-spirit than Dr. Arnold; yet, in reducing his theory to practice, he naturally felt himself at liberty to take a side in each of the great questions that came before him, and in judging of others he plainly felt the necessity of sometimes tolerating the abuse for the sake of the use. In short, we know no case where literary ability and keenness of perception, unassisted by personal bias, have been sufficient for the production of a history, the political interest of which is real and permanent. It has been a common plan with critics to laud Thucydides for his impartiality; but, thanks to Mr. Grote, we

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are now placed in a position to detect the party prejudice which lurks behind his dignified reticence, not less real, while far more effective, than the outspoken and demonstrative animosity shown by later advocates of the same cause. This necessity, of course, does not discharge a historian from the duty of giving, to the best of his power, a candid view of the motives and conduct of opponents, any more than it would justify him as a citizen, in forming his opinions unconscientiously and supporting them unscrupulously. But the consideration of it may well teach us moderation both in our estimate of the work of an antagonist, and in our hopes from the labours of those who are engaged on our own side of the question. Mr. Henry Drummond told the House of Commons, *àpropos* of the educational changes in Oxford and Cambridge, that modern history had fallen into the hands of Whig pamphleteers; being, apparently, ignorant not only of the value of the admission he was making against his friends, but of the plain truth, that the more intelligent the holders of any set of opinions, the more extensively they are likely to apply them, in the explanation of other times, as well as of their own. Great would be our error if we were to assume, that the eminent Liberal writers who, as he truly says, have, of late years, been almost the only modern historians, are so thoroughly masters of the field, that no one of opposite sentiments can hope to approach it with any chance of success. We should be the last willingly to undervalue the possible results of profound and accurate research: but it would be unwise to forget that, so far as the political truth of history is concerned, they are likely to affect details rather than principles. The faithlessness of Charles I. has been established by a weight of evidence so overwhelming, as to make the summary verdict of acquittal pronounced by Hume look very like dishonesty: yet the question of his execution is still open. If, in the present day, with the means of information on passing events sufficiently accessible to every body, we find one large section of men approving of the conduct of a ministry, and another censuring it, how can we expect that any history, to be written three hundred years hence, will so treat the questions which are now vexing us, as to leave no room for difference of sentiment among its readers? Time, which softens the mere asperities of personal and party feeling, and tests measures and courses of policy by their ultimate issue, is, as yet, powerless against such influences as those which, whatever form they may assume, have in all ages alike asserted themselves as the opposing forces of political action. What the world, then, has a right to demand of a historian, so long as party differences exist, is not that he

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should tell his story without bias, but that he should write like a man conscious of his liability to be swayed in this or that direction,—so that they may be better able to eliminate, each in his own way, the disturbing element, and distinguish the terms which require to be translated into another language from those which are to remain constant. The conclusion may appear a humiliating one, to persons who desire the credit of teaching, or the satisfaction of learning, absolute truth in matters political; but so it is. Others, we trust, there are, who will see in it a mere application of the liberal maxim which, by disallowing the exclusive pretensions of any one instructor, secures a sectional jurisdiction to each. M. Comte may condemn our doctrine as anarchical: but Mr. Grote is not sufficiently in advance of the philosophy of toleration to be entitled to complain, if we treat him as he has endeavoured to treat the States and Statesmen of Greece.

As we have already intimated, it is during the administration of Pericles, and the Peloponnesian War, that Grecian history first begins to acquire the peculiar interest of modern party struggles. Accordingly it is in the volumes before us, taken in connexion with their immediate predecessor, on which we were scarcely able to bestow even the most passing glance in our former notice, that Mr. Grote's qualifications as a political or party historian are most prominently displayed. The admirable chapter on the Greek despots at the opening of the third volume, and the view of the revolution under Clisthenes in the fourth, showed us what we had to expect when the nature of the subject should call out his personal feelings, and the existence of contemporary records enable him to pass from dissertation into narrative; and similar praise is due to the account of Pericles and his changes, with which the fifth volume concludes. But it is one thing to discuss the Athenian constitution, and another to exhibit it in its actual working: one thing to remark casually on the analogy between the demagogue and the opposition speaker, and another to show how the character and conduct of the popular leader at Athens may be vindicated, if regarded in the light of this suggestion. The 'rehabilitation of Cleon' was a work which Mr. Grote might have been expected to undertake, both from his general predilections and from the implied promise just alluded to. Yet, after studying it, it is impossible not to feel that the merit consists, not so much in a fortunate *aperçu*, as in the ability with which evidence is sifted, and facts arrayed in support of a foregone conclusion. In any case, the undoubted novelty of the position seems to call for an examination at length; and we gladly embrace the opportunity of

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applying the considerations contained in our former paragraph, partly against Mr. Grote, partly against some of those who have questioned his mode of proceeding, and also disputed his conclusions.

Hitherto the very notion of setting up a defence for Cleon, has presented itself to most minds only as a ridiculous absurdity. With Thucydides against him, and no ancient author on his side, the weight of testimony appeared overwhelming. The representation of Aristophanes, under any circumstances, would have had all the plausibility of a thoroughly well-told tale: Regarded as a confirmation of facts already attested, it was at once felt to be irresistible, imparting to the facts themselves, that ideal life-like colouring, which, even in the judgment of philosophers, makes poetry so much truer than history. Besides, there was something probable and consistent in the picture itself; the portrait of a vulgar blustering politician, half coward, half bully, availing himself of his powers of face and tongue and the natural sympathy of the baser sort to run down good men and good manners. Such a person was thought likely enough to have existed at any period of partisan warfare; and as the violent career and rapid decline of the Athenian democracy was commonly supposed to furnish a strong argument against republican institutions, there was a consilience of probabilities in favour of the assertion that he had actually existed at Athens. Even those who were most anxious to defend Athens against the wholesale and unscrupulous attacks of the anti-democratic party, felt that they must give up certain parts of her policy, discredited as it had been by ill success: and no set of men appeared more proper, on historical as well as on general grounds, to be selected for sacrifice, than Cleon and the class to which he belonged. Thus, in England, it is not merely such writers as Mitford and Mr. Mitchell who have prejudiced the minds of the generality of readers against the Athenian demagogue: Dr. Arnold leaves him where he found him, while Bishop Thirlwall, after describing him originally as an unredeemed reprobate, exerts himself in his second edition, in tone of moral, almost of episcopal reprobation, to drown the solitary voice which has been raised in arrest of judgment among the more critical scholars of Germany. Yet there were considerations on the other side which might have led liberal thinkers, such as those whom we have last named, to pause before making an absolute and unconditional surrender. The surrender was one demanded by the opponents of democracy, on the authority of a man who, though immeasurably superior to party in its lowest sense, was so far partial, as every one who feels strongly about the

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events of his time must necessarily be, whatever his nobleness of mind or depth of thought. Aristophanes, if good for anything, was as good against Socrates as against Cleon; being in fact, from his intellectual and social position, as fair a judge of both, as Theodore Hook of the policy of the Whigs and the theology of Dr. Arnold. No word has been transmitted to us by Cleon's friends, to show how he really appeared to the party which he is admitted to have led; and the same causes which prevented the multiplication of contemporary documents in ancient times, tended to impair the trustworthiness of the verdict of posterity; till at last, when we come down to Plutarch, the few additional facts which we gain are almost utterly valueless, unless we are ourselves prepared to go through the process of historical criticism in all its stages. At any rate the general value of the case made out, might have been more considerately appreciated by men who had modern lights to guide them. Cleon was said to have been a violent and unprincipled declaimer; and they knew what was meant by violent and unprincipled declamation in their own day. He had raised himself to political importance by his wealth; and they knew what were the good and bad sides of a commercial aristocracy. He was vulgar and boisterous in his manner; and they knew what deficiencies were to be expected from a man of his class, and how far the opposite party was likely to overrate them. The very use which was made of his name, as a synonyme for modern demagogism, might of itself have taught them better. When they heard O'Connell spoken of as the modern Cleon, they might have recollected that the 'big beggarman' was not the only name by which the political world recognised the great agitator.

We see, then, that Mr. Grote, in asking us to reconsider our judgment of Cleon, has an antecedent probability in his favour, no less imposing than that which has been commonly believed to be all-powerful in the other direction. Nor does his case appear to break down when he comes to grapple more closely with the facts. He proceeds to impugn the evidence of Thucydides on the further ground, that the historian was prejudiced against the demagogue who had been the author of his banishment; a fact which would naturally account for the contemptuous tone invariably adopted throughout the history in speaking of Cleon. This argument has been said — very unreasonably, we think — to run in a circle, as if two probabilities could not be used to strengthen each other. To us it appears a perfectly legitimate employment of historical hypothesis, whatever may be thought of its absolute conclusiveness. Marcellinus, from whose life of Thucydides the statement is taken, may not be a very high authority; but his assertion is remarkably explicit, is not

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improbable in itself, and is contradicted, so far as we are aware, by no external testimony whatever. Neither are we inclined to blame Mr. Grote for seeing no adverse significance in the first recorded passage of Cleon's career — his opposition to Pericles. Even in the present day an ultra-popular speaker may combine on occasion with the aristocratic party against a popular leader without being singled out for special and unqualified condemnation; much more in ancient times, when party policy was less systematised, and party morality, in consequence, less stringent. Mr. Grote, in drawing attention to the substantial identity between ancient and modern politics, could not have expected that his point would be taken so literally and pressed so relentlessly against himself. Besides, we may well imagine that the removal of the overwhelming individuality of the 'warrior statesman' must have greatly affected the relative positions of those whom he left behind him, especially in the case of a man like Cleon, entering upon public life young, and naturally determined in his course by his social condition and his popular talents. The political tactics of a hearing must always differ in many things from those of a reading age: and in a democracy like that of Athens, of which the very essence was free discussion, a genuine democrat doubtless felt that he was fulfilling his true mission in criticising every measure which might be brought forward, and endeavouring to weaken the influence of any one who had the power of commanding the assembly. Cleon's conduct in the matter of the Mityleneans Mr. Grote does not attempt to justify; at the same time that he palliates it by a reference to the inhuman sentiments of the age; and, following a hint of Archbishop Whately, reminds us opportunely that appeals in favour of justice against expediency have been made to popular audiences by politicians of a very different stamp. The vote which redeemed the character of the Athenians may be doubtless said to have condemned the man who opposed it; but the condemnation is one which he shares with a large portion of his countrymen, as the numbers are expressly said to have been nearly equally divided. Mr. Grote's remarks, we think, were absolutely required by justice to abate the force of the verdict which would instantly be pronounced by the conscience of a modern reader. Surely it cannot be unimportant to recollect that, where our judgment after all is compelled to be unfavourable, there may be circumstances which make the conduct censured as much an error as a crime. Meantime we may observe that the speech in which Cleon is recorded to have reiterated his sanguinary proposition is neither that of a monster nor of a charlatan, but one containing no mean amount of political wisdom strikingly expressed,

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and altogether well adapted to weigh with a cultivated audience; so that we must either suppose Thucydides to have violated historical and dramatic propriety, or must be prepared to modify the view with which Dr. Thirlwall has so resolutely identified himself. Cleon's treatment of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors Mr. Grote willingly gives up: feeling as we do that in a commonwealth, where publicity is the order of the day, grave abuses of the privilege may occur without reflecting any peculiar discredit on the politician who commits them. We wish he had shown the like forbearance in speaking of the subsequent proceedings about Pylos, where it would have been equally possible to set up a defence, without injuring his cause by over-statement. If the account of Thucydides is to be taken as in every way corresponding to the facts, it can hardly be doubted that it was something more than personal merit or prudent foresight which enabled Cleon to fulfil the charge thrust upon him. The undertaking may have been a feasible one, but he was not the man in whose hands it could be expected to prosper. His true sphere, as Mr. Grote has elsewhere pointed out, was not the field, but the assembly, though he may not always have been able to decline those sterner duties which public opinion at Athens seems to have exacted from every *bonâ fide* aspirant after political fame. We need not blame him for seeking to decline the offer which his unguarded language provoked, any more than we need seriously condemn his opponents for availing themselves of the advantage which he afforded to them: but we cannot but feel that after this it can have been no disparagement to him to dwell chiefly on the good fortune which, by blessing him with a distinguished colleague and other favourable contingencies, enabled him to get through the affair creditably, instead of failing through his personal incompetency, as was apparently the case at Amphipolis. Thucydides, as usual, looks at the proceeding from his own point of view; and writers like Mitford, who have followed him, have been inconsistent with themselves and with probability, in their eagerness to blacken the character which they hated. The aspect on which Aristophanes has fixed is not incompatible with that taken by Thucydides, who, as Mr. Grote should have remembered, is equally one of 'the laughers after 'the fact;' but it is, at any rate, quite independent of and unconnected with it; so that the counsel for the defence may fairly argue that whatever may be the force of the two charges, neither the one nor the other is such as would *necessarily* occur even to a prejudiced witness. Still, though we need not believe that the Athenians pressed on the matter, merely as a joke, to damage a man whose influence with them is just before said to

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have been unrivalled, we can hardly doubt that his friends must have thought it a hazardous experiment, or that the cheers with which Mr. Grote takes pleasure in imagining him to have been overwhelmed on his return, were given in honour of an escape rather than of a success. It would be too much, however, to suppose, with ordinary historians, that his good fortune can have had any weight in confirming him in his war policy. Doubtless he must personally have been greatly elated by the result of his expedition in proportion to the hesitation with which he undertook it: nor is it any scandal to conceive that a man of his temper would naturally, in his subsequent appeals to the people, make use of the political capital which he had so unexpectedly realised. But it is not likely that he rushed of his own accord into a second expedition, in the hope of doubling the credit acquired by the first; though, finding it forced on him by circumstances, he may have consoled himself with a belief that his good genius would not desert him. Proud as he might have been of his laurels, he cannot have been unwilling to repose on them, as he seems actually to have done during the year which followed Sphacteria; content to have it fancied that he could take a command if he chose, while he really went on strengthening his influence by other means. Mr. Grote, we think, has again been a little unreasonable in contending that, as a man of peace, he can have had no personal wish for the continuance of the war. Thucydides is, of course, no authority on the question of an opponent's motives; and when he speaks of the war as giving occasion for unscrupulous calumnies, we feel at once that he is thinking of his own case. Again, we would not underrate the force with which Mr. Grote shows, from Grecian history, that, in some points of view, a peace policy was more suitable to a demagogue's purposes. Still the fact remains, that the democratic party were as anxious for war as their opponents for peace, and we naturally presume that the principles of each were, in some measure, dictated by their interests. The truth clearly is, that the cause of progress at Athens had come to be identified with the continuance of a war which had been provoked by the measures of her most liberal statesman, at once imperialising abroad and democratic at home; while the friends of oligarchy were not merely by implication, but actually and consciously, the friends of Sparta, inheriting those notions about the domestic advantages of a balance of power which gave point to Cimon's Pan-Hellenic patriotism. It is possible that the same instinct which led Cleon to desire a Peloponnesian war, might have made him, under other, perhaps under ordinary circumstances, equally interested in preserving peace. As it is, we

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have only to remark, that the subsequent history of the war quite bears out what we have just said of the feelings of the respective parties. With regard to Cleon's own conduct at Amphipolis, Mr. Grote merely puts in a plea of guilty, hoping that his client may be recommended to mercy, on the ground of having done no more than other incompetent men would have done in the face of a disaffected soldiery and a powerful enemy. No other alternative seems to be left to those who accept the narrative of Thucydides: and, after all, it may be said, that the verdict will bear lightly on one who had to be judged, not by his military, but by his political merits. It may be worth while, however, to observe, especially as the point has escaped the notice of Mr. Grote, that gross cowardice and inaptitude for command are not included among the catalogue of misdeeds which Aristophanes imputes to Cleon. As in the *Knights* we hear much of Cleon's knavery in the matter of Pylos, but nothing of his ludicrous inefficiency; so in the *Peace* his death is mentioned along with that of Brasidas solely to show that the two great promoting causes of the war had been removed, without a word about his misconduct in the action. The poet had no occasion to panegyrise the Spartan general: but it is difficult to understand how it is that throughout his works he contrives to miss the opportunity of fixing on his old enemy a fresh stigma, of which he already knew the capabilities, having applied it successfully to others. Though he affects to spare the dead man, he does not dismiss him without a few contemptuous lines; and one of these would have been sufficient to associate for ever the names of Cleon and Cleonymus. We do not see how to account for this forbearance, except by supposing that Cleon's deficiency was less palpable to the majority of his countrymen than to the experienced judgment of Thucydides. It would seem that they regarded him, even in their bitterest moments, simply as a popular leader, attributing to him all the sins, actual and possible, of his class, and tacitly acquitting him of any further charges, either as unproved or as really irrelevant.

Such is our summary of the leading points of Mr. Grote's plea, amended as we should wish to see them amended. It would not be uninteresting to compare them in detail with the previous vindication of Cleon by Droysen, the German translator of Aristophanes, whose perverseness in defending the indefensible so much scandalises the intellectual and moral sense of Dr. Thirlwall. In one respect Droysen's opinion is the more valuable of the two, as it is no predilection for Athens, but rather a strong repugnance to her, which induces him to take up the cause of Cleon, whom he praises for having faithfully developed the

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tendencies of his nation. On the whole, however, our countryman might safely sustain a comparison between his cautious experimental mode of procedure and the more dashing tactics of the Continental scholar, who dwells, among other things, on the essentially aggressive nature of a democracy, 'ever feeding 'onward like a flame.' But we have lingered long enough among mere particulars. We have followed Mr. Grote carefully throughout the construction of his argument; and the corrections and modifications which we have ventured to interpose must already have shown that we are not unwilling to adopt it, though only to a certain extent, as our own. Still, while believing the hypothesis to be on the whole a legitimate one, and desiring ourselves to remove some of the objections which seem to us to lie against it, as originally stated, we cannot conceal from ourselves that after all it has but a hypothetical value. It has established for itself a right to rank along with the common and conflicting view, but not to supersede it. It has shown, not that the facts must be understood in a different way from that hitherto recognised, but simply that they may. In some measure this uncertainty is owing to the state of the facts themselves. For the greater part of them we have only the authority of a few chapters in Thucydides, the statements in which have to be checked by the consideration of certain supposed prejudices on the part of the writer. We feel that there are numbers of points on which we ought to require more information if there were any prospect of obtaining it. The question of Thucydides' own banishment, discussed by Mr. Grote, is a case in point. The dispute is not a very important one, and we have no desire to go into the arguments on both sides; for our general impression is, that the evidence is insufficient to warrant any conclusion at all. Mr. Grote presumes that the historian had no reason for remaining at Thasos; other writers presume that he had; our knowledge being wholly confined to the fact that he did remain there, and not even extending to the question whether his conduct in so doing was the gravamen of the charge brought against him. But the uncertainty of the facts is by no means the most serious impediment in the way of a positive result. Were this all, whatever might be said of the absolute value of Mr. Grote's conclusions, we should not have to speak of them as equally doubtful with those of his predecessors; since the balance would always incline towards the possessor of the soundest judgment and the ripest knowledge. In the present case, however, the uncertainty lies much deeper, if, indeed, it does not underlie the whole.

The presumption which, as we have seen, entitles Mr.

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Grote to be heard on Cleon's behalf, proceeded on the supposition, that where political matters are concerned the same history will be differently written and differently read by different persons. Roman Catholics could not be expected to be content till they had a historian of their own in Dr. Lingard. When the dog bit the Bishop of London, Sidney Smith pleasantly observed, that he should like to hear the dog's story. It is by perceiving the similarity of Cleon's position to that of others, of whom we know two opinions to have been entertained, that we come to admit the possibility of reversing a decision which at first sight appears to be as unequivocal as it is unanimous. But for our experience of the power of party-spirit to disturb the judgment, we should have no reason to question the joint evidence of Aristophanes and Thucydides. To balance their supposed bias, we feel it to be of importance that the facts should be reviewed by an historian of opposite leanings; and thus Mr. Grote's judgment derives a value, not only from his great knowledge, but also from his prejudices. But though this method of difference is avowedly introduced as a corrective, yet it is not calculated to produce absolute correctness, even in the decision of a critic, who is bound to decide after hearing both sides. Some few points the very completeness of the investigation will generally be found to clear up, so as to afford no reasonable grounds for question on the part of any of the litigants. But, as a general rule, it is not the agreement of the two parties which is to be looked for as the practical result, but their better mutual understanding. We are not aware that a single passage in Cleon's life can be said to be removed from the danger of misconstruction, even by a fair-minded opponent. To those who think ill of the Athenian populace, and consider the title of demagogue a condemnation in itself, the old account will remain as credible as ever; nor will it be easy to shake this belief so long as liberal thinkers themselves are compelled to admit that a worthless popular leader is not abstractedly an impossibility. What Mr. Grote in our judgment has accomplished is, to show that there is nothing so special in Cleon's case as excepts him from the number of those who, being political characters, must be judged by their principles as well as by their actions. Nor should it be supposed that we think this a slight thing to have done. The mere *aperçu* might have occurred to many, as it probably has occurred to some, only to be discarded; but every one could not have justified it by a successful development in detail. Droysen's endeavour, though unquestionably meritorious, is carried out with too little precision and definiteness

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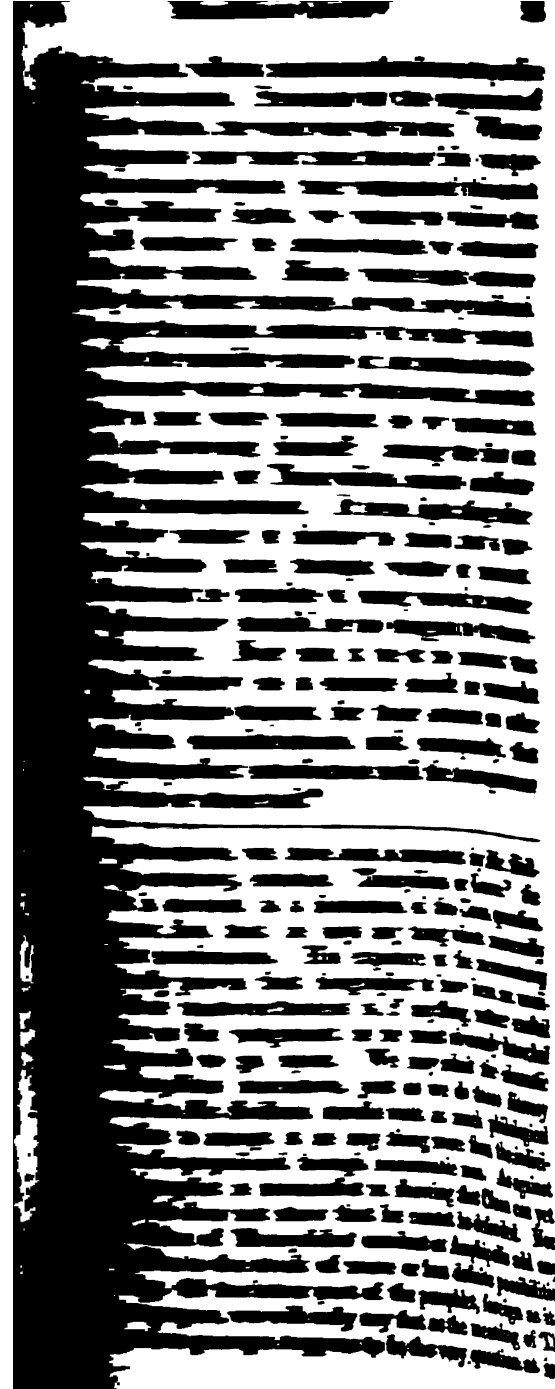

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The same remarks will apply to the other great instance in which Mr. Grote has sought his clients among parties already condemned,—we mean the Sophists. There is some superficial difference between the cases, as in the latter he appears almost entirely unconscious of any bias, defending the prisoners on the ground of simple justice, not on the merits of their opinions; and, in fact, denying that they can be said, as a class, to have had any distinguishing opinions at all, so that their condemnation has been not so much an act of party tyranny as a pure mistake. We suspect, however, that the original presumption which gives plausibility to his defence here, as before, arises out of the belief that the question is essentially one of party. We find the sophists uniformly decried on the same grounds which are taken against the holders of particular opinions in the present day; we find, also, that modern writers have perceived this analogy, and have used it freely as a weapon against their opponents; and we conclude, not that the application springs from a misconception, wilful or otherwise, but that there is a double-edged justice in it, and that as the sophists of the nineteenth century are not to be judged from hostile representations, some excuse may possibly be to be made for their prototypes. By proving the sophists to have been really professional teachers for practical life, Mr. Grote has not precluded all controversy as to the quality of their influence. Mr. Maurice, in the new edition of his 'Essay on Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy,' has already shown that they may be condemned just as easily on the new pleadings as on the old, turning the very fact of their practical professions into a charge against them, and inferring from their specific differences the wide-spread nature of the evil which he supposes them to have fostered. If they were the teachers of their age, and not its reformers, the opinions entertained respecting them must depend on the manner in which the age is estimated, as well in its tendencies as in its characteristics. The question which Mr. Disraeli puts in *Tancred*, 'Progress from 'what and to what?' will naturally occur in speaking of men admitted to have been the legists if not the legislators of a state of society which had its beginning and its end. Our plan does not lead us to discuss this question, but only to call

'Shilleto or Grote?' would have been a more appropriate, though possibly less imposing, title. Colonel Mure also has been entering into controversy with Mr. Grote upon some minor matters: we wish, for the sake of good scholarship and good manners, that Mr. Shilleto had conducted his argument with the same grave respect for himself and his opponent. It would not have been required of him to pay a single compliment or abjure a single prejudice.

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attention to its existence. We should, however, not be doing justice to Mr. Grote, if we rested satisfied with remarking on the limits which it imposes upon him, without at the same time endeavouring to ascertain how much he has been able to effect in spite of them. As we have said more than once, the only way to appreciate his merits is to follow him in detail, however much such a course may multiply the occasions on which we find ourselves at issue with him.

No one can read Mr. Grote's sixty-seventh chapter without feeling that the subject has gained much from being discussed by a man of his mental habits and prepossessions. In England, it has been the custom to regard it from a moral or politico-theological,—in Germany, from a metaphysical,—point of view. Even Dr. Thirlwall has contented himself with a somewhat vague echo of the common language, apparently considering that there was no occasion to take a fresh survey of the facts. The opportunity of a really historical investigation had been left to Mr. Grote, and he has taken it. If, as we have surmised, his doctrinal sympathies gave an impulse to the inquiry, at any rate it cannot be said that he has conducted it in the mere spirit of partizanship. Strong in the positive tendency, he grapples with the ancient authorities, and endeavours to educe the desired conclusion from a separate examination of each. Such a process, whether successful or not, can hardly fail to produce a material change in the aspect of the case. It is something to find it established by undoubted evidence, that the name Sophist represented, primarily at least, a class of men, not a school; embracing Socrates and Plato no less than Gorgias and Protagoras. We gain a different notion of the modes and conditions of their influence, whatever we may believe the worth of that influence to have been. We see that to the eye of Aristophanes the dialectician and the rhetorician appeared to be doing precisely the same work: and this *primâ facie* identity comes in to modify our estimate of the relation between the two. Besides, after all, the reader may urge that his concern is with the sophists proper, those attacked as such by Plato, whose charges are sufficiently definite to justify a common trial, if not a common condemnation. Accepting the issue tendered, the positive inquirer has much to say. He shows that the quarrel of the Platonic Socrates with the sophists was that of a reasoner with declaimers, of a gratuitous talker with paid teachers, of a theorist with practical men, of an irreconcilable foe to his age with men imbued with its spirit — considerations of undeniable importance in measuring the strength of his language, and determining the extent to which it can fairly be

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adopted by a modern student of history. Still, this does not meet the difficulties of those who feel that the primary objects of Socrates and his disciple were moral, and who, consequently, look with more than suspicion on the system which they opposed. Accordingly the question is raised, what was the ethical character of the sophistic teaching? Here Mr. Grote exerts himself with considerable effect, to show that the opinion entertained of his clients in modern times is inconsistent with what we know of them, from themselves, and from their contemporaries. Prodicus's Choice of Hercules is, as he justly remarks, an unimpeachable witness in favour of its author, — reckoned in its day an excellent piece of morality even by Socrates himself, and consecrated in our own by its admission into the classic pages of Enfield's speaker, and associated, therefore, with some of the earliest virtuous impressions which our young Englishmen receive. It is, surely, a little ungenerous, as well as unhistorical, in Mr. Maurice, to insinuate a doubt of the motives which dictated this highly laudable composition; as if Prodicus wished to persuade the Athenian youth to self-denial, in the hope of becoming powerful men, and thus, ultimately, moral pests to society. The Grecian lecturer may have dwelt on the importance of virtue to the State, and even recommended an honourable ambition without rendering himself fairly obnoxious to any such imputations. And if the reproach be transferred from him to his hearers, it is no more than lies at the door of numbers of educated people in our own day, who value knowledge merely as a means to worldly ends. Again Protagoras, even as represented by Plato, appears to have differed from Socrates rather in the method than in the results of his moral teaching, while in his conception of the relative character of virtue he may be considered superior to his questioner. Our judgment on his theological scepticism must depend on the amount of evidence which we conceive to have existed in those times for a reasonable mind,—a historical question which will be ruled in one way by men like Mr. Grote, and in another by those who claim Aristophanes and Plato as joint witnesses for Anglican orthodoxy. His doctrine of 'Man the measure of all things,' and the denial by Gorgias of ontology, are to be estimated, we need hardly say, by their value as philosophical positions; and this with especial reference to their place in the history of human speculation, not by their supposed agreement or disagreement with the Thirty-nine Articles. The Gorgias of Plato, taken as it stands, would go far to fix on those whom it attacks the charge of being the corruptors of youth; but it must be

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recollected on the other side that Gorgias is known expressly to have disavowed the picture of himself; — that the effect of the exhibition of Polus is in a great measure neutralised, as Mr. Grote remarks, by the willingness of Socrates to give him the benefit of such respectable supporters as Nicias and Pericles; — and, lastly, that Callicles, the most flagrant of the supposed offenders, is not a sophist, but, on the contrary, a despiser of the whole order, which he regards much as Mandeville did the clergy. Between his doctrine, indeed, and that of Thrasymachus there appears to have been no substantial difference, — for the question is really not about any supposed rule of natural right, but about justice as ordinarily understood, which they concur in pronouncing a contemptible expedient, though taking different views of the political necessity from which it sprang. And, the only inference which we need draw is, that the profession, like other learned professions, was not altogether free from unworthy brethren, especially in the rhetorical branch of it. It was not necessary to Mr. Grote's defence of his clients that he should maintain the innocence of each individual, in defiance of the probability, that oral teaching, especially when directed to practical life, will be found equally susceptible of abuse and of use. Voltaire, we suspect, had something more than a speculative interest in maintaining a proposition from which it could be deduced, that a teacher who escaped pelting could not be immoral; at any rate, his censors might fairly have asked him whether his own popularity was not a fact on the opposite side. On the other hand, we can scarcely be wrong in making much of Plato's admission, that the Athenians themselves, and not the sophists, were the true corruptors of youth. Though it may seem only to shift the blame, it, in effect, modifies our views of the real nature of the complaint. Where the evil is so wide-spreading and so deeply seated, we look with increased tolerance on the alleged deficiencies of physicians. And we may feel that we have the sanction of the great philosopher himself in his calmer moments, in believing him to have differed from his opponents not so much in his general purpose as a moral teacher, as with regard to the depth at which he thought it necessary to begin the work of national regeneration. None but a very bitter dissenter would charge the Establishment of his day with destroying more souls than it saves.

It is precisely in characterising an argument like this, that the commonplaces of criticism are most at fault. Mr. Grote's merit is not that he has set the question at rest, but that he has prevented it, so far as we see, from ever resting again. His learning and discernment have again enabled him to enlarge the

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debateable ground of Grecian history,—not so much by subtracting anything from the ordinarily received facts, as by adding to them. As in the case of Cleon, we can have no difficulty in prophesying that the sophists will henceforth find their chances of a favourable judgment indefinitely mended, though there should be no reversal. If Mr. Grote has done nothing else, he has at least pointed out the quarters in which they may most naturally look for friends and foes respectively. They will continue to encounter the hostility of those who think with Aristophanes, that the most ignorant times are necessarily the most virtuous. But wherever there is a genuine feeling of admiration for Athenian greatness — such a feeling as Niebuhr did not hesitate to express, even at the expense of Plato — they are likely to be mentioned with respect — perhaps with sympathy. And when modern Platonism has left off discovering the Church in the Republic, and the 'principle of infant baptism' in the Laws, it may possibly be brought to admit that Plato's attitude towards his rivals can hardly be sustained by men who are not prepared, like Plato, to claim for philosophers the government as well as the teaching of their generation.

In closing our remarks on this, the most important portion of a great national work, we are afraid to think of the quantity of matter which we have left untouched. It may seem strange that we should have spoken of Cleon and the sophists, without having had a word to say about Pericles or Socrates. But we have come rather late into the field, and it is no wonder that we should find the choicest part of it reaped already. We trust, however, that our gleanings have enabled us to present a tolerably fair sample of what we consider Mr. Grote's characteristic merits, insufficient as it may be to give any notion of his results. The true moral to be derived from his labours is, as it seems to us, not so much what a man of genius can do with a great subject, as what can be done in any department of history by a writer having the heart to embrace, and the resolution to avail himself of the vast appliances which modern times place at his disposal. The inductive method may not tend 'to level wit and intellect' so absolutely as Bacon imagined; but it leads us to fix our attention on the qualities which are necessary to a sustained effort, rather than on those which are called into action by an occasional inspiration.

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ART. IX. — *William Penn: an Historical Biography.* By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON, author of 'Life of Howard.' London: 1851.

'WILLIAM PENN,' says Mr. Dixon, in his Preface, 'has 'been called a mythical rather than an historical per-'sonage. The accounts given of him by his professed bio-'graphers, Besse, Clarkson, Weems, and Lewis, are sufficiently 'vague, lifeless, and transcendental, to merit such a censure. . . . 'All these are Quaker lives. No writer has yet treated of Penn 'as a great English historical character, — the champion of the 'Jury Laws,—the joint leader with Algernon Sidney of the 'Commonwealth men, — the royal councillor of 1684–8, — the 'courageous defender of free thought, — the founder of Penn-'sylvania! This omission I have now endeavoured to supply: 'with what success the reader must decide. . . . I have endea-'voured to make him live again: his throes and his struggles, 'his ideas and his actions, his gait and his person, his business 'and his amusements; the habits of his domestic life, the fur-'niture of his house, the setting out of his table, everything 'that makes the individuality of character, even down to the 'contents of his cellar, the inventory of his coach house, and the 'completeness of his stables, I have tried to bring before the 'reader with the same vividness with which they present them-'selves to my own mind. In this endeavour I can, even at 'best, have but partially succeeded: yet I hope sufficiently to 'have changed him from a myth into a man.'

We have extracted these words from Mr. Dixon's preface, not only to show the task he proposed himself, but why, in our opinion, he has unavoidably failed in executing it. His objects are not to draw a simple likeness of the Quaker hero, but to erect a statue to him, labelling the pedestal, after the fashion of such monuments, with a number of idle if not contradictory epithets. For any writer who attempts to exaggerate William Penn into a great historical character, a leader of the Commonwealth men, and a royal councillor, must needs reverse Mr. Dixon's laudable object, and convert a known and familiar personage into a very Oriental myth indeed.

In plain truth, the most ingenious biographer, and Mr. Dixon is not wanting in such ingenuity, cannot make much novelty out of William Penn as a character, whatever he may do in the way of adding particulars to his history. It is not a character susceptible of refined analysis, or leaving much scope

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for curious conjecture. Its traits are few and simple; and they stand in no need of a delineator. What his Quaker biographers, treating him, as Mr. Dixon says, in mythical fashion, have omitted to do for him, he has amply done for himself. No man more habitually wore his heart upon his sleeve, or walked more openly among mankind, not only with little to conceal, but with a strong natural communicativeness of disposition. A very cursory perusal of his works, and the notices of him by contemporaries who personally knew him, will admit the reader into greater intimacy with the 'man Penn,' than the most elaborate biography carefully got up for the modern market. We do not here speak of Penn's conduct in the singular positions in which the course of events placed him; that is by no means all of it equally clear, nor was he doubtless equally frank in his avowals of it,—we speak only of that ingenuousness and openness regarding feelings and impressions which characterised him, as it does all men of his peculiar disposition. Therefore, though there may be much to add to our knowledge concerning Penn's household affairs, and the contents of his stable and cellar,—and here we are bound to admit that Mr. Dixon has imparted some discoveries,—though there is a great deal which requires and deserves investigation as to his political proceedings, and here Mr. Dixon has to our mind rather increased than dispelled the obscurity,—yet, as to the character of the individual, if our author has not added much to our knowledge, the fault lay perhaps rather in the subject, which scarcely admits of such addition, than in himself.

Mr. Dixon very rightly introduces his subject by a sketch of the early labours of Penn's spiritual instructor, George Fox. But, whether because such criticism would not harmonise with the reverential character of his narrative, or from want of discrimination, he has not pointed out those differences between the two founders of Quakerism which it is most essential to observe. Never were two more dissimilar characters united by the tie of a common enthusiasm, and qualified by their very diversity to co-operate more effectively together; each possessing precisely those qualities in which the other was most deficient.

The journals of George Fox are perhaps scarcely calculated to be read with much profit to minds educated in the habits and notions of the present day. They have much resemblance, no doubt, to the similar record left by Wesley of his life and labours. But there is also much dissimilarity; and this, in a popular view at least, wholly to the advantage of the later of these eminent men. Wesley had over Fox all the superiority of a more kindly and liberal spirit, and a cultivated intellect.

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And the great charm of his journals, independently of their religious interest, is their fine display of the operation of such a spirit and intellect, during the course of a long life of activity, in chastising the fundamental enthusiasm of the character. Without losing its seriousness, the reader traces that enthusiasm, year after year, becoming more tolerant, less captious, more comprehensive. The same cannot be said of the sterner father of Quakerism. As far as such comparison may be allowed, Wesley more resembled an apostle conveying the glad tidings to nations; Fox one of the prophets of the old law, and not himself a son of the prophets, but like him who was called from among the herdmen of Tekoa. From the day when he left the village alehouse in Leicestershire a changed man, resolved to 'forsake all, young and old, keep out of all, and be a stranger 'to all,' he never once looked back, or varied his course. From the day in which — having wrestled through his own first great spiritual fight, and become free to wrestle for others — he clambered Pendle Hill, driven by the impulse upon him he scarce knew whither — he had eaten or drunk, he says, little for many days and nights previous — and there saw in the spirit, as he looked towards the north, a great visionary army, prefiguring the conversions which were to commence in that quarter of England — the day, in short, of his prophetic vocation, — he can scarcely be said to have looked forward. His work was determined and cut out for him; it remained only to spend life in doing it, not to refine upon the fashion of it. Ever devoted to his one grand idea, ever pursuing it, insensible alike to temporal objects and to spiritual assaults of doubt or difficulty, he passed through the world little influenced, it must be added little improved, by contact with it — his career that of a narrow fanatic, if you will, to the last: but glorious in the pervading light of one transcendental principle. Were it not for this principle, the task of following George Fox in his wandering life would be a heavy one. Everywhere the same monotonous recital of persecutions and buffetings, varied only by the monotonous expressions of a religious sentiment which seems to have neither variety nor progress, and exultations over success destined to end in disappointment. For the vision of Pendle Hill was never realised. The dry bones were never brought together, the vast army never inspired with breath, by Fox and his fellow labourers. Instead of effecting a revolution, as they purposed, they only formed a sect of very moderate numbers, whose fame in the world has rather arisen from achievements out of the pale of their sectarianism than within it, and whose singular character and polity are now studied rather as fossil relics than as still surviving realities.

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It is in their principle, and its indirect results, that the real interest of that history lies. That principle was two-fold, spiritual and practical. It embraced the spiritual doctrine of the inward light; on which, and its awful consequences, we have not now to dwell. It embraced also — immeasurably inferior in the estimation of such men as Fox, but as a direct and necessary corollary — the doctrine of religious freedom. For it has perhaps been scarcely enough remarked that with the Quakers alone, of all Christian communities, religious freedom is matter of faith, not matter of opinion. Those who rely implicitly on the inward light, must needs believe that all attempt to obstruct it from without is not simply unwarranted, or cruel, or impolitic, but actually blasphemous; that persecution, in Penn's own language, 'defeats God's own work of 'grace, and the invisible operation of His Eternal Spirit.' Other churches have advocated toleration, because they did not like being persecuted, — through policy — through confidence in a just cause — through a mild and Christian spirit, or simply through lukewarmness; — the Quakers alone with the unswerving earnestness of men who combat for their creed.

With Fox the doctrine of religious freedom was no doubt a secondary matter, partly from his absorption in the purely spiritual portion of his faith, partly also from what Mr. Dixon truly calls the 'imperiousness' of his character; — his 'Luci-'ferian pride,' his antagonists phrased it. Could Fox have founded a commonwealth, we may almost conjecture that, at the expense of whatever evasion of principle, it would have fared ill therein with the benighted frequenters of mass-houses and steeple-houses. But, as we have said, Providence had prepared for the beginnings of this remarkable community two men singularly adapted to represent it under both its aspects. As Fox brought to all men's notice the great idea of the inward light, so did Penn its corollary of religious freedom. To his gentler, more impressible, more natural spirit — his saner intellect we should perhaps add — religious freedom was no cold deduction, but an object to be embraced, preached, and contended for with earnest and exclusive devotion.

For Penn's soul was not framed to dwell in or enforce the higher mysteries of Quakerism. The religious turn of his disposition was strong, but it was not, naturally, of the engrossing, fanatical cast.* He was sincerely enthusiastic, but not pro-

* We had written thus far before noticing that the distinction we have attempted here to draw, had struck in the same way a very impartial contemporary observer, Gerard Croese: — 'Hoc ei' (Penn)

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foundly so. He was also imitative, not original. His religious works have not wholly lost their popularity to this day: but it arises rather from the outpourings of a 'tender' spirit (to use the technical phrase of early Quakerism) and a pleasing style, than from much religious force or imagination. He, too, following those leather-jacketed apostles who were the objects of his admiration, recorded the visions and dreams of himself and others; but any one who compares those records with the wild poetry of Fox or Bunyan, will note the difference between the first-hand and second-hand enthusiast. He could, indeed, argue points of abstract doctrine with great success, and was fond of the exercise; but it was with the practical that his concern really lay. His peculiar energy was devoted to the exposition, both in life and teaching, of the great minor truth of freedom of conscience. In this point of view, his readiness, education, vivacity, and address—even the very lighthearted-ness which accompanied his sweet disposition and temper—together with his fortune and social position, proved of greater value to the struggling sect than qualities of a more prophet-like order. In this way his influence among them became established, somewhat at the expense of that enjoyed by the illiterate fathers of the community. Certainly the contrast was strong between the Leicestershire cobler, whose learning was confined to reading print tolerably, and handwriting hardly at all, and who used an amanuensis for lack of clerkship, and the well-bred scholar and gentleman who sate at his feet.* Latterly it was evident that while Fox still wielded the spiritual sword of the Quaker papacy, Penn was master of the temporal. 'Does 'he not look like a young prince?' was the question that ran through the crowd, as Springett, Penn's eldest son, accompanied his father, amidst an admiring escort, to the Stadthouse of Amsterdam; and it was made a matter of reproach to Penn, amongst his ill-willers in the sect, that he seemed not altogether to repudiate the compliment.

'singulare erat, quòd ea quæ pertinent ad notitiam rerum divinarum 'et sacrarum multò quam reliqui leviora duceret, et se valdè quidem 'conscientiarum in religione vi et coactui et persecutioni oppo-'neret.'

* Francis Bugg, the 'renegade Quaker of unsavoury name,' as Southey delighted to term him, was malicious enough to print poor George Fox's will *in extenso*, in order to establish the amount of his human learning. One of the codicils runs,—'Let Thomas Docker, 'that knoeth many of my episeles and writen books, which he did 'wright, com up to London to assist frends in sorting of my episelas 'and other writings; and give him a gine.'

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What Fox's own feelings on the subject of Penn's exaltation may have been, there is no record to show: but certain it is that, while Penn's panegyrics on Fox are well known, there is no evidence of reciprocity on the part of the latter. It is a little curious — whether it arises from some jealous or contemptuous feeling, or may be after all the result only of the brief and note-like style of great part of Fox's journals — that, although he has frequent occasion to mention Penn, he never says a word respecting him beyond the mere insertion of his name. Like most founders of sects, Fox was jealous in the extreme of his own personal importance: 'reputans consistere 'omnia in suâ personâ et consilio atque operâ, neque quicquam 'rectè fieri aut perfici sine se; ut nullibi non adesse, interesse, 'præesse cuperet,' says Croese; who appears to surmise that one of Penn's motives for directing his views of conversion abroad was Fox's dislike of interference with his own supremacy at home.

Penn's notions of religious liberty seem to have been first formed under the teaching of Dr. Owen, the famous Independent Dean of Christ Church, Oxford—the tutor also of Locke: under whose tuition that distinguished House, probably, turned out more champions of the doctrine in question in three or four years, than it has since in two centuries. That so well born and educated a youth should have connected himself, at eighteen, with the as yet obscure and vulgar fanatics who followed the teaching of George Fox, was surprising even to his contemporaries; but less so to them than to us at the present day. Such anomalies were less remarkable in an age of general religious excitement. Equality has no agent so powerful as enthusiasm. Independently of mere political theories, Puritanism produced for a time the most practical mixture of ranks ever known in England. The Bible was the great leveller. Deeply studied by all classes, and not without the affectation of founding on it their social usages and polity, as well as their faith, it impressed on them the lesson of universal brotherhood more effectually than any other teacher could. The cultivated intellect was brought down perforce to the measure of the Scripture learning of the sect. But the uncultivated intellect was proportionally raised; being brought into contact, on this common ground, with intellects of higher refinement. Extravagant as the fanaticism of that age may have been, it is important, although not gratifying to our self-opinion, to note that, owing to the universal diffusion of Scriptural knowledge, it was restrained within limits which modern fanaticism overpasses with ease. Owing to the very inferior education of our multitudes in this

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respect, religious aberrations are wont to assume more monstrous, grotesque, and heathenish aspects than in the old days which we are wont to call fanatical. If Thomas Münzer and George Fox were products of the Reformation, the followers of Joe Smith, in our latitudinarian times, probably exceed those who were gained by either of them. If Quakerism is nearly obsolete now, Shakers and Mormonites could not have existed in Western Europe in the seventeenth century.

Who can over-estimate the power of the man possessed with one idea? Even when friendless and unknown — without original talent or marked advantages of any kind — such a man has now and then achieved the greatest ends, by mere force of will and unity of aim. How much greater his strength when, like the youthful Penn, or Wilberforce, the modern whose character is almost a counterpart of Penn's, he is possessed of great adventitious aids — fortune, family, powerful friends, a singularly winning and attractive disposition, a happy and sanguine temperament, and abilities which, if of no very high order, are just of the serviceable kind, always ready for use, and never the worse for wear? The mere insensibility to considerations of earthly prudence, which such an enthusiast always possesses — as Penn did in the highest degree, — of itself removes an impediment to action, which can only be estimated when we consider from how many great enterprises we — the uninspired majority of the human race — are daily deterred simply by some motive of this order. Like Thalaba, in Southey's tale — the only dramatic character Southey ever drew, because its essential characteristic is that of Southey's own mind — he moves among a host of enemies unhurt and regardless of them; for they abound in half measures, and *arrière-pensées*, and conflicting interests, while he acts under one direct and unwavering impulse. Every one opposes him, but no one brings to the opposition that undivided force which nerves his attack. He gets within their fence — beats down their artificial flourishes — bursts asunder the meshes set to ensnare him. The shifting, uncertain politicians with whom he is brought into contact, having learnt his power, at last endeavour to make use of him; which generally ends in his making use of them; as Penn and Wilberforce, to a certain extent, did of the leading men of their respective periods — men as superior to themselves in ability as a Jesuit General to an ordinary field-preacher.

Yet all this energy and success are not inconsistent with the fact that Penn was not only wanting in 'strong sense,' as Mr. Macaulay most undeniably phrases it, but wanting also in many of the more ordinary qualities of men of his class. He had

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nothing of the strong compulsive eloquence of some of them; and we incline to believe, with Burnet, that his talk must have been chiefly persuasive to those who were predetermined to be persuaded.* Ready enough it was, judging from his writings; fluent and discursive, abounding in examples and quotations, but wanting in raciness and vigour, and irritating from a sort of pertinacious and logical no-meaning — a combination of the greatest possible show of argument with the least amount of real reasoning.

In nothing is this combination more remarkable than in Penn's constitutional and legal disquisitions, in which his success is owing wholly to the reader's sympathy with his contest against tyranny,—certainly not to his manner of conducting it. The weakest portions of his hero's character, however, are precisely those which secure the greatest amount of Mr. Dixon's declamatory panegyric. A better instance cannot be found than in Penn's own account of the trial of himself and Mead for an unlawful assembly, in September, 1670; which account Mr. Dixon has amplified and embroidered until he has made it scarcely endurable, not by lawyers only, but by readers of ordinary moral sense and discrimination.

That Penn had, in fact, been guilty of a breach of the law, there could be no doubt at all. He was in the ordinary case of a man punishable under a bad law, who, while ready to submit to the punishment if awarded, thinks it not only his right, but his duty, to stave off a conviction by the use of every weapon which the law itself puts into the hand of the accused; and, if he cannot escape on a technical objection, to appeal, as the last resort, to the sympathies of his jurors, and induce them, if possible, to indulge their feelings by a violation of their oaths. Whether such a course as this be strictly reconcilable to the severe rules of ethics or no — whether or not it savours of the forbidden indulgence, so dear to human nature, under every form of palliation and excuse, of justifying the means by the end — at all events it is one which the best and bravest friends of humanity have been over and over again driven to adopt in their contests with legal oppression; and in which they are sure to

* Penn had 'a tedious luscious way of talking,' says Burnet; he 'spoke with spirit and vivacity,' says a much better judge, Swift; but there may be truth in both accounts, according to circumstances and interlocutors. We do not know that it has been noticed that Swift had (for him) an odd kindness for Penn; 'my old acquaintance,' as he calls him, when citing him as an authority for some fact about Pennsylvania, which Penn had mentioned to him in conversation.

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have two classes of men on their side—those who detest oppression, and those who have no special affection for law.

'Penn,' says Mr. Dixon, 'stood before his judges in this celebrated scene, not so much as a Quaker pleading for the rights of conscience, as an Englishman contending for the ancient and imprescriptible liberties of his race. The special law on which he was arraigned he knew very well that he had violated and intended again and again to violate. His religious friends took the same view of the case; they acknowledged the Conventicle Act to be in force according to the mere form of jurisprudence; but they contended that it was in direct contradiction to the divine laws, and therefore not binding. Better versed in his country's history, Penn disputed its legality. He held it to be in equal hostility to the Bible and the great Charter. This, therefore, was the point to be brought to an issue; does an edict possess the virtue and force of law, even when passed by Crown and Parliament, which abolishes any one of the fundamental rights secured to the nation by the ancient constitution? . . . Thus Penn reasoned with himself:—If, as on ordinary * occasions we should feel bound to do, we now plead guilty, by our punishment this wicked act will acquire an additional force; but if we deny our guilt, *as we may with a good conscience*, and throw the burden of proof on the court, we shall show to all the world the evil *animus* of our persecutors; and we shall also be able to raise the question, whether this law be in harmony with the great Charter. If the court cannot show that it is, will a jury of Englishmen, fairly appealed to, convict? Should a precedent be set of juries refusing to convict under a bad law, the arm of tyranny would be at once paralysed.' (P. 86.)

We must do Penn the justice to say that this singular piece of pleading is Mr. Dixon's, not his; but substantially the representation it contains is correct. What Penn contended for was, the privilege of jurors to discard the restraint of law altogether, and the annulment of acts of the legislature by popular prejudice or violence—doctrines productive of such insecurity of rights that if they had generally prevailed, they could only have brought about ultimately the abolition of the 'palladium of our liber-'ties' as an intolerable nuisance. These consequences were as nothing to Penn in the great contest wherein he was engaged: many will think he was right in so regarding them; but for us, after the lapse of 180 years, and in the enjoyment of rights which have been mainly preserved to us through the general adherence of juries to that principle of duty which Penn then urged them to disregard, it is really essential to remember that

* We wish Mr. Dixon had specified these occasions. We are not aware that such was Penn's common practice, or George Fox's, who was very ingenious in 'picking holes' in indictments.

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there was another, besides the prisoners, who had a great social principle to maintain — even that 'venal minister of justice,' poor Recorder Howell, whose ill luck it was to hold those quarter sessions, and thereby to provoke, in the judgment of such as Mr. Dixon, the unmitigated hatred of later generations.

Perfectly at ease as to the constitutional and moral bearings of the case, Mr. Dixon is no less self-satisfied as to the law of it — although evidently indebted to natural light alone for his knowledge on the subject. 'To begin,' he says, with smart confidence, 'the date of the indictment is wrong: it (the meeting, we presume) 'should have been on the 14th, not the 15th.' Mr. Dixon has yet to learn the doctrine so tersely stated in Mr. Archbold's 'Practice of Criminal Pleading' — a little startling to the unlearned — that 'although time and place 'must be laid with certainty in an indictment, it never was 'necessary that they should be laid according to the truth!' 'The indictment asserted,' he proceeds, 'that the persons met 'together in arms: of this no proof was offered.' Of course not: Mr. Dixon might, for once, have taken Recorder Howell's law, who told the jury, 'that this allegation was only a matter 'of form; urging, that the man tried for clipping of money 'this present sessions, had the same words used in his indict-'ment.' In short, without troubling our readers with more instances, both indictment and evidence were probably quite good enough to establish a charge which, beyond all question, was a true one — and, even if not, it is rather late to repeat the objections to them 180 years 'after verdict.'

As to the conduct of the trial, there is no doubt of the harshness of the courts of those days towards prisoners, and religious offenders more particularly: but Mr. Dixon ought to have remembered that Recorder Howell's notes of it are not extant; and, if they were, would probably tell a very different story from Penn's pamphlet. We are sorry to say the same of Mr. Phillimore, whose spirited abstract of the same case, in his 'History and Principles of the Law of Evidence,' would have lost nothing of its value if he had remembered the kind of account which criminals usually give of the conduct of their own trials. The Quakers were accustomed, not unnaturally, to make out a case of oppression against every judge whose unenviable office it was to administer evil laws against them. They never were content to play a humbler part than that of Christian and Faithful before Lord Hate-good in the city of Vanity. Those who try them are invariably portrayed as indulging at one time in threats of preposterous violence, and cowed, at another, into unaccountable silence by repartees

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from the dock. Some of Penn's complaints, however, seem so trifling as to be scarcely creditable to his good sense — though entertained with indignant sympathy by Mr. Dixon. 'To add 'insult to cruelty,' says the latter, 'the prisoners were set aside '(after being placed at the bar), while several cases of common 'felony were tried and disposed of.' This insulting cruelty, we fear, is still commonly practised at gaol deliveries. And it may be urged that, the 'common felons' might, possibly, have been thought aggrieved, if their ordinary precedence had been waived, in order that they might hear Penn and Mead lecture for two days on Magna Charta. Penn noted down, with care, every hasty and coarse expression which fell, not only from the judge, but the assistant bench of aldermen. The lord mayor is reported to have threatened that he would 'cut a juror's 'nose.' On this, Mr. Dixon observes that, 'slitting noses was a 'common punishment for offenders in those days. The young 'bloods of the court were especially fond of this pastime. 'Coventry, a leading member of Parliament, was set upon in 'the Haymarket, and his nose slit by Monmouth and his parti-'zans.' As if the commotion which this outrage on Coventry excited was not proof enough that, so far from a 'common 'pastime,' it was almost an unheard-of action. 'Certainly,' the worried Recorder is made to say, 'it will never be well 'with us till something like the Inquisition is established in 'England;' and this passionate exclamation, we are solemnly told, is 'worth a thousand other facts for letting in light upon 'the spirit which ruled in high places under the exiled Stuarts!' Whatever else the poor Recorder may have done to merit Mr. Dixon's posthumous gibbeting, his last words to the jury were neither altogether unbecoming nor undeserved. 'I am sorry, 'gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions 'rather than the good advice which was given you. God keep 'my life out of your hands!'

The important feature of the case, however, was, that Penn, strong in purse and pertinacity, induced the jurors, whom the Bench had fined and committed for their 'perverse' verdict, to sue out a writ of habeas corpus for their discharge. How he reconciled this proceeding with the doctrine of non-resistance, it is not for us to say*; but the argument which followed

* William Mead, Penn's co-defendant on this occasion, an old Cromwellian soldier, was a stout partisan of that doctrine. Nevertheless it was reported of him, that, being challenged one night by three robbers in a lane, he laid about him with his oaken stick to their utter discomfiture. He was questioned on this account at a

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established the illegality of such fines, and the irresponsibility of the all-powerful Twelve. This makes it, in Mr. Dixon's opinion, 'perhaps the most important trial which ever took 'place in England.' 'These trials,' he says, in his usual vein of hyperbole as to all that concerns his hero, 'gave a new 'meaning—infused a new life—into the institution of the jury.' 'From that day, the jury ceased to be a mere institution — it 'became a power in the State,' — and so forth. As if he had never heard of the series of forensic battles, from the days of Throckmorton to those of John Lilburne, in which the independence of the English juror, always distracted between the force of his oath and the force of his sentiments, which he calls his conscience, had been sometimes violated by judges, but as often respected. But he seems, in addition, to be wholly unaware that the very point which he truly regards as so important, had been established three years before, as far as the House of Commons could do it — which had resolved, in 'Chief 'Justice Keeling's case,' that 'the precedents and practice of 'fining jurors for verdicts are illegal.' Of course, after such a resolution, Penn's victory was little more than a slaying of the slain.

But — to return to our more general view of Penn's character — such men, to be termed truly happy, must die young. It is not only that they are subject, even more than other men, from the extensive and daring nature of their schemes, to the ordinary contingencies of fortune. Their own internal elements of success are eminently perishable. They cannot well withstand long contact with the world, and especially with fame and prosperity. As the mere impulse which gave their character its force wears out, like other vehement springs of action, while its weak points remain, and grow more prominent, they decline to that secondary stage of eminence in which they are worshipped as heroes, but no longer really followed as leaders, — becoming, in their lifetime, great names, used by newer men for their own objects. At forty, Penn's work was really done. He had raised the despised and persecuted Quakers to a numerous, comfortable, and even patronised sect, — he had fought for liberty of conscience until, even through the partial instrumentality of tyranny itself, it was established on a footing from which it was never to be dislodged in this country, — he had founded his transatlantic commonwealth, and started her in her

monthly meeting: 'The Spirit of the Lord was upon me,' was his defence, 'and I could have beaten seven of them.' Of course the accusers had no more to say.

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great career of prosperity. Thenceforward, to all eyes but those of the undiscriminating panegyrist, his life exhibits but the common spectacle of declining influence along with declining powers. His supremacy in his own sect, as well as his authority out of it, whatever Mr. Dixon may say to the contrary, were materially shaken by two causes — the political events which led to the Revolution, and his own relaxation from the strictness of his early enthusiasm.

Penn's original connexion with James the Second is one which reflects no discredit on either party. On this point we fully agree with Mr. Dixon. James had been his father's friend — the friend and patron, as far as his means went, of all connected with his favourite sea service. At Sir William's death, 'James 'undertook the office of guardian and protector to the young 'man — an office which he honourably and faithfully discharged. 'This was the simple and natural origin of that connexion be- 'tween the Quaker subject and the Catholic prince, which after- 'wards created so much scandal.' James stood by Penn in Charles the Second's lifetime, both to protect his personal liberty and to befriend him in his family affairs, at a period when it is absurd to suspect the Duke of any special political object in supporting him. Thus much must be said for a prince whose evil qualities may not have been exaggerated, but whose good ones have as certainly not had justice done them.

But when James and Penn came together, the former as king, the latter as the head of a religious party in England, and the founder of a successful colony in America, their relations to each other became far different from those of early kindness and gratitude. Each was planning great objects — the monarch, the establishment of his religion; the Quaker, the establishment of religious freedom. Each endeavoured to use the other as a valuable instrument towards his own ends. But James had the advantage in this contest of policy. As his designs were deeper and his conscience less scrupulous, so he had, in addition, the seductions of Court favour and royal condescension at his command. Penn's mind was not of an order to resist them, still less to dissemble and affect to yield to them, in order only to secure a firmer hold for projects of personal ambition or cherished policy.

Mr. Macaulay and others have pointed out the peculiar motive which prompted James in seeking alliance with the Quakers and Penn — the features in which their legal position agreed with that of the Roman Catholics, and in which both differed from the other Non-conformists: a distinction all-important towards understanding this portion of history, but which Mr.

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Dixon omits to notice altogether. But it would be unjust to Penn to suppose that he was himself actuated by any policy of this kind. His sympathies were, of course, with suffering Friends, but his object was universal freedom of conscience.

'Penn,' says Mr. Dixon, 'believed the king sincere when he declared himself opposed to every kind of religious tests, and to every species of penal laws; and though it became the fashion after the Revolution to consider this apparent liberality in matters of conscience to be a mere Jesuitical feint to engage the unwary to support his policy in favour of the Catholics, abundant evidence remains to show that this was not the case.'

If Mr. Dixon really chooses himself to believe that James was sincerely and philosophically promoting spiritual freedom on this side of the Channel, while his ally, Louis, was dragooning heretics on the other, he is probably a singular specimen of such one-sided credulity. Our defence of Penn, or apology for him, would rest on very different grounds — not that he was right in believing in the sincerity of James — not even that he did believe in it — but that he deemed himself acting for the best in joining those who were standing up for freedom of conscience, whatever their motives might be, against the champions of a Church-and-State constitution which was kept together by a system of religious restrictions. Liberty of conscience not only appears, but is so holy a thing, even independent of the peculiar Quaker view of it, that it seems well nigh a sin to take part with those who would obstruct it, however valuable their ulterior objects; or to offer opposition to one who invokes its principles, however unsound may be his adoption of them. James was not only professing those principles, but acting up to his professions. He was in the act of striking off the chains of sufferers for conscience' sake, and placing them all alike under the common shelter of his prerogative. Whatever might be the abstract merits of the Whigs as friends of constitutional liberty, there could be no doubt that at this time they were deeply involved in the guilt of persecution. The Church, which had taken so strong an attitude against the usurpations of James, showed no trustworthy signs of relaxing in her persecution of Non-conformists; and Church and Non-conformists alike were ready to harass Quakers, and almost prepared to exterminate Roman Catholics.

Penn's choice, therefore, needs no justification, when the matter is regarded from his own point of view. But the people of England decided the other way, judging, as they always do, by men and motives, not by abstract rules. And they were right; or all subsequent history has been written in vain, and European

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progress is a delusion. Never did this popular instinct show itself more irresistible, or more determined, than on the eve of the Revolution. The very prisoners whose chains were struck off refused the right hand of fellowship to their liberators. Fourteen hundred Quakers had been discharged from gaol by James; and Penn had so far prevailed on the gratitude of the body, as to procure from the Public Meeting the famous address of May, 1687, thanking the king for his exercise of the dispensing power — the greatest triumph which the royal policy had obtained. But the Quakers were Englishmen after all. Supposing them, like certain recent historians of the Dissenters, to have argued for an instant, that 'When I am attacked 'by assassins, if Satan's eldest son were to pass by, and drag 'my adversaries off me, and rescue me from their murderous 'hands, I know not that it would be any crime to thank him 'for his merciful interposition' — they seem to have felt repentance almost immediately after for this concession, and no less dissatisfaction with him who had led them into it. Nor were Penn's courtier-like ways at this period — his daily visits to Whitehall, his position as the 'King's friend,' conceived to have more influence and, therefore, provoking more jealousy even than his ostensible councillors — likely to be long popular with a sect of democratic enthusiasts, such as he had helped to make them.

That Penn did at this time lose popularity and influence with them appears to us fully established, although Mr. Dixon and Mr. Forster (the author of the pamphlet 'William Penn and 'T. B. Macaulay,' whom Mr. Dixon closely follows throughout this controversy) think it due to their hero, we scarcely see why, to dispute it. Mr. Macaulay's only authority for the statement 'that Penn's own sect looked coldly on him, and requited his 'services with obloquy,' is, says Mr. Dixon, 'Gerard Croese, 'a Dutchman, who never was in England in his life, and whose 'work the Society of Friends have never recognised.' Mr. Dixon is not lucky in his conjectural assertions. Croese was much in England — he was once invited to take charge of a congregation at Norwich. We do not know what is meant by his work not being 'recognised' by the Quakers: —neither sects nor individuals are apt to 'recognise' impartial accounts of themselves. But the matter seems to rest on much better inferential evidence than the statement of Croese, although it is not the only one. Penn's own 'Answer to Popple,' so often quoted by his biographers, is evidently an apology, addressed to his own partisans, and justifying himself against this unpopularity. The letter of that 'Secretary to the Lords Commissioners

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'of Trade and Plantations,' written in the last days before William's landing, and when the Court was trying all kinds of apology and appeal, was plainly meant to draw out Penn, and afford him an opportunity for the reply; and the whole correspondence may be regarded, in Downing Street phrase, as 'semi-'official.'*

But then, say Messrs. Forster and Dixon, the records of the Society show no signs of such a change. 'Penn was, at this 'time, in regular attendance at the monthly meetings, and was 'elected to the highest offices of the body.' No doubt of it. The formal records of the Society are the last place to examine for the real sentiments of its members towards an important and useful personage in it. 'We spare him,' says a bitter enemy of his, writing in the assumed character of a leading Quaker, 'for a tool. He keeps near the Court. He is popu-'lar; and can write letters, and give directions concerning 'elections: he can tell who will serve us at Court and Council, 'and in Parliament; and can gloss over our principles.' But Mr. Dixon himself, only a few pages down, gives the strongest confirmation of the view he is opposing: with the difference only, that he is speaking of the reign of William, when Penn's fall had become still greater.

'It is curious,' he says, 'to find, that the men who stood by him in his darkest hours of trial were, with some staunch exceptions, not the persons who shared his religious opinions, but the more distinguished order of courtiers, statesmen, divines, and philosophers,—men like Rochester and Ranelagh, Trenchard and Popple, Tillotson and Locke. Many of his own sect for a time looked coldly on his sufferings; and it does not appear that their indifference was entirely removed until he was restored to his worldly rank (by the act in council of 1694 re-appointing him to his government of Pennsylvania). They had no complaint to make against his morals or his life, they only pretended to condemn the too active part he had taken in the affairs of the world.'

* We are bound to say that there is a kind of fatality about the 'Penn Controversy.' No one who engages in it is so fortunate as to be strictly accurate in his assertions or quotations. In the passage above cited, where Mr. Dixon makes the rash statement that Croese was never in England, he refers, without any remark, to a passage of Mr. Macaulay, which utterly contradicts him (vol. i. p. 506.), where the historian quotes Croese as an eye-witness of Penn's levées;—'Vidi quandoque de hoc genere hominum non minus 'bis centum.' But this is a misquotation. In the edition of 1695, the only one we know of, the word is 'visi' not vidi, and the change of a letter makes all the difference; nor is it at all probable that Croese was *at that time* in England.

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We cannot wholly pass over this part of Penn's life without noticing what Mr. Dixon calls his 'extra chapter on the Ma-'caulay charges,' being, in fact, a repetition of Mr. Forster's arguments against those charges. How far Mr. Dixon has a right to sit in judgment on men for alleged inaccuracies of detail, our readers are, by this time, qualified to judge. And the tone and temper of his criticism are such as we are sorry to see imported into any literary controversy. The historical questions really at issue may be briefly disposed of. Three principal instances have been alleged, in which Penn is said to have been employed by the court in discreditable negotiations. The first is the case of Kiffin: and here Mr. Dixon and Mr. Forster, while quoting Kiffin's memoirs of himself against Mr. Macaulay, have both contrived to omit the very passage on which Mr. Macaulay's statement is grounded! The second, is that of Magdalen College: as to which, the apologists wholly fail to perceive that the conduct ascribed to Penn is matter of inference, not of direct proof: and the unfavourable inference, which was drawn long before Mr. Macaulay wrote, remains altogether untouched by their arguments. The third, is that of the 'Maids of 'Taunton:' and here, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that the discovery of the Pinney cash-book has greatly altered the state of the question. Indeed, the story, as against Penn, seems, in itself, so improbable, that we are quite ready to be content with a very moderate amount even of manuscript disproof. In the meantime, we are hardly satisfied with the subsidiary arguments with which Mr. Dixon has chosen to overload the question. His several pleas seem to be, 1. That the Maids were traitors. 2. That the sale of traitors' pardons was a regular profession. 3. That the Maids of Honour were, probably, goodnatured creditors. 4. That there is no proof that Penn accepted the commission. 5. *That it was not William Penn, but George Penn.* He would have saved some pages of letter-press, had he but remembered the moral of the venerable jest concerning the mayor, who proposed to offer Henry the Fourth seven reasons for not firing a salute. 'In the first place, we have no powder.' 'Enough 'said,' replied the monarch: 'I excuse you the other six.'

Nor were Penn's political weaknesses the only features of his character which weaned from him the affections of the sterner and more serious of his sect. His style of living was a constant subject of jealousy with the evil-minded, and of reprobation with the earnest. Penn, certainly, shook off the ascetic fit of youthful devotion at a very early period. Indefatigable in travel and exertion, he did not appear to conceive

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that any particular self-denial was called for in his ordinary course of life. He was a man of easy habits and expensive tastes — nay, he had a certain partiality for creature-comforts, such as, according to some censors, has lurked among the orthodox and regular members of his persuasion from that day to this. His setting up a coach was a passage almost as memorable in the history of the Friends, as the same daring action by his contemporary, Secretary Pepys, in his own. 'And if he 'says,' exclaims the satirical Bugg, 'that his is no coach, but 'only a leathern conveniency, yet, as I have heard, he hath 'curious buildings and good wine, waiting men and waiting 'maids, and ofttimes good and dainty dishes of meat.' Bugg was rightly informed. Mr. Dixon has given us a sketch of the governor's family life in his American dwelling, which is both tempting and picturesque: it affords, moreover, some insight into the causes of the dilapidation of the Penn estates — for all the profusion here described occurred in a residence of less than two years.

'The front of the house, sixty feet long, faced the Delaware, and the upper windows commanded a magnificent view of the river and of the opposite shores of New Jersey. The depth of the manor-house was forty feet, and on each of the wings the various out-houses were so disposed as to produce an agreeable and picturesque effect. The brewhouse, a large wooden building covered with shingles,—Penn was not unused to the good old Saxon drink,—was at the back, some little distance from the mansion, and concealed among the trees. The house itself stood on a gentle eminence; it was two stories high, and was built of fine brick and covered with tiles. The entrance led, by a large and handsome porch and stone steps, into a spacious hall, extending nearly the whole length of the house, which was used on public occasions for the entertainment of distinguished guests, and the reception of the Indian tribes. The rooms were arranged in suites, with ample folding-doors, and were all wainscotted with English oak. A simple but correct taste was observable throughout; the interior ornaments were chaste, and the oaken capital at the porch was appropriately decorated with the carving of a vine and clusters of grapes. The more elaborate of these decorations were sent from England by the governor. The gardens were the wonder of the colony for their extent and beauty. A country-house, with an ample garden, was the governor's passion, and he spared neither care nor money to make the grounds of Pennsburg a little Eden. He procured from England and from Scotland the most skilful gardeners he could find. . . . .

'The furnishing of Pennsburg was to match. Mahogany was a luxury then unknown; but his spider-tables and high-backed chairs were of the finest oak. An inventory of the furniture is still extant; there were a set of Turkey-worked chairs, arm-chairs for ease, and

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couches with plush and satin cushions for luxury and beauty. In the parlour stood the great leathern chair of the proprietor; in every room were found cushions and curtains of satin, camlet, damask, and striped linen, and there is a carpet mentioned as being in one apartment, though at that time such an article was hardly ever seen except in the palaces of kings. His side-board furniture was also that of a gentleman; it included a service of silver, plain, but massive-like, and white china, a complete set of Tonbridge ware, and a great quantity of damask tablecloths and fine napkins. The table was served as became his rank, plainly but plentifully. . . . .

'His cellars were well stocked; canary, claret, sack and Madeira, being the favourite wines consumed by his family and their guests. Besides these nobler drinks, there was a plentiful supply, on all occasions of Indian or general festivity, of ale and cider. Penn's own wine seems to have been Madeira, and he certainly had no dislike to the temperate pleasures of the table. In one of his letters to his steward Sotcher, he writes, "Pray send us some two or three smoked "haunches of venison and pork; get them from the Swedes; also some "smoked shads and beefs;" adding, with delicious unction, "the old "priest at Philadelphia had rare shads."' (P. 380, &c.)

We find, also, that, among other gentlemanlike and expensive tastes, the Governor had that *penchant* for the pleasures of the stable which has been inherited by many excellent Quaker families of modern times. He stocked his province with brood mares as far as his means would allow, and took out with him in 1699 'the magnificent colt Tamerlane, by the celebrated 'Godolphin Barb.'

All this, according to sound and reasonable views, might not be inconsistent with the elevated parts of Penn's character. His superiority to the scruples of more ordinary precisians might rather be a proof of the higher degree of spirituality which he had attained, dispensing him from compliance with the beggarly elements of minute observance. But the change came too early. The contrast was too strong between Penn's luxurious living and the gaol diet or penurious travelling fare of the many hundred sufferers or missionaries for the truth, who constituted as yet the effective battalions of the Quaker army, and with whom Penn himself fraternised at the monthly meetings,—between Penn's actual practice and the eloquent asceticism of 'No Cross, No Crown,' and the other works of his enthusiastic days. On some points, also, and those favourite scruples of the Sect, he always remained but a wet Quaker. Though firm as a rock on the subject of oaths, a steady stickler against titles, and ready to go to the stake on the principle of the hat, he was yielding in the article of dress, which seems to have afforded the sorest of all temptations to

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saints in that age of lace and embroidery. 'The ladies of his 'family dressed like gentlewomen,—wore caps and buckles, 'silk gowns and golden ornaments. Penn had no less than 'four' wigs in America, all purchased in the same year, at a 'cost of nearly twenty pounds.' Yet the periwig had been a special cause of offence to the early Quakers. Did they not boast (says Leslie) 'how John Millner, a Friend about North-'ampton, a wig maker, left off the trade, and was made to 'burn one in his prentice's sight, and print against it? And 'that John Hall, a gentleman of Northumberland, being con-'vinced, sitting at a meeting, was shaken by the Lord's power, 'plucked off and threw down his wig.' And was not Richard Richardson moved to make an especial 'declaration against 'wigs,' in which, among other things, he shows distinctly, from the case of Elisha in the Second Book of Kings, that they formed no part of the prophetic costume?

These were partly the causes—we are sorry to say that worldly policy might furnish another—which made so many of his religious partisans shrink from supporting their eminent leader during the saddest period of his fortunes, from 1688 to 1694: when his substance fell to decay, the wife of his first affection was lost to him, and, from having been a royal favourite, he became the object of political persecution,—when, in his own words, 'his enemies had darkened the very air against 'him.' More grievous to read of, because more wholly unde-served, was the treatment which Penn had to experience from his subject colonists,—the first Anglo-Pennsylvanians. We know few chapters in the long and dreary history of the ingratitude of mankind towards its benefactors, more painful than Mr. Dixon's account of the persevering injustice and shameless exactions which were the requital of all his devotion to his 'Holy Experiment.' He had, indeed, sacrificed to it the best part of his fortune as well as of his life. He estimated his loss on the first foundation of Pennsylvania, at 120,000*l.*,—a sum which should be much more than doubled for the purpose of fair comparison with similar expenditure in our times, but which, if doubled, would nearly equal the sum by which Parlia-ment, in 1842, found it advisable to cover the losses sustained in the experiment (rather philosophical than holy) of that day,—the colonisation of South Australia. So mistaken is the fashionable notion that the art of colonisation was either more perfect or less expensive in his time than ours. So uniform the evidence to the fact, that a colony cannot be established on any great scale without preliminary sacrifices. But Penn's profuse expenditure had at all events forced the Friendly City into pre-

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mature wealth and greatness. The only effect produced on the mind of its drab-coated inhabitants, seems to have been the persuasion that a source, which had yielded so much, might be made to yield more by draining. In 1693, when Penn's affairs at home were at the lowest ebb, he was roused by the Crown's supposed intention to abrogate the charter of Pennsylvania, and form a common government of all the northern colonies. But he was actually in want of money to make the journey. Could he obtain it by borrowing small sums from the wealthier of his colonists, secured on the quit rents of the province? He wrote to an old ally in Philadelphia to make this proposal, but not a man came forward to help him. 'They 'said they loved him much, but they had no mind to lend 'money.' He went at last — but he had not been two years in the colony (1699—1701) when he wanted to return home in order to oppose the 'Colony Bill,' by which it was designed to transfer the proprietary rights to the Crown — a transfer which Penn deprecated, from his still prevailing desire to carry his own plans into execution; but which affected him much less than the settlers, whose dread of their proposed assignment to King Stork was natural and extreme. But when he consulted the Assembly for means to effect the voyage and negotiation, he obtained nothing but 'a list of demands which were equally 'insulting and unjust.' He was forced to sell land to cover his expenses home. His correspondent, Logan, thus briefly described the feeling of the colony: — 'There are few,' he said to Penn in one of his letters, 'that think it sin to *hawl any thing* '*they can from* thee.' They invaded his rights, they seized his land, they withheld his rents.

Their affairs, in the absence of the founder, fell speedily into disorder; his few remaining rights were seriously menaced; and religious disputes began to disturb a community in which his measures had hitherto prevented, at least, this one fertile seed of strife from germinating. He became anxious to go over once more. 'I assure thee,' he wrote to his agent, 'if the people 'would only settle 600*l.* a year upon me as governor, I would 'hasten over. . . . . Cultivate this among the best Friends.' But the best Friends would do nothing. A governor who expected to receive instead of paying by no means suited their views.

But, in the very decline of his life, one gleam of hopefulness was permitted to bless the vision of the departing founder. An earnest remonstrance, which he addressed in 1710 to the people of Pennsylvania, produced, we are told, 'a sudden revo- 'lution in his favour.' 'The colony was stung with the mild

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'reproaches of its founder, now in his old age, enduring poverty 'brought on by his too great liberality; and the session which 'ensued was the most cordial and harmonious, as well as the 'most useful, in the history of the Assembly.' This is a pleasant reminiscence wherewith to conclude his eventful history; and it is satisfactory also to reflect that, even in a pecuniary point of view, his sacrifices remained ultimately not unrecompensed to his family. For some years before his death he had been ready to sell the government to the Crown. But he insisted on keeping the charter and fundamental laws; and on these terms Queen Anne's Government would not treat, because their great object, like King William's, was the union of the North American colonies for purposes of defence, which the peculiar constitution of Pennsylvania, and its central position, impeded. The negotiation, therefore, came to nothing. By Penn's will, in 1710, he left the remnant of his English and Irish estates to his children by his first wife, Pennsylvania to those by the second. It had been worth nothing to him until the last year or two previous, and he naturally regarded it as the inferior fund.

'He had no conception of the enormous increase of value which twenty years of peace, following on the Treaty of Utrecht, would give to Pennsylvania. Hannah's children became the lords proprietors of the colony, and the younger branch of his family stood before the world as the more conspicuous representatives of the Great founder.'

We believe that they ultimately received 130,000*l.* for it from the State of Pennsylvania.

Misfortune, however, never fell on one better prepared to meet it. Penn was not so much fortified against it by philosophy, or even by religious firmness, as by one of those happy temperaments which, though susceptible of every impression, are little apt to be profoundly affected by any. Neither loss of fortune, friends, nor political interest, nor the disappointment of high dreams of the purest ambition, seem to have permanently influenced his spirits, or could even for the moment ruffle his temper. He even preserved the same placid and radiant demeanour towards the outer world! The gaiety of disposition which had been the great charm of his society in youth had something in it which moved to reverence in later years, when those who witnessed it thought of the actions and sufferings of the man. He retained to the last that serene and somewhat self-satisfied look, that *air béat*, as the French call it, which marks his portraits; and the period of decaying intellect which preceded his death, however painful for others to witness, seems

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to have been passed by him in a long dream of tranquil and child-like enjoyment.

Such was Penn, not in his mythical character, but a being of mixed strength and weakness, who by a combination of external facility of disposition, with pertinacity of resolution, made a greater impression on his age, and did more for posterity, than men of far more powerful intellect. What was he in domestic life? It would be of little use to ask Mr. Dixon. He paints without shade. He patches up every small fragment of biography he can find, to compound a hero not only of opposite but of scarcely reconcilable qualities. That Penn was of blameless life and very affectionate disposition is readily granted; he also wrote, and printed, good advice to his children. But far more than this is needed, to complete a character of real interest in respect of the qualities which pertain to home. Every man has his several vocation in this world. That of the enthusiastic missionary is one, that of the *conjux et paterfamilias* another. It is idle to represent the same man as a model of perfection in both. Penn's temperament was restless, his love of variety and action strong, qualities which he shared with most men of his stamp, and which made toil and privation matters of less self-denial to him than silence and retirement. But the man who is fit for this work, cannot be at the same time bound by the enchanted tie of really strong domestic attachment; cannot be devoted to the society of one companion of the heart: cannot watch, with engrossing interest, the development of a second self. His choice should be celibacy. Wisdom that crieth daily in the streets, cannot possibly dwell with children at her knees. Passionate as may have been Penn's early attachment to the fair 'Guli 'Springett,'* Mr. Dixon's heroine, it appears that after the first three years of their marriage she rarely accompanied him in his incessant wanderings. Thenceforth their lot was mainly separate; and however duly fond of each other, they could never have lived in that constant communion of the heart which is the portion of more ordinary couples. Mr. Dixon wants words to paint the violence of her husband's sorrow when she died. Yet it is not the less the fact, that before two years were over, and that, too,

* We hardly know a more amusing instance of the modern art of weaving a fashionable biography out of scanty materials, than the 'charming history of unsuccessful love,' which Mr. Dixon has got up from poor Thomas Ellwood's little confessions about this lady. But it is hardly fair on the amiable Friend to speak of Guli as his 'lady-love,' when he escorted her to her uncle Herbert's (p. 132.), at which time he was engaged to Mary Ellis.

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while his other cares and disappointments were pressing most heavily upon him, he married Hannah Callowhill, at fifty-four, and became the father of a second flourishing family. Nor do his children seem to have contributed much to his happiness, or towards the promotion of his views. What, indeed, were the achievements of the great philanthropist to them? Judging as children ordinarily judge of their parents in this unheroic world, they probably thought of him as a father whose heart had been far too exclusively devoted to other cares, to be to them either a confidential friend, or the object of the romantic filial worship of youth; and who had wasted on his wild schemes the fortune on which they counted for the gratification of their own desires in life. The eldest and most promising, Springett, died young. Of Letitia, the daughter, who married Mr. Aubrey, Mr. Dixon tells us little, except that she seems to have considered residence with her father in America as a very unwelcome banishment. William, Guli's only remaining son, took to bad courses, became profligate and debauched, was expelled by the Friends, deserted his family, and, in common phrase, went near to break his father's heart; but Penn's was not a heart of that order of fragility. His second family were children of his old age.

We have been the less scrupulous in dealing with Mr. Dixon's qualifications as a biographer, because he has himself so unscrupulously attacked others;—because he throws about charges of ignorance and malevolence against those who have regarded his hero's character from a different point of view from himself, with a petulance which would be unbecoming even if his own performance was as exact and conscientious as it is superficial. His want of the habit of discriminating criticism would greatly unfit him for the execution of such a work, even if he wrote less obviously with an object — in order to support particular views and please particular judges, at the same time captivating idle readers by romantic effect. But he is not without good qualities as a writer. His style seems to be easy and good, when not disfigured by an affectation of smartness, and there is life in his narrative and vigour in his descriptions. We would not do him the injustice which he so lavishly inflicts on others, of supposing that the errors into which his eagerness for defending his hero has led him, were in any degree intentional. As for the charge of irreverence towards the memory of a hero, which he so liberally dispenses, we are quite ready to submit to our share of it. Hero-worship is only possible so long as the hero remains a 'myth.' When he is dragged out of this reverential obscurity, it is neither manly nor philosophical to judge of him otherwise than of another man. Nor can we accept, without

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much qualification, the claims which are put forward on behalf of Penn to the devout observance of posterity. As the champion of religious freedom, he was prominent in a great cause; but it must be remembered that it was also the winning cause. Notwithstanding partial checks, it was a cause rapidly advancing, even in his time. The days of the old system of intolerance were evidently numbered. And on the whole it may be doubted whether the efforts of Penn and his friends contributed so much to its success as the extravagances of the sect did to retard it. In our view, the great interest attached to Penn's memory is of a wider, but at the same time of a more questionable, kind. It arises out of those general conceptions of the earthly destiny of men, and the mode of adapting them for its fulfilment, of which the particular tenet of religious freedom, though most present to Penn's mind, formed a portion only. To make the first spring of common as well as individual action love, not fear; — to regard men rather as glorious than as fallen creatures; — as all in their degree influenced by that inward light, to quench or deny which is practical anarchy, as well as blasphemy; — these were visions so bold, and so new to the religious spirit of the time, that it is scarcely to be wondered at, if the Friends themselves failed to appreciate and express clearly the principle which they involved, and if the world altogether failed to understand it. Yet that principle fought its way onward, with what vast extension of influence the whole system of modern legislation and policy bears witness. Its progress has been diversified with strange exaggerations and fatal errors. It has raised men's minds from servile abasement to freedom and light: but it has also exalted them to a pinnacle of self-worship, from which they have speedily plunged again into grovelling degradation. It has founded great republics, and overthrown flourishing States, abolished racks, thrown open prisons, and erected guillotines. Often thrust into the background by violent reaction towards the opposite doctrine — often distorted and abused by its own partisans — it still continues to make way; and its course is more and more clearly descried in fancy, both by the enthusiastic and the timid, as tending to the dissolution and reconstruction of human society.

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ART. X. — 1. *Handbuch der Chemie.* Von LEOPOLD GMELIN. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. V. Band, 8vo. Heidelberg: 1850.

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6. *Chemie der Organischen Verbindungen.* Von CARL LÖWIG. Gr. 8vo. Braunschweig: 1850.

7. *Elements of Chemistry, including the Applications of the Science in the Arts.* By T. GRAHAM, F.R.S.L. and E. Second Edition. 8vo. London: 1850.

8. *An Introduction to the Atomic Theory.* By CHARLES DAUBENY, M.D., F.R.S. Oxford: 1850. Post 8vo. Pp. 502.

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10. *Lehrbuch der Pharmaceutischen Technik.* Von Dr. FRIEDRICK MOHR. Gr. 8vo. Braunschweig: 1851.

11. *Handbuch der technischen Chemie.* Von ERNST LUDWIG SCHUBARTH. 3 Bänden, 8vo. Berlin: 1839.

12. *Chemical Technology, or Chemistry applied to the Arts and to Manufactures.* By F. KNAPP. 3 vols. 8vo. 1848—1850.

13. *A Treatise on Poisons.* By ROBERT CHRISTISON, M.D., F.R.S.E. Fourth Edition. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1845.

14. *The Chemistry of Vegetable and Animal Physiology.* By Dr. G. J. MULDER. Translated from the Dutch by Dr. FROMBERG; with an Introduction and Notes, by JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON, F.R.S. 8vo. Edinburgh and London: 1849.

15. *Lehrbuch der Physiologischen Chemie.* Von Prof. Dr. C. G. LEHMANN. Zweiter Band, 8vo. Leipzig: 1850.

16. *Lehrbuch der Chemischen und Physikalischen Geologie.* Von Dr. GUSTAV. BISCHOF. Zweiten Bandes, Vierte Abtheilung. 8vo. Bonn: 1850.

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17. *Årsberättelser om Framstegen i Physik och Kemie.* Af J. J. BERZELIUS. 27 digra band. Stockholm: 1821 till 1848.

18. *Minnè*, af J. J. BERZELIUS. Af M. af PONTIN. Stockholm: 1849.

AMONG the modern sciences which, in their nature and progress, partake most of the character of the advancing material civilisation of the nineteenth century, Chemistry holds the first rank. Of that advancing civilisation it may even be said to form a main part or element. One of its special duties is to discover hidden and unknown properties and uses in things — to lay open the unsuspected riches of kingdoms. It suggests also, or presides over, all those new and growing arts — not purely mechanical — by which wealth and power are conferred upon the countries that foster them, or by which future dominion and rapid pre-eminence are promised.

No branch of positive knowledge can boast a history so full of interest and romance as this, or one which presents a more tempting field for a literary excursion, either to a writer or to a reader. The more recent progress of the science, however, and its actual position, are our present object; and we must refer those readers, who desire to study the history in detail, to the well known 'History of Chemistry,' by Dr. Thomson, or to the more elaborate German work of Dr. Kopp, the title of which will be found among the books at the head of the present article.

There are several extemporaneous or off-hand ways, in which the progress of modern chemistry, in extent and importance, may be judged of, by persons who either have never been familiar with its principles, or who have ceased for a time to follow its advance. Among these may be mentioned, as one of the easiest, a brief consideration of the existing literature of the science. Respecting this point, several things are deserving of notice; and first stands the number of new books, which are yearly issuing from the press in the various countries of Europe and America, devoted purely to the illustration of its principles. We have quoted the names of only a few of the most recent. The bare titles of the most trustworthy treatises, published even within the last five years, would have filled several pages. In addition to that of Graham, mentioned in our list, we have — all of nearly equal authority — in our own language, those of Thomson, Brande, Turner, Kane, Fownes, and Gregory; while some of the continental tongues are far more rich in systematic chemistry. Meantime, the latest and most complete of these publications, on the pure science, exhibit a striking evidence of

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progress in this particular, — whereas some twenty years ago three or four octavo volumes, as in the systems of Murray and Thomson, sufficed to contain a full record of all known principles and facts of importance, mixed up with at least their own bulk of theoretical disquisitions and speculations. Six or more octavos, as in the work of Gmelin, now scarcely afford space enough to record the principles and facts alone. Speculations and theoretical disquisitions are far more abundant than ever; but they find their appropriate place in the many periodical journals and in the multiplied transactions of learned bodies which regularly appear in almost every European language.

Again, in relation to the actual extent of the science, and the positive effects produced by its progress, much may be gathered from the size of the body of literature which is now devoted to the explanation of its various *applied* branches. Not only has the range of pure chemistry, as a whole, become so vast that scarcely any one mind can grasp it, or, in a fair measure, master its details; while, by way of simplification, separate divisions have successively been made into mineral and organic, and the latter again into animal and vegetable chemistry; but so many new arts have arisen from the application of its principles to useful and ornamental purposes, and so many new books are devoted to each of these arts exclusively, that a really large body of applied chemical literature has gradually accumulated on the shelves of our libraries. To the present article we have prefixed the titles of only two works — those of Schubart and Knapp — which profess to treat generally of the applications of the science to all the, so-called, useful arts of life. It would fill a bookseller's catalogue to name only the latest published and best books which relate to all the separate or special branches. We possess voluminous treatises, not only on large subjects, such as Medical Chemistry, Pharmaceutical Chemistry, Forensic Chemistry, Agricultural Chemistry, Chemical Geology, Chemical Mineralogy, &c.; but on more limited topics, such as the manufacture of iron, of porcelain, of glass, of soda, soap, vinegar, white lead, the chloride of lime, the sulphates of iron and of copper, the mineral acids, and the thousand other compounds which the chemical arts and chemical pharmacy daily demand, and of which our Great Exhibition while we write is displaying to its millions of visitors such magnificent specimens. The extraction of metals from their ores — the assaying of ores and metals — the special extraction of gold and silver — the arts of enameling on iron, of gilding and silvering, of photography, of pyrotechny, of bleaching, dyeing, and printing, of malting and distilling, of preserving timber, of making mortars and cements,

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of obtaining gas from coal and other combustible materials, of preparing mixed metals,—and the many other non-mechanical arts, with which a visit to the workshops of our great manufacturing towns would probably make many of our readers for the first time acquainted, — all these possess, consult, and are more or less guided by their own chemical books, many of them by periodical journals, written specially to elucidate and explain their own processes.

Then, as a symptom of progress, the rise of the science in general estimation is most significant. It must have been remarked by every body whose attention has been drawn to the subject, that in our own island chemistry has assumed an entirely new position within the last five-and-twenty years. Five-and-twenty years ago, only three or four men held open schools for teaching its most difficult departments. Scarcely any young persons studied it as a branch of education but such as were destined for the medical profession; and these, for the most part, only very superficially. Now, at least thirty professors, scattered over the island, teach it systematically, and at least as many more instructed chemists obtain a living by superintending or giving advice on its numerous practical applications. And besides medical students, to whom all educated druggists must be added, thousands of other young men are attending annual and systematic courses; while all who study it are both better and deeper taught than formerly, and their knowledge more severely tested in public and private examinations.

It is true that our old universities and the newer colleges, which tread reverently in their footsteps, give as yet but little public instruction in this science and pay it little honour, — counting their non-medical students of it by threes and fives,— but the middle classes and the masses extensively learn it in other schools of less pretension both at home and abroad; and it is thus gradually leavening the people. While the old universities have delayed to supply the general wants, or to keep pace with the demands of our progressive material civilisation, numerous new colleges and schools have sprung up, partly general and partly special in their objects, to meet the views and wishes of the less stationary part of our population. In most of these new schools, chemistry occupies a prominent place as a branch of study; while, both in connexion with them and in many separate localities, laboratories have been erected in which the science is taught experimentally and analytically, and researches are undertaken into previously unexplored departments of nature.

Of the *rate* at which the science is now making way, a popular

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notion may be formed from the contents of one of the German books of which we have given the titles. The 'Handwörter-'buch der reinen und angewandten Chemie' is a dictionary of pure and applied chemistry, which began to be issued a few years ago. It has now reached the beginning of the letter K, having completed only ten letters of the alphabet. Nevertheless, to bring up its accumulated arrears, a supplement of 440 pages has been issued, which is now only commencing the letter B. The supplement, in fact, contains nearly as much matter under the letter A as the body of the dictionary itself — so that two works are, in reality, proceeding *pari passu*, the one bringing up the arrears of the other, and promising, when complete, to fill as many volumes. This case illustrates not only the rapid rate at which chemical knowledge is advancing, but the special disadvantages also under which the students and teachers of progressive knowledge labour. The newest text-books are always behind the state of the science. If not already in arrear before they issue from the press, they are always greatly so before an edition of a treatise even of acknowledged merit can be sold off among a limited population like ours. Those who only read or teach from such books must, therefore, be behind also. Hence the necessity of purchasing new works almost monthly, in various tongues — of continued study in order to maintain a familiarity with the *status quo* of the science — of the regular perusal of journals, and of the personal prosecution of laboratory experiment and research.

The progress of chemistry during the present century is characteristically divided into two epochs. During the first thirty years the mineral or inorganic branch of the science received the principal attention of chemists; during the latter twenty, organic chemistry has been gradually attracting to itself the larger number of chemical investigators. It has, in consequence, advanced not only in general estimation, but also in actual extent and in positive importance, in a proportionate degree. In the history of the inorganic period, the names of Davy, Dalton, Wollaston, Prout, Thomson, and Berzelius — all but one now numbered with the dead — occupy a prominent place. But the long career and many labours of Berzelius connect him more than any other of his contemporaries with the successive leading steps in this department from 1800 to 1848. A brief outline of his scientific life, therefore — a somewhat scanty justice having been done him in this country while he lived — besides being otherwise very instructive, will both lighten the graver matter of our pages, and will enable us to

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present to the reader, in a somewhat connected and more readable form, the main consecutive advances of the science.

In the year 1778, Sweden lost the illustrious Linnæus, but in the August of the year following the loss was replaced by the birth of Berzelius. Early an orphan, he was for some years under the care of a stepfather, a pious Swedish clergyman, with whom 'he read a chapter of the Bible every morning, 'and one of "Sturm's Reflections" every afternoon,' preparatory to his daily walk. In the course of one of these walks, it is related, that, struck with his eagerness in collecting plants, and with the acuteness of his observations, his stepfather remarked, 'Jacob, thou hast talent enough to walk in the foot-'steps either of Linnæus or Cartouche, — I hope thou hast 'God before thy eyes, and so wilt thou do the former.' Yet for some time he gave little prospect of the fulfilment of these hopes. Bandied about from house to house, and brought up among connexions who looked upon him as a burden, his vigour, though unbroken, was long subdued. When his childhood was over, he spent four unprofitable years at the school of Norköping, and quitted it, along with some other young men, for the university of Upsala, in the autumn of 1796. But opposite to his name, in the list forwarded by the Rector of the school to the University authorities, were the words 'indifferent 'in behaviour and of doubtful hope.' He was received therefore, with reserve, and regarded with suspicion. His first year was passed idly; and, his small patrimony — originally 200 rix-dollars (17*l.*), and the ninth part of a small farm — being then exhausted, he engaged himself as tutor to a family in East Gothland. The necessity of teaching made him here somewhat improve himself, till, having obtained a stipendium (an exhibition or bursary) he returned to college in 1798. He now underwent what is called the Medico-philosophical Examen; and it is remarkable — considering the eminence he afterwards obtained in this line — that Afzelius, the Professor of Chemistry, was so dissatisfied with his answers, as to say to his brother professors, 'that he would not send the young man back if *they* 'were satisfied with him.' He was not absolutely turned back, therefore, but his second examination was postponed for a year. It was possibly this partial disgrace, which at length aroused him to exertion; and the objections of Afzelius may have turned his special attention to Chemistry. He was nineteen years of age; and he began to frequent the laboratory of the professor, then, as now, in the continental universities, open to the students. But his evil name accompanied him thither. On one of his first visits he was encountered by the question,

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'if he understood the difference between a laboratory and 'a kitchen?' and, finally, the treatment of Ekeberg, the laborator, drove him from it in disgust. Meanwhile he studied assiduously at his lodgings, without counsel or advice. War was now raging between phlogiston and oxygen. The teachers adhered to the old faith — the despised pupil took up the new, and succeeded, in his own apartments, in preparing oxygen gas, and showing the combustion of various substances in it to his fellow-students, although in the laboratory, for a whole year, the attempt had been made in vain. In our own days of experimental dexterity, what a picture does this present of the condition of laboratories and of the skill of laborators in the year 1800! And how much does the following incident teach us!

One afternoon, on entering the laboratory, a glass retort caught his eye, which the professor had unwillingly taken from his closet in the morning, for some necessary experiment, with many injunctions to carefulness and a safe return. For a glass retort Berzelius had long been wishing, with a view to an experiment he desired to perform at home. Snatching at the unexpected good luck, with an absence of scruple such as keen collectors often display, he carried home the prize, and there, in the silence and solitude of night, observed the phenomenon he longed to see, and by which he was led to his first chemical discovery. The searching spirit which many years before had struck his step-father in the child, had begun again to animate the young man. With the stolen retort he not only increased his own knowledge, but added also to that of mankind at large. Though as yet scarcely looked upon as a student, he was already on the highway of discovery; and though years of difficulty and struggle afterwards beset the man, this keen spirit never once forsook him — it increased only in energy as the obstacles increased with which he had to contend. The summer of 1799 was spent by him in an apothecary's shop in Wadstena, where, from an Italian, he learned the art of working in glass: his after dexterity in an art now so indispensable in the laboratory, will be long remembered by all his pupils. Having passed the winter in Upsala, he was employed during the ensuing summer as assistant to a physician at the mineral waters of Medevi. These waters he analysed, and made them the subject of his thesis at his second examen, in December, 1800. But, now again, Afzelius opposed him at his examination. He had no confidence, he said, in the analyses of the young man; and, finally, he recommended him 'to go to the University of 'Lund, where he might possibly have better luck.' The difficulties, however, were at last got over, and he was allowed to pass.

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Meanwhile he had made researches on the production of nitric ether, on the properties of nitrous oxide, and other subjects then little understood. These he placed in the hands of Afzelius, by whom they were sent to the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm. After three years the secretary of that learned body returned them with the brief remark, 'that they did not acknowledge 'the new nomenclature!'

Here then we seem to stand on the very threshold of modern chemistry. Phlogiston was not yet abandoned by that very scientific academy, which, at a subsequent period, for nearly thirty years, led the van in chemical views and nomenclature.

The discovery of Volta, in 1800, had excited Berzelius to make experiments with the new pile on the human body; these formed the subject of his dissertation at his licentiate's examen in 1802. The following year he settled in Stockholm, and was appointed Adjunct Professor of Medicine and Pharmacy in the College of Medicine. In 1804 he took his Doctor's Degree, eight years after leaving Norköping; but it was not till 1807 that he was appointed actual Professor in the School of Medicine of Stockholm, an office which he held for nearly forty years. Still the Academy — whose proceedings he afterwards directed for so many years — refused to publish his papers; less generous minds could see no genius in one whom an unfavourable reputation had followed from school and from university. He associated himself, therefore, with his friend Hisinger in the publication of the 'Afhandlingar i fysik, Kemi och Mineralogie.' which subsequently attained so much celebrity. His perseverance finally triumphed. In 1808 he was elected a member of the Academy; in 1810 acted as its president; in 1813 a yearly pension was assigned him, as had formerly been done to Scheele, on condition 'that he should communicate to the 'Academy the researches they had formerly despised;' and, finally, in 1818, during his absence in Paris, he was elected Perpetual Secretary. This appointment placed him at the head of the science of his native country; and the pecuniary and other difficulties under which he had hitherto laboured were, at the same time, in a great measure removed.

The early life of Berzelius was thus a constant struggle with poverty, with unkindness, and with many difficulties, which had originated in an idle, listless, and unconciliatory disposition, itself the fruit of a depressed and half-broken spirit. How different the opinion formed of him by his teachers from that which his pupils and friends universally entertained in after life. The mental discipline he underwent at college probably, however, improved him as a man; and, had he not thus been almost forced

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into the study of experimental science, to which his mind seemed early and naturally predisposed, he might have passed a life of little comfort to himself, and of no value to his country.

It is from 1803 that the researches of the Swedish chemist link themselves with all the main steps in the progress of the chemistry of the present century. The era of modern chemistry may be said to have dawned when the oxygen of Lavoisier began to get the better of the phlogiston of Stahl, and the balance to be recognised as an indispensable instrument of research. It fairly commenced when the discoveries of Volta and Galvani not only made men acquainted with a new power which evidently influenced the chemical relations of bodies, but put in the hands of the experimenter a new and most effective instrument of investigation. In the successful hands of Davy this instrument soon after led to the most felicitous results. In 1803 Berzelius published a paper on the decomposition of saline compounds by galvanism; five years later Davy, by the same agent, decomposed the alcalies; and, while the world was ringing with this latter discovery, 'I succeeded,' says the Swedish Philosopher, 'in going a step further; and, by the aid 'of quicksilver, decomposed the alcaline earths and ammonia, 'of which I informed Davy, who acknowledged, in his reply, 'that this reduction was previously unknown to him.' Thus within twenty years were two revolutions made in chemical knowledge and theory, and each by the use of a new tool. The balance established the views of Lavoisier, the galvanic battery wrought the discoveries of Davy.

These discoveries were the foundation of the Electro-Chemical theory, and became intimately connected also with what is called the Atomic theory, or the doctrine of definite, equivalent, and multiple proportions. The study of the mutual and relative influences and re-actions of atoms or molecules, insensible in size, and acting at insensible distances,—of the laws by which these are regulated or determined,—of the sensible effects which accompany, or follow, from the mutual combinations and disjunctions of these molecules,—and of the modifications which circumstances or agents, under or beyond our control, impose upon the manifestation of these laws, and upon their results;—forms, in reality, a large part of the whole field of chemical inquiry. Its deepest doctrines and researches are entirely molecular, and the pure science has become a refined department of physics. The foundation of the Atomic theory was laid by the researches of Wenzel and Richter, in Germany; but this theory was first made the basis of a new system of Chemical Philosophy by our English Dalton. To the latter, and to Dr. Prout, as

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speculative philosophers, it owes much; and very much also, to the experimental researches of Wollaston and Thomson. But the analytical labours of Berzelius, which were devoted for so many years to the determination of what are called Atomic weights or combining proportionals, and the investigations of Gay Lussac on the combining volumes of gases and vapours, contributed more to the rational establishment of this new system than those of any other individual chemists. Many co-operated, however, in different degrees; and a valuable sketch of its progress, and of the shares of the several fellow-labourers, will be found in an able treatise 'On the Atomic Theory,' by Dr. Daubeny, of which a second edition has recently appeared from the Oxford press.

The multiplied analytical researches of Berzelius may be said to have given rise also to the now most recondite and difficult department of analytical chemistry. The knowledge bearing upon the inorganic,—so refined and abstruse a portion of this department,—has been extended and enlarged by several of his pupils, and especially by Professor Heinrich Rose, of Berlin. It might have been supposed to have been digested and matured in the 'Ausführliches Handbuch der Analytischen 'Chemie' of this distinguished analyst. For Professor Rose's 'Manual' is a book of 2000 octavo pages; and yet, like nearly all our chemical books, it was already behind the time before the last sheet issued from the press.

These analyses led successively to the discovery in Sweden, and elsewhere, of many new elementary bodies. By a simple or elementary body chemists mean one which is incapable by any known methods of being resolved into two or more other bodies differing from itself. Compound bodies again consist of, and can by known means be resolved into, two or more elements regarded as simple. Of such elementary bodies only twenty-nine were known at the beginning of the present century; we are now acquainted with sixty-three. This fact will illustrate to the general reader one great feature in the progress of modern chemistry. But to the chemist the discovery of thirty-four new elementary bodies implies an amount of painful research,—preceding and following each discovery,—of which words can convey to the uninitiated no adequate idea.

It is not merely that the satisfactory isolation of a new element is itself a work of long and discriminating labour, or that it imposes almost endless after-inquiries concerning its relations and combinations with other bodies; but such a discovery casts a doubt upon all past analyses of a particular class, and renders imperative a repetition of many most serious investiga-

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tions. The way in which each analytical discovery thus throws us back, as it were, will appear by a simple illustration. It was early discovered that the mineral matter of plants contained silica —the substance of flint—in considerable quantity. Yet, this substance was supposed to form no part of the bodies of animals, and to be a characteristic feature of the vegetable kingdom, till an analysis of the feathers of birds proved that they too contained silica in a very sensible proportion. It was sought for, therefore, in the natural covering,—the hair of animals and man; and new analyses proved it to be present there also. But if in the hair it must be in the blood, from which all the parts of the body are formed and draw their constant support. Renewed examinations of the blood, accordingly, discovered it there, and thus new light was thrown upon animal physiology, and upon the natural relations between plants and animals.

So also in nearly all our analyses of the ashes of plants and of the parts of animals, common salt had been found in comparatively small proportion. But recent research, conducted after improved methods, has shown that some at least of these ashes contain this substance in much larger proportion than was previously believed; they, therefore, suggest the necessity of repeating all our experiments in this field before the true composition of the inorganic part of living beings can be said to be ascertained. Iodine, in like manner, early found in marine plants, has recently been detected in the common cress, and in many other plants which grow in fresh water. Must we not expect to find it in all plants? Is its presence not necessary to the healthy sustenance of animals? Fluorine exists in sea-water and in marine plants. But it exists also in the bones and teeth of all animals, in milk and in blood. It must therefore be present in all vegetable food, and must be necessary to the healthy growth both of plants and animals. In the past analyses, however, of the mineral matter of the plants on which we live, it has neither been sought for nor detected. The same imperfect process of preparing the ash of plants and animals, which has caused a portion of the common salt to disappear, has probably also lessened the true amount both of iodine and of fluorine in the specimens hitherto analysed. Even bromine may possibly not be absent from plants and animals, if carefully sought for. Those who are aware of the amount of analytical labour which during the last ten years has been expended upon this branch of analysis, chiefly for the benefit of agriculture and physiology, will be able to estimate the nature of the task which awaits the chemist, by whom it must all be repeated. In this way new discoveries in chemistry are continually harking us back. Old analyses in the inorganic kingdom,

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though useful to a certain extent, all become from time to time un-trustworthy, and the labours of years must be gone over again. But this is only the periodical retiring of the monthly wave, which at the next spring-tide may assert a wider and more secure dominion than it ever possessed before.

It is in connexion with mineralogy that the inorganic chemistry of our time finds one of its most indisputable triumphs, the atomic theory one of its most interesting applications, and chemical analysis the field of its most arduous and constantly renewing tasks. Born in a country rich in minerals, and abounding in mineral wealth, Berzelius and most of his chemical pupils and successors in Sweden have dedicated much of their attention to the productions of the mineral kingdom. Before him Klaproth and others had analysed many of these substances, without knowing or even thinking of any general principle, by which either the results of their analyses might be tested, or the minerals themselves classified and arranged.

It was after his visit to England in 1812 that Berzelius threw into a methodical form the results of his numerous mineral analyses, and applied to them the new views in respect to the electro-chemical relations of bodies, and the proportions in which they combine with each other. In 1814 the Swedish edition of his 'Application of Chemical Proportions to Mine-'ralogy' was published. Within a few years it was known and reprinted in most European languages. Its illustrations were subsequently from time to time augmented, and the principles on which it was based more firmly fixed, by numerous fresh analyses executed by himself and others. The most complete form in which his latest views have yet appeared is in the 'Berzelius's 'Neues Chemisches Mineral System' of Professor Rammelsberg of Berlin, published in 1847; while the book which at present most fully represents the actual condition of chemical mineralogy is the 'Handwörterbuch der Chemischen Theils der 'Mineralogie' of the same author, with its four several supplements.*

To those who are capable of contrasting the old mineralogy with the new, the happy conclusions, which the numerous analytical labours of Berzelius and his pupils have successively attained in this branch of science, appear very striking. What

* This work presents another instance of the rapidity of chemical progress. It was published in Berlin in 1841, and contains 768 pages. The last of the four supplements appeared in 1849, and they contain in all 762 pages. The new matter of the last eight years is equal in bulk to all that was known before!

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was formerly an undigested collection of rude stones, brought together according to no natural law, and arranged only according to weight, colour, hardness, or form, more or less imperfectly determined, analytical chemistry has classified into families and groups, beautifully scientific, and characterised by singular analogies in form and composition. It has established close relations among individuals and classes, such as could not previously be even suspected to exist. It has afforded to the philosophical generaliser the means of testing the correctness of analyses, of determining what is essential or otherwise to the composition of a mineral, and of thus assigning to it its proper place in his groups and system. And re-acting, as all such special investigations do, upon pure chemistry, the development of this branch — uniting in itself the joint investigation of composition and of crystalline form — has made known the existence of analogies and relations among long familiar elementary bodies, of which the study of merely artificial combinations had previously given us no intimation. It has been recognised, in short, that the interior of the earth is nature's laboratory, in which she is continually carrying on an endless variety of chemical operations, the results of which, like those which are obtained in our own laboratories, belong altogether to the domain, and are subjected to the recognised laws, of chemical science. Mineralogy, in so far as it is not purely physical, is, in fact, only a subordinate branch of inorganic chemistry. Pure minerals must be arranged, like all other pure chemical combinations, and like them are capable of being represented by definite literal formulæ.

No one who has not himself been for some time occupied with mineral analysis can have any idea of the world of time and labour which has been spent in the analytical investigation of mineral compounds. Among the thousands of specimens which adorn our cabinets, one beautiful group, long distinguished by the name of zeolites — hydrated silicates of alumina, with lime, potash, and soda, chemists now call them — is well known to mineralogists. The drawers now before us contain about fifty species belonging to this group. We take up at random a specimen of Laumonite, named from its discoverer, Gillet de Laumont. This mineral has been analysed successively by Vogel, Gmelin, Dufrenoy, Connel, Von Babo, Delffs, Domeyko, Malaguti, and Durocher. Nine analytical chemists have each, at successive periods, with a knowledge of the labours of their predecessors, devoted some weeks to the examination of this one stone; and yet its chemical formula and most natural relations are still open to question. On a moderate calculation,

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an amount of chemical activity equal to that of four long and laborious analytical lives, has been expended in elucidating the composition of these zeolitic minerals alone. How long must it be before a reasonable man can expect chemical mineralogy to arrive at its final settlement!

Our space admits only of an allusion to the beautiful researches into the relation of chemical composition to crystalline form in natural and artificial compounds, which have given Mitscherlich a distinguished place in the conjoined history of chemistry and mineralogy. Isomorphism, Dimorphism, Isodimorphism, and the doctrine of Replacement, are all subjects suggestive to any one well read in the history of chemical progress, of many successive labours; of memoirs and experiments full of beauty; and of numerous partial but gradually widening generalisations. But in this branch, as in the direct analyses of our zeolitic minerals, a single page of a 'systematic 'treatise' comprehends often the results of whole lives of thought and toil. The young student, as he masters the page before him, acquires the knowledge of grey-haired philosophers in the maturity of their fame and fortune. Yet he can never look upon his learning with the interest which those men feel who are familiar with the difficult passages and hard struggles through which the fame has been achieved, or the knowledge arrived at, which the page embodies.

Before quitting this topic, however, we must spare a few words for that subtle, almost microscopic, branch of qualitative analysis, where the blowpipe is made an instrument of research in mineralogy and inorganic chemistry. To Berzelius the world owes the first treatise which brought the blowpipe into general use among chemists. His volume 'On the Use of the 'Blowpipe in Chemistry and Mineralogy'* appeared in Swedish in 1820, and contained the results of many years' experience of his own, added to the earlier knowledge he had acquired from the personal instructions of Gahn. Among the men of whom Berzelius always retained an affectionate and grateful remembrance, was Assessor Gottlieb Gahn. Already advanced in years, but full of the mineralogical knowledge of his time, and skilled above every other Swede in the employment of the blowpipe in chemical inquiry, he encouraged by his kindly notice and sympathy the rising chemist, while still struggling with early difficulties. He communicated to him, also, all the

* Om Blåsrörets Användande i Kemien och Mineralogien. Stockholm, 1820. It was translated into German, French, English, Italian, and Russian.

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practical skill which the Swedish assayers, from before the time when Stahl used the blowpipe in 1700, had been gradually accumulating, and of which Bergman, with the assistance of Gahn, then his pupil, had already published a synopsis in the second volume of his 'Chemical Essays.'* The filial spirit of a grateful scholar appeared in what we have heard Berzelius say, long after Gahn's death, about his own book on the blowpipe: 'Most of what I have recorded there I learned 'from Gahn; I have only put it into my own words.' Of late years this branch of inquiry has also received great extension; and the work of Plattner ('Die Probirkunst mit dem Löthrohr'), which has been done into English by Dr. Muspratt, is now a standard authority.

Within the domain of inorganic chemistry, yet another field of vast extent is now undergoing the operation of clearing. To speak in the language of a North American settler, the trees are partially cut down; a few have already been burned; the first seed has been sown upon the spread ashes; and the green blade is beginning to cover with verdure the primeval soil. To Geology, the twin sister of Mineralogy, but of wider grasp by far and of loftier mind, Chemistry has for many years been offering her occasional aid. But the rough blockers-out of the young science were not prepared by their knowledge or pursuits to appreciate the nature and causes of by far the largest class of the manifold phenomena which the crust of our earth exhibits.

The daring mind of Davy made the first bold application of chemical knowledge to the explanation of the most impressive physico-geological phenomena which the surface of the globe now exhibits. The metal potassium, one of his great discoveries, takes fire on contact with cold water, produces much heat, and liberates a large volume of elastic (hydrogen) gas. This property of his new metal carried the philosopher's mind at once to the burning volcano and the shattering earthquake. 'Give me,' he said, 'accumulations of potassium or 'sodium, or other analogous metals in the bowels of the earth, 'and let the waters of the sea descend to them, and all the 'phenomena of the volcano and of the earthquake may be 'produced.' There is no impossibility—scarcely an improbability, as he afterwards believed—that masses of these metals should here and there exist in the interior of the earth. And it was to him an interesting fact, that nearly all the active volcanoes then known were situated near the sea; from which,

* The English Translation of this work was published in London—the first and second volumes in 1788, and the third in 1791.

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therefore, water might readily descend to such accumulations of his combustible metals. 'They *are* the cause of earthquakes 'and volcanoes,' was the conclusion, therefore, of his rapid and ardent mind; and thus he became the author and propounder of what was called the 'Chemical Theory of Volcanoes.' This theory, possessing both simplicity and beauty, was readily adopted by numerous philosophers. And, although the progress of knowledge has now greatly lessened the degree of special favour with which it used to be regarded even by inquirers after truth, yet many of Davy's old disciples still cling to it as the true doctrine of nature, and refuse materially to modify their early faith. Among English authors, this view is still upheld in the work of Dr. Daubeny*,—on other accounts a very valuable book; while a partial collection, especially of the physical facts, which are to aid future chemico-geologists in arriving at a general theory of both earthquakes and volcanoes, has been admirably commenced by Mr. Mallet of Dublin†, under the auspices, and in the published transactions, of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

But from every field or section of geological investigation, numerous chemical questions spring up. With igneous rocks, whether more ancient or more modern—with the so-called metamorphic or altered rocks, the origin, original nature and changes of each, and with the origin and relations of the numerous mineral substances they respectively contain—countless inquiries are connected which this science is called upon to answer. The slow changes to which deposits of gypsum, of rock-salt, of natron, and of nitrate of soda are due, demand for their elucidation profound chemical study. Coal and the combustible minerals, the mysterious amber and the precious diamond,—their origin, the successive changes through which their first material passed before it assumed its final form, and what were the special circumstances by which these changes were induced, promoted, retarded, or arrested,—veins filled with metalliferous minerals, or with sparry contents of various kinds; stratified deposits and veins of phosphate of lime; mineral waters,—the nature, source, and constancy of their impregnations; pure water and steam,—their agency under ordinary and extraordinary temperatures and pressures, in altering rocks and producing specific mineral combinations; the atmosphere,—its

* Description of Active and Extinct Volcanoes. Second Edition, 8vo. London: 1848.

† First Report on the Facts of Earthquake Phenomena. By Robert Mallet, M.R.I.A. London: 1850.

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past and present constitution and history, its influence on the materials which form the earth's crust, and their influence again in modifying its composition; the changes which the remains of organised beings buried in the strata induce, or have themselves undergone during the prolonged action of natural causes,—these make, severally, almost unlimited demands on the patience and sagacity of chemists, which the labours of many coming years will be unable fully to satisfy. Chemical geology will by and by be recognised as a department of geological science at least as distinct and valuable as the hitherto more popular and more generally interesting branch of Paleontology; and, as demanding a special knowledge in its cultivators at least equally extensive and profound. It will continue also to grow in interest and freshness long after the early zeal in behalf of mere descriptive geology and the geography of rocks has died away. Since the time of Davy, numerous, though less ambitious, contributions to chemical geology have been made by Berzelius, Bonsdorff, Mitscherlich, Blum, Delesse, Deville, Ebelmen, and other chemical analysts and observers. Among the latter, Professor Bischoff of Bonn has of late years taken a prominent place. And he is at present rendering an important service to this branch of the science, by embodying, along with his own peculiar views and private experiments, a learned critique upon nearly all that has been done by others in a voluminous work,—'Lehrbuch der Chemischen und 'Physicalischen Geologie,'—now issuing from the press, and of which the concluding part is promised during the present year.

Lying between the two great divisions of mineral and organic chemistry, and belonging almost equally to both, are the interesting subjects of Allotropism, Isomerism, Polymerism, Catalysis, and some others, to which recent investigations have called the attention of philosophical chemists, and which tend daily to connect the familiar and sensible phenomena of the science with the most recondite considerations of molecular philosophy. But over these topics we most unwillingly pass, that we may devote a larger space to the already wide and rapidly growing department of organic chemistry.

That this department *should* be large, will be admitted by the reader when he learns that it embraces the study of every part of every thing which lives or which has lived, and of countless compound bodies which are formed during the decay or artificial decomposition of the several parts of living things, animal or vegetable. Not only are the parts and products of

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each plant and animal very numerous, as well as the successive changes they undergo in the successive stages of their growth, and during various forms of disease, but each of the many thousands of living species in both kingdoms produces or contains some thing peculiar to itself, which chemistry must examine. Can any limit be assigned to a field so wide as this? During late years, the name of Liebig has been most prominently connected with the progress of organic chemistry. As, however, his career did not begin till the foundations of this line of inquiry had been already laid, we must commence our sketch at an earlier period.

The Alchemists had done little here. *Their* experimental trials were made for the most part upon mineral substances, although after the process of distillation came to be perfected, alcohol and some ethereal oils were discovered by them; succinic acid was obtained from amber; benzoic acid from gum benzoin; and vinegar and wood spirit from the dry distillation of wood. But it was not till towards the close of the phlogistic period that organic chemistry, in the hands of Bergman and Scheele, began to make any decided progress; nor till a still later period that it first received from Lavoisier a decidedly scientific character. Lavoisier applied to organic compounds the same method of interrogation by which he had effected his great reforms in inorganic chemistry. Of what elementary bodies does this organic compound consist?—of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, experiment answered. Then in what proportions by weight do they severally exist in it? Thus the use of the balance and the accuracy of numbers found their way also into this department of the science.

Two things now became necessary to future progress,—to devise a set of methods by which organic compounds might be obtained in a pure state, possessing constant properties and composition; and a second set, by which their elementary constituents might be separated from each other, so completely and in such a form, as to admit of being respectively weighed and measured with the necessary degree of accuracy. The latter of these objects was only imperfectly attained by Lavoisier himself, and subsequently by Fourcroy, Vauquelin (1802) and de Saussure (1807). It was more completely arrived at through the processes introduced by Gay Lussac and Thenard (1810), and those recommended by Dr. Prout, and was virtually perfected through those employed by Berzelius in the analyses which he published in 1814. It is an important point in the history of analytical chemistry, to remark that, to the methods adopted in the year 1815, scarcely any thing has since been

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added by which greater accuracy can be secured. The introduction of Liebig's beautiful tube, and the successive valuable suggestions and processes of Dumas and others, have greatly simplified, and rendered more generally attainable, the rapid and facile performance of organic analyses; but they have added little to the accuracy of the results which a careful analyst could already arrive at by the methods of 1815. Of this truth we present the following illustration.

Among the substances of which Berzelius had published analyses in 1814, were benzoic acid and benzoate of lead. It was our good fortune, subsequently, to be his guest in Stockholm in 1832, when he received from Liebig, by letter, an account of the most interesting researches of himself and Wöhler, into the nature of the oil of bitter almonds, and its kindred compounds. In this letter a doubt was expressed respecting the true formula for benzoic acid as deduced from the analyses published by Berzelius in 1814. We had, in consequence, the pleasure of witnessing a re-preparation, with his own hands, of the benzoate of lead, and a re-analysis of the acid it contained. The percentage results of these new trials were found, on turning back to the old note-book, to agree to the third place of decimals, with the numbers obtained for the composition of benzoic acid, twenty years before! The reader will not wonder that such a circumstance should have inspired us with great faith in the precision of the early as well as later methods and researches of this distinguished chemist.

Among the successive steps of more or less importance, in the progress which this branch of the science began to make, after accurate methods of analysis had been discovered, that of Chevreul proved particularly effective. In his great work upon the fats *, he showed the use of studying and analysing, not only the natural substances or compounds themselves, but the chemical changes also which they may undergo; and the new products and compounds they can be made to yield. And further, by comparing the composition as well of these products as of their combinations with other substances, with that of the natural bodies from which they were derived, he illustrated how one analysis might be made to control and test the accuracy of another; how, in this manner, most interesting views might be arrived at, in regard to the molecular constitution of organic compounds, and how, what had been hitherto very obscure chemical changes, might be lucidly explained. From him,

* Recherches Chimiques sur les Corps gras d'Origine Animale. Par M. E. Chevreul. Paris: 1823.

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therefore, must be dated the first outline of a true analytical investigation of an organic compound.

The subsequent pursuit of this method of inquiry brought into more general use the habit of representing by formulæ what is called the *rational* constitution of a body. The results of analysis show the numerical proportions in which the several elementary bodies or their equivalents exist in the compounds examined, and enable chemists to represent their composition by formulæ, which are absolutely true as expressions of these results. In the simple case of oxalic acid, for example, analysis shows with certainty that its two constituents, carbon and oxygen, are present in it, in the proportion of two equivalents of the former (C_2) to three of the latter (O_3), and that it may, therefore, be truly represented by $C_2\ O_3$. But whether the three molecules or atoms of oxygen are united directly with the two of carbon, as may be represented by $(2\ C+3\ O)$; or whether they are so arranged that two of carbon being united to two of oxygen ($C_2\ O_2$), this compound is united again with the third atom of oxygen as in $(C_2\ O_2+O)$; or whether two of a compound $C\ O$ are united with this third of oxygen, as in $(2\ C\ O+O)$; or whether finally, the well known gas, carbonic acid $C\ O_2$, unites directly with the equally well known carbonic oxide $C\ O$, so as to form oxalic acid, then truly represented by $(C\ O_2+C\ O)$; —these molecular or theoretical questions are not at all touched upon by the *empirical* formula $C_2\ O_3$, though that formula is absolutely true as a representation of the relative proportions, determined by accurate analyses, in which its constituents exist in oxalic acid.

The principle involved in the above illustration has, ever since 1814, occupied more or less of the attention of organic chemists. It has given occasion, at different periods, to violent controversies, often foolishly warm, and in the conduct of which a philosophical zeal for the truth has occasionally been overborne by individual feelings, and even by the spirit of national rivalry. But, although very different theoretical views have been successively taken, as knowledge advanced, by different chemists, in regard to the rational composition of sundry organic compounds, yet these very differences have promoted, in almost every instance, the advancement of the science. They have each suggested additional inquiries, and indicated the necessity of new and special analytical investigations; so that rational formulæ, embodying, as they often do, most valuable hypotheses or conjectures, have in reality become an element of further progress. And now it is regarded as a requisite, very desirable if not indispensable, in the formulæ for organic substances,

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that they should express, not only the relative proportions of the elements of which the substances consist, but a probable grouping of the molecules also, by which their relations to other substances of analogous composition, and their principal chemical reactions may be suggested or explained. In more Southern Europe, Dumas, Boullay, Laurent, and Gerhardt have been most conspicuous in this division of chemical labour.

In 1814, Berzelius, in his published analyses, showed that the doctrine of chemical equivalents was applicable to organic as well as to inorganic compounds; and thus by the aid of symbols, in which each elementary substance was represented by the initial letter of its Latin name, he was enabled to construct formulæ, by which, as we have said, their composition, as determined by analyses, could be truly represented. But his view then was, and many followed him in adopting it, that in organic substances consisting of three elements — carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen — the constituents were united with each other directly into *ternary* combinations, such as may be understood by placing the molecules in this manner $\overset{C}{HO}$, instead of being first united by twos, as would be represented by such formulæ as $CH+O$ or $C+HO$. In this ternary mode of union he recognised also a clear and satisfactory distinction between organic compounds, and those of the inorganic kingdom in which only binary combinations had hitherto been recognised. Already, however, in 1819, when he published the great contribution to scientific mineralogy, of which we have already spoken, Berzelius intimated his belief that the electro-chemical theory was also capable of best explaining all the phenomena exhibited by organic bodies. This involved the opinion that organic compounds were all binary, and he now began to represent the organic acids as oxides of what are now well known in chemistry by the name of compound radicals.

These so-called radicals of Berzelius were for the most part hypothetical, only supposed or assumed to exist. It was to the brilliant researches of Gay Lussac, that we owed our first acquaintance with a compound body which exhibited all the chemical relations hitherto supposed to be characteristic of the elementary substances. His discovery of cyanogen, — a compound of nitrogen and carbon, which behaved in every respect towards the elementary bodies as chlorine and iodine do, — at once astonished and enlightened the chemists of the time (1815), and was doubtless the germ of the new views soon after adopted by Berzelius (1819) and others, in reference to organic com-

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binations. This was probably hastened also by the idea thrown out by Ampere, in 1816, that, as the compound cyanogen was analogous to the electro-negative elements, chlorine, iodine, &c., so the hypothetical compound *ammonium*, consisting of nitrogen and hydrogen (NH_4), resembled in all its chemical relations the large family of metals, or electro-positive elementary bodies. But cyanogen and the supposed ammonium contained *two* elementary bodies only; and although much progress was made in rational organic chemistry by the aid of these additions to our knowledge, yet much darkness and doubt existed still. In decomposing organic substances it had often been remarked that certain elements or certain proportions of their constituent elements, were separated from a compound more easily than others, and thus appeared to be held by a less powerful affinity, or to form less necessary portions of the molecular arrangement as a whole. Did the more firmly united molecules — often containing three elements — constitute a central radical, round which the others were grouped more loosely, from which the latter might be removed without breaking up the central arrangement, or with which, instead of the latter, other elements might be combined, without altogether taking away the characteristic properties of the compound into which they were introduced? Experience could not answer this question.

Years of active thought and research scarcely yet appeared to justify the supposition that radicals containing three elements really did exist. It was pushing theory much too far a-head of experiment, — leaping too far into the unknown, — to admit that radicals might exist of which oxygen, united to hydrogen and carbon, formed a part, and which should yet appear in their relations to chlorine, and the other elementary bodies, as if they were themselves simple and uncompounded. But the dawn of a new day had come, and a gleam of fresh light was thrown upon rational organic chemistry, when in 1832, a memoir on the composition and properties of benzoyl appeared, the joint production of Liebig and Wöhler. We can well recollect the surprise and pleasure expressed to ourselves by Berzelius on the perusal of the first account of their experiments; and every one at all acquainted with the later history of this branch of the science, must be aware, how much the results of these experiments have contributed to promote its rapid advancement. Since that period, indeed, Liebig has been gradually acquiring in Northern Europe, in reference to organic chemistry, a position approaching to that so long occupied by Berzelius, in reference to the science as a whole.

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But the growing vastness of chemical knowledge forbids the idea of any second Berzelius ever appearing*, distinguished at once by special contributions to every branch, and by an intimate acquaintance, practical and theoretical, with the entire range of chemistry, mineral and organic. Future great chemists must be content to bear rule each in his own particular walk only.

It would weary our readers were we to indulge in further detail regarding the progress of organic chemistry in its pure state. That the so-called rational views on the composition of organic bodies have undergone serious alterations at brief intervals of time, and as knowledge widened, is a proof that our progress has been rapid. And again, the extent to which such changes have really taken place, is popularly shown by the successive new names which have in consequence been imposed on the same substance, and the burdensome synonymy which has thus been introduced into the science. We open at random a volume of the German Dictionary of Chemistry, to which we have already referred, and the following synonymy appears at the head of the first paragraph which catches our eye: 'Hydrochlorate of Chloride of Vinyl, — Chloride of Elayl (Berzelius), — Hydrochlorate of Chloride of Acetyl (Liebig), — Chloride of Etherin (Mitscherlich), — Hydrochlorate of Chloride of Aldehydene (Regnault), — Chloride of Hydrocarbon, — Chloric Ether, — Oil of Olefiant Gas, — Oil of the Dutch chemists, — Dutch liquid.' Ten ponderous names for a useless oily liquid, discovered by some Dutch chemists in 1795, and which is produced when olefiant gas and chlorine gas are mixed together! Probably as many more may be

* This difficulty of now mastering the science as *he* had been able to do, is put forward by Berzelius, in his Årsberättelse as far back as 1838 — of course with a very different view from ours. 'The period of my life,' he says, 'has been peculiarly favourable for the study of that science to which I have felt a natural inclination, and a similar one can never return. At the beginning of my scientific studies, new-born chemistry had scarcely left its cradle. The measure of existing knowledge did not exceed the capacity of youth to bear in mind. The whole was soon made familiar, though year by year it has been developed, and the measure of knowledge gradually increased. After forty years of progress, a mass of materials lies before the beginner of which it is impossible for him to make more than a part his own, within the period assigned to ordinary studies, and perhaps more than any one can ever altogether master, although it has not been difficult to become gradually possessed of all during a continued study of forty years.' Thirteen years of most rapid advance have elapsed since this was written, — how much more arduous, then, must the task be now!

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given to it, before either its name is finally fixed, or its nature and rational formula truly determined. As marks of progress, real or imaginary, such a series of landmarks may be very interesting; but what human memory can hope to retain them all? With the view of simplifying, harmonising, and rendering uniform, the entire nomenclature of this organic department, Leopold Gmelin, in the fourth and fifth volumes of his most learned and most valuable 'Handbuch der Chemie,' has boldly coined an entirely new system of names which are intended to supersede all that had gone before. Regnault also, in the fourth volume of his excellent 'Cours Elémentaire 'de Chimie,' has introduced some beautiful theoretical simplifications into the nomenclature of certain classes of bodies which had been suggested by Dumas and others. Both attempts are entitled to great credit, more especially the laboriously developed and long digested scheme of Gmelin. His new names have the advantage of being intelligible through the synonymes that accompany them, which is not the case with those of Regnault. But the period has not yet arrived for fixing this nomenclature; and in both cases, we fear that the premature attempt will have only ended generally in new additions to the uncouth crowd of names by which the members of this class of bodies were previously known.

Among the most recent advances which have been made since the general reception of the doctrine of organic radicals, we may mention, on the one hand, the theoretical exposition of the doctrine of types and of organic replacement so ably set forth by Dumas; and on the other, the practical isolation of many radicals long supposed to exist but not hitherto obtained in a separate state—the preparation, by artificial processes, of numerous organic compounds possessed of alcaline properties, (organic alcalies) — and the similar artificial preparation of compounds which are naturally produced in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The two latter points are deserving of a brief illustration.

It was long believed that the compound bodies formed and found in the living organism, whether animal or vegetable — which compose their tissues, or are contained in the fluids that fill their vessels—were specially produced by the agency of the principle of life; that in this agency consisted the main distinction between mineral and organic compounds; and that the production of the latter was beyond the reach of human art, operating upon mere dead matter. This belief has been gradually undermined by the progress of discovery. As early as 1811 it was known that starch and woody fibre could

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be *transformed* into sugar, and in 1822, that starch or sugar could be changed into the acid of ants (formic acid). But in 1828, the remarkable fact was established, that the characteristic animal substance, *urea*, could be artificially prepared from certain compounds of cyanogen. In later years the number of such substances previously supposed to be characteristic of living beings, which can be prepared by art, has been greatly augmented. A persuasion is, in consequence, by degrees diffusing itself, that what is called the power of life has no exclusive influence in compelling the elementary bodies to unite after any special manner, so as to produce combinations to which their ordinary affinities in fitting circumstances do not naturally dispose them. And many are of opinion also that, as our knowledge of the influence of circumstances over these natural affinities increases, we shall be able to imitate more and more closely, and in far more frequent instances, the combinations hitherto considered peculiar to living structures. This opinion derives countenance and strength from a consideration of the chemical history of what are called organic alcalies.

It was regarded among chemists as a matter of great scientific interest, when, in 1817, Serturner fully established the presence in opium of a compound body, *morphine*, possessing alcaline properties, the existence of which he had already announced in 1805. Still greater interest was excited, when, many years later, Liebig and Wöhler succeeded in preparing artificially certain compound organic substances of similar alcaline properties. Of such organic alcalies, we now know nearly a hundred, which exist in, or are obtained directly from, the parts or products of living animals and vegetables. This shows a very rapid extension in our knowledge of one class of natural compounds. But we can now reckon also seventy or eighty others which can be formed by art, and which are not known to occur in nature; while methods recently discovered by Wurtz, and especially by Hoffman, hold out the prospect of increasing almost indefinitely the number of this class of artificial organic alcalies. Now among organic alcalies there are some, such as morphine, quinine, &c., which are exceedingly valuable in medicine, and which are high in price and less abundant, because they can only be obtained as yet from vegetable productions which are of rare growth, or limited to special climatic regions. Among the most useful practical results, therefore, which we anticipate from our increased power in producing organic alcalies, is the discovery of methods by which

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these very valuable medicines may be prepared artificially, in any quantity and in any country.

But all our artificial imitations of natural products actually obtained or soon expected are prepared from substances already organised — by the mere transformation, that is to say, of the parts and products of living beings. A greater triumph to which we look forward, is the power of putting together the single or dead elements, and of making them unite so as to produce compounds which with all our discoveries can as yet only be obtained through the agency, direct or indirect, of animal and vegetable life. The muscles of animals, and the fibre of wood, for example, consist of distinct and definite chemical compounds—fibrine and cellulose they are respectively called — which our art has not yet been able to imitate, and which many have supposed to require for their production the special agency of the principle of life. What we hope finally to attain, is the power of forming from their elements the chemical compounds or raw materials — in this instance the fibrine and the cellulose — of which the muscle and the wood are chiefly composed. Of the first steps in this new career we obtain a glimpse in the artificial production, still somewhat uncontrollable, of ammonia and cyanogen in our fires and furnaces.

When we accomplish this, probably the utmost limit to which our art can aspire, the special functions of the principle of life will appear to be restricted to the higher purposes of putting these materials together so as to form the tissues and parts of living structures, and of transporting them and building them in, just where they are required. It is as if we might hope to prepare all the varied materials for a great building, without the hope of ever superseding the intelligent architect who designs the intended construction, or the living hands which are to put the building materials together.

Yet from the power over matter, with which existing progress has already invested man, how wondrously interesting are the results and substances which he can produce at will. One of these substances takes fire, and glows brilliantly when simply exposed to the air — another starts into flame when it is touched with water or with ice — a third shines in the air with a paler and more lambent but almost perpetual light — and the smell of a fourth is too nauseous to be endured. One gas when diffused through the air, in absolutely inappreciable proportion, affects those who inhale it with violent catarrh — another, when inhaled, exhilarates with a happy but fleeting intoxication — a third, if breathed but once, suddenly arrests the current of life. A single drop of one fluid, if swallowed, will produce in-

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stant death — of another, will set in motion the whole contents of the alimentary canal, — while the vapour of a third will produce speedy insensibility. One solid substance, if merely touched, will crumble to powder and change its colour—another by gentle friction will explode with a terrific detonation—while others again change by a single gleam of the brilliant sun, and produce the wonderful pictures of Talbot and Daguerre. Again, other substances are enriched with healing, balsamic and salutary virtues—assuaging, exhilarating, or strengthening at the experimenter's will — realising, in a somewhat different sense, the aspirations of the later alchemists after a universal medicine.

And then how remarkable are the changes in the sensible properties of an organic compound, and in its relations to animal life, which are produced by a very small alteration in its chemical composition! It is sufficiently striking that the union of combustible hydrogen gas with fire-supporting oxygen should produce the fire-extinguishing fluid water, and that salutary common salt should contain, mollified and disguised by its combination with a metal, sixty per cent. by weight of suffocating chlorine. But these combinations, water and common salt, consist of equal atoms of each constituent, which may readily be supposed, by their union, greatly to modify the properties of one another. In organic compounds, however, containing many molecules united together, it is more surprising that the addition of a single molecule more, should often entirely alter their properties and relations to life. Benzoyl, for example, contains twenty-one atoms — fourteen of carbon, five of hydrogen, and two of oxygen ($C_{14} H_5 O_2$), — and yet the addition of one of hydrogen to these twenty-one ($C_{14} H_5 O_2 + H$) forms the high flavoured and poisonous oil of bitter almonds; or one of oxygen added in its stead ($C_{14} H_5 O_2 + O$) forms the well known solid benzoic acid, to which our pastilles owe so much of their agreeable odour. In cinnamyle, again, there are present twenty-seven atoms, and yet one of hydrogen added to these ($C_{18} H_7 O_2 + H$) forms oil of cinnamon, and one of oxygen $C_{18} H_7 O_2 + O$), a solid substance called cinnamic acid. How very incomprehensible to us as yet are all such molecular changes!

Nor are the revelations less interesting which the analytical examination of organic bodies has made, in reference to matters which concern our daily tastes and preferences. The bouquet of wine is due to the presence of a peculiar ether, of which the mode of making or preserving the wine more or less favours the production. The wine of the grape is distinguished by containing tartaric acid, that of the apple and the pear by the

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presence, instead, of the often less pleasant or less wholesome lactic acid. The mineral matter of the flesh of animals contains much potash and phosphoric acid, but scarcely any soda, and only a small per-centage of oxide of iron; — that of milk contains, along with much potash and phosphoric acid, a considerable proportion of soda also, but still less iron than is found in flesh; — while that of blood contains only a small per-centage of potash and phosphoric acid, but nearly half its weight of common salt, and from seven to ten per cent. of oxide of iron. How very striking to the physiologist are such results as these, of which our books are full — how suggestive of applications to the arts, the wants, and the welfare of the whole human race!

Thus far we have spoken of organic chemistry only in its pure sense. But, like the inorganic department, it connects itself with other natural sciences, which are often considered independent, and in the promotion of some of them, it is assuming an influential and leading place. We have already alluded to the natural subdivision into vegetable and animal chemistry, to which the abundance of its materials has given rise. But besides this, its applications to medicine fill a large space in our pharmacopœias and treatises on Materia Medica, and in those, which, like Simon's 'Handbuch der angewandten Medezinischen Chemie,' are devoted to what may be distinguished as purely medical physiology. The general physiology both of animals and of plants is now also prosecuted mainly as a department of organic chemistry. As regards the former or animal physiology, an able and trustworthy exposition of the present state of our knowledge is contained in the 'Lehrbuch der Physiologischen Chemie,' of Dr. Lehmann, of which the second volume has just been published. Nor can the microscopical examination of structures, which has hitherto guided both animal and vegetable physiologists so much, any longer proceed without chemical aid. The microscopic investigator, besides an eye trained to observe, must for the future possess also a knowledge of the chemical relations and reactions of bodies, and considerable tact in minute chemical manipulation, if he is to carry forward those more refined physiological inquiries which now form the special field of the general histologist. In what way this combination of skill and knowledge is to be applied, and to what important consequences it may lead, will be best learned by a perusal of the volume of Professor Mulder, 'On the Chemistry of Animal and Vegetable Physiology.'

In chemical physiology, that which relates to man in a state

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of health and of disease — or physiological and pathological human chemistry—has naturally most interest for us. Already in 1806, in his published work on Animal Chemistry*, Berzelius had collected together the little that was then known, and had himself thrown considerable light upon the chemistry of life. During the remainder of his career he never lost sight of this department; and the experimental results — his own and those of Tiedeman, Gmelin, and others — which he embodied in every successive edition of his 'Lehrbuch,' and the yearly critiques on its progress which found a place in his 'Årsber-'ättelse,' caused him to be long regarded as the highest living authority upon the subject.

Among the chief later discoveries in animal chemistry was that of Protein, and its compounds, by Professor Mulder of Utrecht, first published in 1838. Notwithstanding the angry and personal discussions to which this substance has given rise among eminent chemists, and the obscurity which some still believe to hang over its composition, it must be conceded that the discovery itself forms an era in the history of animal chemistry. It has enlightened us, upon the composition of animal fluids and tissues, and upon the qualities and uses of different kinds of food; and has given rise to some most beautiful and interesting speculations on the natural relations between animal and vegetable life. The young chemist who has not read the eloquent lecture of M. Dumas on the 'Chemical 'Statics of Organised Beings,'† has yet to be introduced to one of the most delightful little books in the whole range of chemical literature.

But our chronological account of chemistry in its applications to physiology now brings us to another era — that of Liebig, to which we must briefly advert. To its history, both animal and vegetable, this celebrated chemist has not only contributed a large stock of direct and peculiar knowledge, but he has impressed nearly the whole subject, for the present, with the ardent and speculative character of his own mind. It forms, indeed, a fine study to the chemist, to place side by side the mental characteristics of the older Berzelius and the younger Liebig, as inductive philosophers. The slow, calm caution of Berzelius, who trusted little to theory, and never confidently adopted any views, in support of which sound reasons or carefully obtained experimental results could not be

* Föreläsningar i Djurkemien. Stockholm: 2 vols. 8vo., 1806–08.

† Essai de Statique Chimique des Êtres organisés. Par MM. Dumas et Boussingault. Troisième Edition, 8vo. Paris: 1844.

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adduced, was admirably fitted for basing the incipient science upon a sure foundation. But caution does not attract; and, hence, one reason why the great Swede never obtained in England even the temporary favour and regard which the impatient and confident style of Liebig so suddenly acquired. Tired of the colder manner, and more assured steps of his predecessors, our eager temperament disposed us to a ready reception of the bold and dashing hypotheses with which Liebig introduced his more popular systematic books.

We shall never ourselves forget the interest, most like that awakened by our first perusal of Ivanhoe, with which we read the earlier memoirs on the cyanic acids, which he published in conjunction with Wöhler. And we have already mentioned the high esteem in which he was held by Berzelius, at a time when he was esteemed simply as the author of analytical memoirs, many of which were certainly very beautiful. On the other hand, a due regard and respect for Berzelius upon the part of Liebig appears to have been shown until after the year 1840. In that year Liebig published his 'Organic 'Chemistry applied to Agriculture and Physiology,' and two years later, his similar work on the 'Relations of Organic Che-'mistry to Physiology and Pathology.'

In his biographical sketch of Berzelius, 'Minnesfest över 'J. J. Berzelius,' Professor Siljeström of Stockholm informs us that previous to the appearance of one or other of these works, Liebig proposed by letter to dedicate it to Berzelius, and inclosed a dedicatory note for his approval. Berzelius, in his reply, added to his thanks for the intended compliment, the remark 'that 'nothing mortal deserved so great praise;' that if the note was to accompany the dedication, he must decline the honour; and the more positively as in his 'Yearly Report' personal considerations could not prevent him from freely commenting upon the scientific views which might be advanced in the intended work. The book subsequently appeared with the dedication*, but without the dedicatory note. The critique which followed in the 'Årsberättelse of Berzelius,' and his condemnation of what he designated as *Probabilitet's Physiologie*, and the subsequent more searching examination of the work by Professor Kohlrausch, of Göttingen†, are still fresh in the recollection of

* This must refer to the German Edition, as the English Editions of both books are dedicated to the British Association.

† Physiologie und Chemie in ihrer gegenseitigen Stellung, beleuchtet durch eine Kritik von Liebig's Thierchemie. Göttingen; 1844.

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chemists; as also is the angry reply of Liebig to the remarks of Berzelius, inserted first in his journal, and published afterwards in a separate form. In the so-called 'Probabilitet's Physiologie' of Liebig, there is much beautiful poetry. Berzelius was alarmed in proportion to the genius displayed in these speculations. The influence for evil in Liebig's seductive example had made so strong an impression upon his cautious mind, — a mind advancing only from the known to the unknown, — that he expressed to us, towards the close of 1842, his firm belief that the writings of Liebig had done more harm to the safe progress of physiology than could be undone for forty years to come.

We will not discuss this subject, though our sympathies and convictions incline us to the views of Berzelius. Few men have succeeded in obtaining warmer friends and supporters from among his pupils, or of making more numerous and bitter enemies among his equals and contemporaries, than Liebig. A most undesirable facility for publishing, without supervision, what has been hastily written, is afforded by the editing of a journal. To this cause, rather than to any uncontrollable spirit or difficulty of temper, we ascribe the coarse epithets applied to Fritsche and Gerhard, the disparaging terms in which Mitscherlicht and Berzelius are spoken of, and the strong expressions poured out in successive contests with Mulder and Dumas. Nor do we ascribe to any thing worse than haste or thoughtless oversight the neglect with which, especially in the 'Chemistry 'applied to Agriculture,' so many of his predecessors in the same walk are passed over unnamed and unacknowledged, if not unkindly spoken of, at the very moment that he was making use of their experiments and results. Even the outrage to the dignity of pure science implied in the securing of patents for medicines and manures, we regard with leniency in the father of a growing family. Yet it cannot be denied that such circumstances as these have both disgusted and alienated many of his admirers.

We have observed as the characteristic of Berzelius, that he never went farther in his theories than known facts would warrant. Accordingly the philosophical world came at last to receive his opinions as eminently safe. Again, it was a recognised merit in the great memoirs of Gay Lussac, that he began by giving an introductory *résumé* of all that was known or had been done previously by others upon the subject of which he was about to treat. The least that can be said of the school of Liebig is, that it has not discouraged hasty and confident over-speculation, or that neglect of past chemical history and literature, which

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either passes over, or ignorantly appropriates, the thoughts and discoveries of its predecessors.

One feature in the course pursued at Giessen,—more resembling the tactics of a fierce party in politics than of a school for the investigation of scientific truth,—is not undeserving of reprehensible mention in a philosophical sketch like the present. Formerly, no young man beginning to handle his chemical tools, would have presumed to set up his own authority in contradiction to those of the elder chemists of the time. Suspecting himself rather, his trials would have been repeated and re-repeated, till it was made certain on which side the error lay. At Giessen this custom was abandoned. The tyro of a few months was pitted directly against the most trusted analysts, and set to repeat or refute their experiments. Than this, considered as a school exercise, nothing could be better. But to the results of these juvenile experiments, almost necessarily different, precipitate currency was given in the 'Annalen der 'Pharmacie' as corrections of the errors of their distinguished predecessors. And while not unfrequently such pretended corrections have been proved to be themselves erroneous, they have been productive of a double evil. On the one hand, they have unduly ministered to the precocious vanity of students, probably never heard of afterwards, and have taught them the wretched lesson of raising a reputation by undervaluing that of others: on the other hand, they have unhandsomely detracted from the character of older chemists, and besides all personal grievances, have caused a serious injury to science by wasting, over the verification of researches which had been causelessly called in question, much valuable time, which might otherwise have been usefully employed.

The attainment of truth ought to be the supreme aim and motive of the philosophical chemist. But how often, alas! do personal rivalry,—a haste to be distinguished,—the love of novelties, of novel views and novel names, because they are our own,—the dislike of another's views, because they are another's,—a want of the ability, intellectual or moral, to weigh and justly appreciate evidence,—the culpable desire even of causing pain to an opponent,—all the frailties, in short, to which man is exposed, interfere with this aim and motive, and retard the establishment of what is true!

But before we pass from the subject of chemical physiology, the general reader may be pleased to learn, by an intelligible example, in what way the results of experiments performed among the beakers and jars of the chemist, are applied in practice to raise the condition and abate the sufferings of man.

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Any substance that has to make its way from the human stomach, through the vessels which proceed to the various parts of the body, must be capable of being dissolved by the fluids of the body. An insoluble substance will pass unchanged and unabsorbed along the alimentary canal, and escape from the body in the usual manner, without producing any materially sensible effect. A soluble substance, on the contrary, passes into the blood, and if nutritious nourishes, if poisonous more or less injuriously affects the functions of life. Thus chemists are now familiar with methods by which in their laboratories many soluble poisonous substances can be united with other bodies, so as to become insoluble, and in this new state be rendered capable of being introduced into the stomach without injurious consequences. To perform such an experiment in the stomach, is to administer an antidote of more or less certain efficacy, against a poison which has been previously swallowed. In this way, lime and magnesia are antidotes against oxalic acid, the white of egg against corrosive sublimate, hydrated per-oxide of iron against white arsenic, and so on. These severally combine with the poisonous substance when brought in contact with it in the stomach, render it insoluble, and consequently inert. Here is a very intelligible application of chemical knowledge; but we have explained it on our way to a much more beautiful one.

Among familiar examples of slow poisoning is the disease known by the name of painters' colic. It is produced in lead mines and lead works by inhaling lead dust, and elsewhere not unfrequently by drinking water impregnated with lead. The metal being introduced into the system in a soluble form, makes its way everywhere among the tissues, and lays the foundation of chronic and frequently returning pains. But diluted sulphuric acid or sulphuretted waters, like those of Harrowgate, render lead insoluble in water, whether in the body or out of it, and are therefore prescribed as common remedies for the painters' colic. Observation, meanwhile, has shown that these remedies, though they assuage or remove the symptoms of the disease, still leave the lead which caused it diffused in an inert state through the body,—ready, when favourable conditions arise, again to act injuriously on the bodily health. It is only the other day that M. Melsens, of Brussels, perfected this subdivision of chemical physiology, and gave us the means both of detecting the lurking presence of the metal in the system, and of entirely expelling it as a cause of disease. A substance known in chemistry and pharmacy by the name of iodide of potassium is capable of decomposing the insoluble compounds of lead, and of bringing the metal into a new condition in which it readily dissolves in

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water. If a person be poisoned with lead, his system struggles to throw it off, the metal makes its way through his kidneys, and can be detected in his urine. Cure him by sulphuric acid or sulphuretted water, and with the pain the lead disappears from his urine, but remains in the system. Give him now a dose of iodide of potassium, and the pains of poisoning return, and lead reappears in the water. A large dose will prostrate him with colic, but small doses, at frequent intervals, will gradually wash away the metal without any sensible suffering. The cure is complete as soon as a large dose of the medicine brings neither a return of the anguish, nor of the lead into the fluid excretions. So, mercury after protracted salivation, lingers likewise long in the system, but the same chemical compound washes it effectually out; and over certain other hitherto unmanageable metals it exercises a similar power. The medical practitioner learns to form in the interior of the patient, and for his cure and comfort, the same preparations which the chemist, for the purposes of science, has already often formed and studied in his laboratory.

But the manner in which chemistry has been of late indispensably connected with far more refined physiological inquiries, bearing ultimately on questions of human health, may also be made intelligible.

A knowledge of functional physiology is now necessary to practical medicine. A full-bodied man is prostrated with apoplexy, heavily breathing, speechless, and scarcely a subject for hope. Where inordinate eating has been an immediate cause, to empty the bowels is to give a chance of returning sense and life. But the internal stomach is inaccessible, and the medical attendants look grave, until one bolder than the rest removes by known means a portion of the skin from the outer surface of the digestive region, and applies croton oil to the raw spot upon the senseless body. The powerful medicine is sensibly absorbed, the bowels are moved, and the patient is saved. A mere knowledge of the functions of tissues, and the nature of remedies, suggests curative applications of this description. But among the most hopeless, if not the most distressing and painful diseases to which humanity is liable, is diabetes. It is characterised by the presence of sugar in the urine, a substance not usually produced in healthy persons. Many tests by which its presence and quantity can be ascertained, have been supplied by chemistry; and the daily quantity indicates the progress or retrocession of the disease. But to check this abnormal production by administering food not easily converted into it by known processes, was nearly all the advice which chemistry

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could in this case give to medicine, and it constituted nearly all in the way of special remedy which the physician was able to employ. The cause and seat of the disease were alike unknown. A sudden glimmer, however, appears to have been thrown upon the subject through an observation by M. Bernard,—that if a slight wound be inflicted upon the fourth ventricle of the brain, a little above the origin of the eighth pair of nerves, the pneumo-gastric, which proceed among other organs to those of digestion, the urine becomes charged with sugar, and presents the other characters usual in diabetic disease. The study of chemical symptoms, therefore, must be combined with that of the chemical functions of the different parts of the body, and of the derangements of those functions which almost insensible lesions may occasion. How curious, that in a malady where both departments of science are called in, chemistry should almost exclusively fix the attention upon the urine, while physiology bids us turn our efforts chiefly to the condition of the brain! It will readily occur to some of our readers that M. Bernard's observation, if fully established, communicates directly with many other most interesting questions still open to discussion, such as those which relate to the true theoretical action and real practical effect of substances employed as food for man and other animals.

Intimately connected with inquiries such as those we have been noticing, is Sanatory Chemistry,—a subject very popular in its nature, wide in its extent, important to all classes of society in every country, and yet unfortunately but little understood, and until recently as little appreciated. The composition of the atmosphere, — the nature, needs, and effects of healthy respiration, — the properties and influence of injurious gases and exhalations, — the constitution and wholesome chemical and other influences of the sun's rays, — the priceless value of pure and abundant water, — the impurities of wells in towns,— the blessings which attend upon cleanliness of person, and in our streets and dwellings, — these are some of the comprehensive questions which this division of scientific inquiry includes, and into which chemical investigation is daily making way.

Then Forensic chemistry brings us into close contact with questions of law and the controversies of the courts. What is called Medical Jurisprudence includes only a part of forensic chemistry, and yet it boasts the elaborate treatises of Orfila, Christison, Taylor, and Beck, besides many valuable German works, and countless minor books and dissertations. Cases of poisoning form the staple branch of this department. They have recently been of unusual frequency in England, and in some instances of so wholesale a character as forcibly to arrest

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the attention of the public, and to call for legal restrictions on the sale of poisonous substances.

The introduction of a bill by Lord Carlisle for this purpose, and its subsequent passage in the present session of Parliament, has recalled to our mind a state of things which existed in Normandy a few years ago, the cause and cure for which may suggest the adoption of other measures of prevention among ourselves also, in addition to the legislative measures already passed into a law. In Normandy, it had long been the practice, as it still is in some of our southerly English counties, to use white arsenic for the steeping of seed corn, with a view to the destruction of insects and fungi — as the midge, smut, rust, &c. — by which grain crops are frequently very much injured. This abundance of arsenic among the people, and their familiarity with its use, brought every season before the courts, from the rural districts, a yearly crop of poison cases, in which arsenic had been employed for the destruction of human life. With a view to provide a remedy, it was at first remitted to the Departmental Society of Agriculture, to inquire whether this use of arsenic was indispensable, and whether in the *chaulage du blé* other substances of a less dangerous character might not replace it both effectually and economically. The experiments made by direction of the Society enabled them to report that arsenic might be dispensed with, and that less deadly substances were as cheap and efficacious. A law was passed in consequence, forbidding the use of arsenic in the preparation (pickling) of seed corn, and the annual group of poisoning trials disappeared. If, as we believe, it is chiefly in those parts of England where arsenic has been so employed for agricultural purposes, that our home poisonings with it have also been most frequent, the abandonment or prohibition of it in the farm might not only remove in some cases the means and direct temptation to crime, but might in others take away also a source of evil suggestions which afterwards lead to the purchase of poison for otherwise unthought-of ends.

> 'How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
> Makes ill deeds done!'

Forensic chemistry, besides such questions as properly engage the medical jurist, embraces also a crowd of inquiries, almost endless in variety, connected with the validity and alleged infringement of patents, with the adulteration of substances liable to duty for the purpose of defrauding the revenue, with the creation of nuisances, or with the injuries produced by manufacturing operations. It is also more or less directly interested in all those adulterations of articles of domestic consumption,

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by which the health and comfort of the people are liable to be affected, and against which the public are driven to seek protection in courts of law. Upon these topics we cannot dilate. But such of our readers as feel an interest, especially in regard to the instances we have mentioned last, will consult with advantage the excellent manual which Dr. Adolf Duflos has dedicated to this vitally important subject.*

The small remainder of our space is due to the consideration of general chemistry as an aid to industry, both individual and national. And here, taking the more comprehensive works of Schubarth or of Knapp, as our guides, we might illustrate by a thousand special cases the direct money value of chemical knowledge, and even of profound chemical research, to the material prosperity of a country like our own.

In its application to the arts of life, indeed, almost as easily as in any other way, the progress of this science can be palpably made manifest to the most ordinary understanding. If the older work of Aiken on the Chemical Arts be compared with the later Dictionary of Dr. Ure, or the treatise of Dumas, and these again with the still later German publications, it will be seen not only that all the separate arts known to the older author (Aiken) have been greatly improved — old difficulties, delays, and expenses removed by the discovery of new methods — but that numerous new arts are described, which in the interval have sprung into existence and assumed a more or less important place among the sources of national or local wealth. And further, by a comparison of the newest work on Chemical Technology with the one immediately preceding it, the rate of progress at the present moment will be found to be more rapid than at any previous period in chemical history.

Or a person less conversant with books, but who takes some interest in the matter, may arrive at the same result in another way. If, bearing clearly in his mind what he had seen during a pains-taking visit to the workshops of London, Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, or Glasgow, some thirty years ago, he should now again revisit these centres of industry and attempt to compare their present with their past processes and products, the change would appear absolutely wonderful. The new, more

* Die wichtigsten Lebens-Bedürfnisse, ihre Aechtheit und Güte. Breslau: 1846. Now that coffee and chicory, and wheaten flour, and so many other articles of daily use are the subjects of countless adulterations, a book like that of Duflos's, but adapted to our circumstances, has become a want in English literature. Since Accums' 'Death in the Pot,' we have had no special book devoted to this subject.

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speedy, and simpler modes of arriving at the same results — the numerous subdivisions of labour, elevating what were probably regarded as mere processes of detail, into separate manufactures and branches of business — the multitude of new and totally distinct arts and workshops — the new intellectual resources which even common men seem now to have at easy command — and the new uses to which the waste materials of former years are now applied, — these will astonish him almost as much as our machine shops, in which the fingers of the dexterous workman appear to persuade rather than compel the inert material to do his bidding, until the dead metal seems fashioned to do something little less than think.

To watch from year to year the details of improvements like those which our visitor would recognise, is one of the most interesting occupations of the scientific observer. Difficulties bring out resources. Even apparently insurmountable crises in a manufacture only stimulate the energies of the conquering intellect. An important branch of industry appears about to succumb — to shift its locality at least, and take up a more favoured home in another country, — when chemistry suggests that its work should be done after a new fashion. The suggestion is adopted, and the greater perfection and economy which attend the change, give the old locality a fresh start, and secure to the failing manufacture fresh triumphs over dreaded rivals.

A change in fiscal regulations, the competition of slave labour and other causes, have threatened to root out the growth of sugar from our West India colonies. But a chemical experiment, made in Brussels by Melsens, suggested to him improvements in the treatment of cane juice, which promise to give to capital and skilled labour in this branch of industry the same victory over mere manual toil, which in all other arts they have gradually been acquiring. Again, the progress of the art of spinning had not only enabled the cotton machinery to produce threads of a fineness which Indian beauties never dreamed of, but the costliest linen cambrics of Holland and Flanders were already surpassed by the produce of our native looms. The machinery of the flax mills, however, had exhausted its skill upon the stubborn material, which refused to stretch to a more subtle fibre, or produce a finer yarn. But chemistry examined the substance by which the fibres are naturally held together; and forthwith spinning by the aid of steam heat compelled the glutinous matter to relax its hold and the delicate fibres to slip along each other into threads of previously unattainable tenuity. The steeping of flax too was a tedious process, pregnant with nauseous exhalations and with frequent disease. For ages par-

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ticular streams were famed for their efficacy in steeping, and particular localities enjoyed centuries of reputation for their unspun flax. The fineness of the fibre depended on the plant being neither full grown nor rank: and it was held impossible to grow to a profit both seed and stem at once. But a new mode of steeping has been devised by Schenk owing to a chemical discovery. This invention has shortened the process to a few hours; has placed all localities on an equal level, by making all tolerably pure waters equally available; has abolished the yearly nuisance and frequent disease; has extracted the finest fibre from the rankest and ripest plant; and has thus placed within the reach of the farmer and of the country the double profit of a full crop of ripe seed, along with a heavy harvest of luxuriant stems. Even upon this improvement further improvements are already spoken of, and a rival patentee is threatening to supersede, by the employment of steam, the hot water employed in the process of Schenk. Further, a cloud was approaching the factories of Lancashire. Cotton, the growth of a rival country, it is feared, might become scarce, and rise in price, — consequences which would seriously embarrass our staple manufacture. Another chemical process here steps in, tears still further in pieces the single hollow fibres of the flax, and produces a material which resembles cotton in appearance, can be spun with the same machinery, and according to the discoverer, M. Claussen, may in all probability be brought into the market at a price low enough to compete successfully with natural cotton. Thus a new material is likely to be supplied to our home manufactures, and at the same time a boundless field opened, and a new stimulus given, to our home agriculture — a new bond, in fact, created between the already inseparable interests of our town and country communities. M. Claussen already speaks of larger orders than can be supplied.

As in this way the science of chemistry has lent itself to the advancement of one art, so it has done with a thousand others.

The paper on which we write — the child of waste flax and cotton fabrics — tells us daily of its obligations to chemical research. The discovery of chlorine gave a method of removing all colour from tissues which had been dyed or printed with vegetable or animal colours. It thus widened the sources of the supply of his raw material to the manufacturer, and kept down the price of paper to the consumer, while the demands of the press and the post office increased.* Then, after numerous adjustments

* We have before us a literary curiosity which indicates another direction into which the scarcity of material guided the research of

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had perfected this application, it was found difficult, under certain circumstances, to prepare a pulp so free from excess of chlorine as to prevent, in the lapse of time, the bleaching of the ink upon the paper which was made from it. But this difficulty also has been overcome: and the prescribed use of an *anti-chlor*, as the makers call it, employed according to their prescription, removes the entire residue of the bleaching substance, and secures to well-prepared ink an indelible permanence. Still the bleached material is often deficient in whiteness, to disguise which the manufacturer copies the expedient of the laundress; or a decided blue tint, as in the paper before us, is wished for, and the requisite colouring matter must be added to the pulp.

The preparation of the beautiful smalts of our workshops from the crude poisonous ores of cobalt is one of our latest triumphs. This fine blue was employed by the paper makers, but the best qualities were very dear. The precious ultramarine, which the devotee of the highest art could barely afford to purchase, was looked upon with covetous eyes by the cultivators of this and of many other arts of life. But to obtain it, in sufficient quantity, and at a reasonable price, was beyond their hope. Chemists analysed it, and determined its composition; in their hands the ingredients of which it is made up still resisted all persuasion to re-unite into the coveted blue. Men's eyes being instructed, however, a blue substance was observed occasionally to present itself in the refuse of certain processes of chemical manufacture. This refuse was collected, examined, analysed, and found in quality and composition to be identical with the natural ultramarine. An after study of the conditions under which it was produced in the furnace, suggested the successive processes of a new manufacture; and the paper maker, along with a thousand others, now rejoices in supplies of Nuremberg blue, or artificial ultramarine, which can be made in any country, from materials common and abundant,

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paper makers about the beginning of the present century. It is entitled 'Historical Account of the Substances which have been used 'to describe Events and to convey Ideas from the earliest Date to the 'Invention of Paper: printed on the first useful Paper manufactured 'solely from Straw. London, 1800.' It is a thin 8vo., of which part is printed on paper made from straw, and the remainder on paper made from wood. Among the many uses to which it has been proposed from time to time to turn the Irish bogs, one is to convert them into paper! We possess a sample of beautiful pure white pulp, fit for the paper-mill, prepared from peat by chemical treatment; and we believe both straw and peat are now used, to some extent, in the manufacture of inferior kinds of wrapping and hangings paper.

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and with shades of colour which vie with the brightest and most beautiful that live on the immortal canvass.

Nor do results of a higher order fail at times to show themselves. We close by one brief example.

Among the substances which are contained in and are necessary to the composition and usefulness of the bread of man, is one to which chemists give the name of phosphate of lime. This material the growing corn extracts from the soil. Without its presence in sufficient abundance in the earth through which its roots spread, the plant flourishes poorly, the ear is ill-filled, and the produce of grain scanty. The bones of animals contain this phosphate of lime, and it has for half a century been customary to apply them in a crushed or broken form to the soil to fit it for the healthy growth of luxuriant crops of corn. But chemistry established the fact that certain stones and rocky masses which occur in various parts of the earth, contain the same phosphate of lime. It has recently, therefore, advised the grower of grain to take advantage of these mineral masses. And now, after previous preparation, by a simple chemical process, they are extensively employed to impart fertility to the soil. In the account of the temptation of our Saviour the tempter said, 'If thou be the Son of God, command that these 'stones be made bread.' In our indirect conversion of stones into bread, the prosecution of science has conferred upon man a power analogous to that which to common apprehension partakes of the divine. It is the Deity rewarding with a portion of his own power, the right exercise of that sublime intellect which is a portion of his own spirit.

Our illustrations of the wide dominion and vast applications of this growing science must here cease. We have not dwelt so long upon its history and recent progress with the view of merely placing before our readers an intelligible picture of its actual importance at the present moment. Our hope is, that from the glimpse we have given of its past and present, an idea may be formed also of the great future which awaits it, and a right estimate made of the position it ought to occupy in national estimation, the proportion of study which ought to be generally devoted to it as a part of liberal education, and the share of sympathy and support which are due to those who cultivate it by profession.

A science which asserts a rational sway over every kingdom of nature — which is indispensable as an auxiliary to so many other branches of physical knowledge — which explains so many most striking natural appearances, and which, is related in such

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countless ways to the arts and conveniences of life, is surely entitled to as high a place as any other among all the sciences which, in the progress of civilisation, are contending for precedency and homage. It has this advantage, too, above almost all other sciences, that the condition of man here below depends in great measure for advancement upon its future progress, while no other pursuit has enlarged its sphere so wonderfully, nor been rewarded with such astonishing success. The promises of alchemy were nothing to what has already been accomplished.

'We have no curiosity about that of which we know nothing,' was said by Sismondi. It is the almost total ignorance of chemistry on the part of our older university men, which has hitherto excluded this branch of knowledge from the list of subjects of instruction in nearly all the educational institutions over which their influence extends. We can neither appreciate the claims nor the value of a science of which we have been taught nothing. We cannot even by private study learn to appreciate them justly when the science is one which is incapable, from its very nature, of being taught by books alone.

The modern practice in our English colleges and universities of selecting the heads and teachers almost exclusively from their own house-taught members or alumni, tends to perpetuate the exclusion of modern and growing branches of knowledge, and to stereotype old forms and confined limits in collegiate and scholastic teaching. Even the now long-favoured Greek had once difficulties to overcome similar to those which at present beset the sciences of observation. The pressure for innovation and improvement must, therefore, be made from without by those who feel the urgency of each particular instance: and in this way strength will be given to the hands of the few men within, who are aware of the real advances and value of positive knowledge *, and of the demand for it which exists throughout the great body of the nation.

We have been struck by some facts and reasonings in connexion with this subject in a pamphlet † recently published by Principal Wayland, of Brown University, Providence, New Jersey. From this pamphlet it appears that, though the population of New England has been greatly increasing during the last twenty

* Oxford, we are glad to see, has broken the ice, and has recently raised the stipends of the Professor of Chemistry, and of the Reader of Experimental Philosophy, and of the Camden Professor of History, to 300*l.* a year each; with 250*l.* a year each to the Readers in Mineralogy and Geology, and to the Professor of Moral Philosophy.

† Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on the Changes in the System of Collegiate Education. Providence: 1850.

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or thirty years, the number of students at its various colleges and universities, even those of most repute, has been gradually decreasing. At first this was ascribed to the great expense of the existing system of college education, and efforts were made to lessen it by lowering the fees and the cost of board. But the reduction in numbers still went on, and it has not been arrested even in those colleges in which education has been given gratuitously. It was not owing, therefore, to any undue expense in the system. Nor did it arise, as Dr. Wayland shows, from want of talent in the professors, from defective modes of teaching, or from inefficient examinations for university honours. He concludes, therefore, in mercantile phraseology, that 'the 'article which the universities offer for sale is not such as the 'public want, and therefore they don't come to buy it.' He proposes, in consequence, to the trustees of his own college, to remodel the whole system of instruction, to create new courses of study, comprehending those branches of knowledge which are actually in public demand, so arranged as to afford time to learn each branch as thoroughly as circumstances may require, and to attach to eminence in each honorary distinctions similar to those hitherto awarded in the form of degrees in arts. Thus, instead of one fixed and invariable routine, he would offer students the choice of several sets of equivalent studies, a due acquaintance with which on examination should entitle the candidates in them to equal honours. If a fair measure of success should follow this movement in Brown University, it must exercise a powerful influence upon the other colleges in the United States, and ultimately upon those of our own country.

But whatever fate may await the wide reform of Dr. Wayland, it is plain, we think, that in a century during which the progress of civilisation has taken so distinctly positive and material a direction, the science of Chemistry, which presides over material progress in so many of its most interesting and important directions, cannot remain shut out from its legitimate place and influence in the educational institutions of the empire.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1851.

No. CXCII.

ART. I. — *A Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Sclavonic Languages.* By Professor F. BOPP. Translated from the German principally by Lieutenant EASTWICK, M.R.A.S. Conducted through the Press by H. H. WILSON, M.A., F.R.S., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. London: 1845–50.

'COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY' is a science of very modern date. It cannot trace its lineage much higher than the beginning of the present century, and it is scarcely received as yet on a footing of equality by the elder branches of learning. Classical Philology, in particular, as if afraid of the [illegible] a younger sister, has for a long time treated Comparative [illegible] lology with a kind of supercilious pride, and in [illegible] hostile feeling of the two rivals has vented itself [illegible] and quarrels. Comparative Philology has [illegible] its ground successfully against the prejudices and [illegible] which every thing new has to contend with. [illegible] the attention of men of the highest rank in other [illegible] learning, and the author of 'Kosmos' [illegible]

* 'Languages, compared with each other [illegible] of the natural history of the human mind [illegible] according to the analogy of their [illegible] (and it is [illegible] brilliant [illegible] last [illegible]

among the most brilliant fruits of modern research. Classical scholars also begin to acknowledge the importance of this new science. *Otfried Müller*, the celebrated author of the 'Dorians,' was one of the first to appreciate fully the value of the new discoveries which had been made in the field of language. 'Matters have come to that point,' he says, 'that Classical 'Philology must either resign altogether the historical under-'standing of the growth of language as well as all etymological 'researches into the shape of roots and the organisation of 'grammatical formations, or trust itself on these points entirely 'to the guidance and counsel of Comparative Philology.' The old system of etymology, if system it can be called, in which, as *Voltaire* remarked, 'la voyelle ne fait rien, et la consonne 'fort peu de chose,' has certainly been stopped effectually by the introduction of comparative grammar. Its principles have been stated and carried out in a number of works, full of erudition and ingenuity, particularly in Germany, where it is taught at present in every university. All this we consider a fair proof of the solidity and genuineness of Comparative Philology, and although it is still very far from having arrived at full maturity, yet it must be admitted that it has fairly come of age.

The name which it has assumed shows at once the comprehensive character of this new science. In the same way as Comparative Anatomy comprises not only the anatomy of the human body, but of all organic beings, Comparative Philology does not restrict itself to Greek and Latin, but includes all

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Products of the mental power, they lead us back, by the fundamental characters of their organisation, to an obscure and otherwise unknown distance. The comparative study of languages shows how races or nations, now separated by wide regions, are related to each other, and have proceeded from a common seat; it discloses the direction and the path of ancient migrations; in tracing out epochs of development it recognises in the more or less altered characters of the language, in the permanency of certain forms, or in the already advanced departure from them, which portion of the race has preserved a language nearest to that of their former common dwelling-place. The long chain of the Indo-European languages, from the Ganges to the Iberian extremity of Europe, from Sicily to the North Cape, furnishes a large field for investigations of this nature into the first or most ancient condition of language. The same historical comparison of languages leads us to trace the native country of certain productions, which, since the earliest times, have been imported objects of trade and barter. We find that the Sanskrit names of true Indian productions — rice, cotton, nard, and sugar, — have passed into Greek, and partly into the Semitic languages.' — HUMBOLDT, *Kosmos*, vol. ii. p. 142.

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languages spoken by man. Its first task, therefore, consists in collecting as large a mass of material as possible. Specimens of human speech, whether derived from the masterworks of Greek and Latin authors, or from the clucking utterance of Bosjesmans, from the Steppes and the Prairies, from the tombs of Egypt, or the Runes of Iceland, and the mountain records of Persia—all are equally welcome to the Comparative Philologist. Wherever commercial enterprise, warlike expeditions, or the pious labours of Christian missionaries open an unexplored field for natural sciences, Comparative Philology follows in their track, and avails itself of every newly discovered specimen of human speech. Its limits are as wide as the limits of the habitable world.

Yet it must not be supposed that the peculiar character of Comparative Philology consists in the mere work of accumulating languages. The late Cardinal *Mezzofanti*, who spoke about thirty languages, was not therefore a Comparative Philologist. The difference between Philology, whether classical or Oriental, and Comparative Philology is more essential. Classical as well as Oriental Philology considers language merely as a key to an understanding of the written documents which antiquity has bequeathed to us; as a spell to raise from the tomb of time the thoughts of great men in different ages and countries, and as a means ultimately to trace the political, intellectual, and moral progress of mankind. Although the study of grammar is a *conditio sine quâ non* with every scholar, yet the highest aim of a Greek or Latin grammar does not go farther than a thorough knowledge of the laws and peculiarities of the Greek and Roman tongue, as they have been preserved to us in the classics. Comparative Philology, on the contrary, uses the literary remains of all nations as a means to arrive at an understanding of the nature and laws of language. Language itself becomes the object of inquiry. If we consider the immense number of tongues which are spoken in the different parts of the world, with all their dialectic and provincial varieties, if we observe the great changes which each of these languages has undergone in the course of centuries, we see that language has, like man, a history of its own. Without studying this history, and analysing the forms of language in their local variety and historical progress, it is impossible to form any correct and distinct idea of the real nature of language. For if we did not know by experience, that there existed a large number of different idioms, would it not be the most natural supposition that the language of mankind should be the same in all climates? If speech is a faculty, planted in the inmost nature of man,—

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if it is connected with man as intimately as the reasoning faculties of the mind, or the perceptive faculties of the senses, why should the one be subject to historical and local changes, while the other remains unaltered in all times and countries? We see and hear everything around us in the same way as the nations of Africa and America, and if we try to reason with savages, on things familiar to them, we find that their logic is exactly the same as our own. The only difference between them and ourselves consists in a higher or lower degree of cultivation, in a more or less skilful use of the organs of body and mind. Yet there is not one word in their languages which expresses the same idea by the same sound as we do.

Even if this variety of languages be explained by the admission of an early confusion of tongues, or taken for granted like any other fact of natural history, we certainly should not suppose, unless we had the historical documents of earlier ages before us, that one and the same language could become so different, in the course of time, as the language of Shakspeare is from that of Alfred the Great, the language of Dante from that of Cicero, the language of Göthe from that of Charlemagne; and, we may add, if we accept the views of Comparative Philology, the language of the 'Times' from that of the 'Veda.' The notes of the nightingale, though different from those of the lark, are the same to-day as they were thousands of years ago—why should the language of men have changed? We may see three or four generations living together, and we always find that the great-grandfather understands the stammering of his great-grandson. Who would imagine then, that after thirty generations a language could change so much as to become apparently quite a different one? Yet such is the case if we compare the language of St. Augustin, in the fifth century, with that of Dante at the beginning of the fourteenth.

It is clear, therefore, that the nature of language cannot be studied either in the abstract or by means of but one of its numerous varieties, like our own language, but that an historical method alone can lead to satisfactory results. In order to know, for instance, how English came to be what it is at present, it is necessary to study all the languages which have either influenced it, or materially contributed towards its formation. It is principally from the Anglo-Saxon and Norman that the history of the English 'speech' must be studied, but a knowledge of the Old Teutonic, the Scandinavian, the Latin, and Celtic languages is not less essential.

The *Romance languages* are in this respect the most interesting, because we can here watch the gradual decay of the mother-

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stock and the formation of its affiliated dialects, the Provençal and French, the Italian and Walachian, the Spanish and Portuguese. We can see the old forms of the Latin grammar gradually losing their expressive power, and auxiliary words, such as prepositions and articles, coming in to form the new declensions, while the decaying structure of the conjugations is propped up by auxiliary verbs. Some of the old forms linger on for a time, and the new periphrastic expressions are at first used with a certain reserve, but at last the whole structure of modern languages is overgrown by them. The old conjunctions and adverbs give way to more distinct expressions and circumlocutions, and these, by a rapid change, coalesce again into new words. We may be allowed to give a few instances.

The Latin *tunc*, we find still only slightly altered in the old Spanish *estonze* (*ex tuncce*) and in the Walachian *atunci* (*ad tuncce*). But in French and Italian quite a new word has been introduced, which meant originally 'at that hour,' 'ad illam horam,' the Italian *allora*, the French *alors*. The same word '*hora*,' may still be recognised in the Spanish *esora*, ipsâ horâ, 'at this 'very hour,' and in the French and Italian *encore* and *encora*, *i. e.* hanc horam, 'at this hour.' The French *désormais*, henceforth, consists of four words, *d-és-or-mais*, de ipsâ horâ magis, 'from 'this hour,' while the corresponding Spanish *de hoy mas* is a corruption of de hodie magis, 'from to-day.' So, again, most of the substantives in the Romance languages are easily derivable from the Latin, particularly if we take into account not only the classical, but also the more vulgar, the middle-age and clerical Latin. The French *ménace*, Italian *minaccia*, Spanish *amenaza*, finds its explanation in the Latin *minaciæ*, which Plautus used instead of *minæ*. Cicero says, he does not venture to use the word *medietas* (bina media, vix enim audeo dicere medietates); yet this is the word which has given rise to the French *moitié*. Words like the French *compagnon*, Ital. *compagno*, Spanish *compaño*, do not find an explanation in the classical Latin, but *companium* is a word furnished by the later Latin, and probably derived from *companis*, a companion, lit. 'one who shares his bread with another.' Words frequently modify not only their form, but their meaning also. In the French *une gène*, we may still catch a glimpse of the Latin, or rather Hebrew, '*una gehenna*,'* in *jaloux* of *zelosus*, in *parole* of *parabola*. But there are words and grammatical forms in French which cannot be explained by a mere reference to

* Montaigne in his 'Essais' says, 'Je me suis contraint et ge-'henné pour maintenir ce vain masque.'—Livre II. chapitre viii.

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Latin. If we inquire after the origin of the French future *je chanterai*, we shall find no analogy in Latin, for the theory that it is derived from *cantabo* or *cantavero*, has long been exploded. And again, a word like the French *même*, 'even,' or *moi même*, 'myself,' has no form in Latin corresponding to it.

In these cases it is necessary to apply a different principle. Languages which cannot be explained by themselves, or by the old language out of which they arose, may still be explicable in their new formation by collateral evidence, taken from other tongues which sprang from the same source. Now, as Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese are known to have had the same parentage as French, a reference to them ought to throw light on many obscure points of French grammar, and perhaps furnish the link wanting to connect the French with its parent, the Latin. The Italian Future is *canterò*, which by itself is not much clearer than the French *je chanterai*. But there is an old Italian form *canter-aggio*, the termination of which (*aggio*) is known as a different form of the verb *Io ho*, I have. That the auxiliary verb, 'I have,' was used for the formation of the Future, we learn from the Sardinian, where *appu*, I have, is put before the verb, *appu essi, has essi, hat essi*, I shall, thou wilt, he will be. It becomes therefore probable that *canteró* also was originally *cantar ho*, I have to sing, I shall sing, and that the Spanish *cantaré*, the Portuguese *canteréi*, as well as the French *je chanterai*, were meant to express the meaning of 'I have to sing,' *j'ai à chanter*. The decisive proof, however, of the correctness of this derivation we receive from the Provençal language, which at times separates the auxiliary verb from the infinitive by a pronoun; as *dar vos n'ai*, 'je vous en 'donnerai,' *dir vos ai*, 'je vous dirai,' *dir vos em*, 'nous vous 'dirons,' instead of 'nous avons à vous dire.' This mode of expressing the future once understood, we find an analogy also in Latin phrases, like 'habeo dicere.' As to the French *même*, it can be traced back to the old French *meisme*, and this again is to be compared with the Spanish *mismo*, and the Portuguese *mesmo*. A step farther brings us to the Italian *medesimo*, this to the Provençal *medesme*, and this to the older Provençal from *smetessme*. Knowing that Latin *ipse* becomes changed into *es* in the Romance languages (as esora — ipsâ horâ), we have to re-translate the *essme* of *smetessme*, and the *esimo* of *medesimo*, into the Latin *ipsissimus*, and after this *smetessme* scarcely differs from the Latin *semet ipsissimus*, which is the key to the French *même*.

The advantages of this method, as applied to the study of different members of one and the same family of languages, are

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evident. It is as if we had before us the diaries of several travellers who all set out on the same journey, but who, according to their individual tastes and characters, noted down the various events in their passage from place to place in a different style and a different spirit. When this collateral evidence is wanting, our knowledge of the historical progress of any single idiom must generally be deficient and uncertain. The Greek language, for instance, which in ancient times exhibits so great a variety of dialectical formations, has come down to us only in one narrow stream, as the modern Greek. In trying to account for the new grammatical forms of this classical idiom, we look in vain for that kind of collateral evidence which the six parallel dialects of the language of Rome offer in such abundance; so that if we cannot explain the new modes of expression by a reference to the old Κοινή, we are left without any further help. Happily the changes which the language of Athens suffered in its transition from the old to the modern Greek, are less considerable by far than those experienced by the Latin during the vicissitudes of its historical and national development. Most of the new grammatical forms can still be recognised by a classical scholar. The declension has been preserved almost entirely the same as in the ancient grammar. The conjugation also contains hardly any new elements. Some forms have gone out of use, as, for instance, the Dative in the declensions, the Dual in declension and conjugation, the Optative, and also, to a great extent, the old Infinitive. There are also some few periphrastic tenses which have found their way into the modern Greek; but they are by no means so perplexing as similar forms in the Romance dialects. Everybody acquainted with the character of secondary formations in language, will understand at once the process by which compound tenses, such as *θέλω γράψει*, I shall write, *ἔχω γράψει*, I have written, *εἶχα γράψει*, I had written, *ἤθελα γράψει*, I should write, have been formed; and, with the exception of foreign words, which may easily be traced back to their original source — the dictionary of the *ῥωμαικὴ γλῶσσα* offers hardly any difficulties.

But if in languages like the modern Greek, we can explain the new formations by comparing them with the ancient types out of which they have sprung, it is evident that this method would altogether fail, if we tried to apply it to an analysis of ancient idioms.

As, generally speaking, we know no Greek before Homer, no Latin before Ennius, no German before Ulfilas, it is impossible to trace the historical formation of these languages farther back. There is no language, or at all events we do not

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know it, from which the Greek, Latin, and Gothic, under their oldest forms, could be said to have been derived. The only method of investigation, therefore, which can be applied to these languages, consists in a comparative analysis of cognate idioms, a method which was suggested to us before, in exploring the growth of the modern offshoots of the Latin stock—the Romance dialects. It is true that attempts have been made to derive German from Latin, Latin from Greek, and Greek from Hebrew, yet such theories would scarcely find an advocate in the present century.* If, therefore, the nature and laws of the old languages which, historically and philosophically, claim the highest importance, are to be explained at all, it can only be done by a comparative analysis of cognate tongues; and this is *the object of Comparative Philology.*

But how is it possible, with this chaotic mass of languages from all parts of the world before us, to say, which are cognate languages, and which are not? Although Comparative Philology may exclude all modern or secondary languages, yet the number of old and primary languages is so large, and the characters of many even of them at first sight, so heterogeneous,

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* The Greek language has always been a rich source for mystical etymologists. We give a few amusing specimens of these derivations in support of a theory, that the whole history of the world from China to Russia is nothing but an allegorical representation of human life:—

La Chine, hiatus, de χαίνω, hisco, représente l'enfant-monde, ouvrant la bouche pour respirer et se nourrir; l'ennui du monde.

L'Egypte, activitas resupina; Αἰγύπτιος, de αἴξ, αἰγός, capra, le grand symbol de la vivacité d'esprit, dans le langage allégorique, et de ὕπτιος, resupinus, représente l'enfant-monde au berceau, soumis comme on sait qu'étaient les Egyptiens.

La Babylonie, inarticulation des paroles et confusion des pensées; de *baba*, vox inarticulata, et ὕλων de ὕλη, materia, sylva, symbole des idées croissantes comme des arbres.

L'Assyrie, qui avance vers l'ordre et l'arrangement des idées; de ἄσσον, prope, et ὕριον, favus, les cellules hexagones.

La Medie, qui commence à méditer en soi-même, à former des desseins; de μῆδος, consilium.

La Perse, la première jeunesse, fougueuse, emportée; de πέρθω, infinitif actif, πέρσαι, vasto.

Athènes, la vigueur florissante; ἀθάνα, immortalitas, de ἀ privatif, et θάνατος, mors.

Rome, la virilité forte et robuste de l'animal-monde.

La Russie, les rides de la vieillesse; de ῥυσός, rugosus.

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that it would be impossible to advance one step towards a scientific solution of the problem in question, without first trying to arrange the whole mass in certain groups or families.

If in the cases mentioned before, we had taken German or English, instead of Italian and Spanish, to explain the formation of the Future in French, we should have found no explanation at all, or probably a wrong one. Yet both these languages are immediately bordering on the French, and both show by their vocables, that they are largely indebted to the Latin, from which the French also is derived. With regard to modern languages, indeed, a knowledge of the political history of the nations by whom they were spoken, is generally sufficient to indicate their genealogical connexion; but we have no such help for classifying the languages of old nations.

This classification had been attempted long before the rise of Comparative Philology, but it had never before been founded on the nature of language itself. Languages had been classified either according to their geographical distribution, (such as the languages of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia,) or according to the physical races of man by whom they were spoken (such as the Caucasian, Mongolian, Negro and Malay). It was usual also, to speak of sacred and profane, classical and oriental, living and dead languages, but all these divisions were based only on external accidents. By undertaking, for the first time, a classification of languages according to the peculiar character of their etymological and grammatical structure, Comparative Philology has found that tongues, spoken in the most distant regions of the world, and by nations apparently unconnected by any historical intercourse, may yet belong to the same family, while, in other cases, languages, spoken in one and the same district, can be shown to be of a totally different origin. Great results have been obtained in this manner, and other sciences, like Ethnology and History, have largely availed themselves of these new discoveries. Yet, however interesting and important the facts may be, which have been elicited from a comparison of languages, this subject is as yet very far from being exhausted. There are still languages in the world which have never been studied at all. Many others are known only by scanty and often untrustworthy lists of words. And although the characteristic features and broad outlines of several groups have been established by philological research, yet the number of languages which have been subjected to a careful analysis of their grammatical and etymological structure, is comparatively small. It is true that for general purposes, lists of words, when drawn up carefully, are sometimes sufficient, if not

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to prove, at least to indicate, the connexion of languages. This process, however, has so frequently been found unsuccessful, that Comparative Philology has altogether discouraged it. It is true also, that as a first attempt a division of languages, according to their general character, may be instructive. Yet by knowing that certain tongues are *monosyllabic*, *agglutinative*, or *inflectional*, we know little more than a scholar of natural history, who has observed, that some animals have two, and others four legs, while some have no legs at all. It is much the same, as if we were to classify men, birds, and whales as bipeds, or eels and serpents as fishes. This is not meant, to deny that terms such as monosyllabic, agglutinative, and inflectional, synthetic and analytic, are very useful and appropriate for a classification of languages. But such terms have a meaning only after languages have been subjected to the most careful analysis, and, so to say, to a microscopic anatomy of their grammar. They mean nothing at all in the mouths of people, who do not know even the alphabets of the very languages which they venture to classify.* The less we know of lan-

* A striking confirmation of this is offered in a work lately published by Dr. Latham, 'On the Varieties of Man.' This gentleman, to whom we owe already a history of the English language, embodying the results of Grimm's celebrated Teutonic Grammar, has also thought it necessary in his present work to avail himself of the results of Comparative Philology, and to bring them to bear on the natural history of man. But, instead of following Dr. Prichard's excellent work,—'Researches into the Physical History of Man,'—which is by no means antiquated, Dr. Latham has adopted a division of languages which seems to be entirely his own. He divides all the languages of the world into four classes, which he calls *aptotic*, *agglutinate*, *amalgamate*, and *anaptotic*. He admits, however, of only three methods of grammar—the Classical, English, and Chinese. All the languages, dead or living, are referred to one of these classes with astonishing rapidity. There remains but one family of languages, which Dr. Latham considers hypothetical,—the 'Arian 'Indo-Germans.' Sanskrit is to him a very doubtful language, still more its modern descendants,—Hindi, Bengali, Mahratti, &c. According to him, 'the nation that is at one and the same time Asiatic 'and Indo-Germanic remains to be discovered.' This prejudice against Sanskrit is not peculiar to Dr. Latham. It is, or at all events it was, shared by many who found it troublesome to learn this new language. Sanskrit was called a factitious idiom, concocted by the Brahmins after the expedition of Alexander into India; a theory which Schlegel considers 'as happy as that which would account for 'the Egyptian pyramids as natural crystallisations.' There is another point, however, where Dr. Latham seems to have a fair claim on originality. We must quote his own words, because we might be suspected of misrepresenting his opinions. 'The criticism, or, rather,

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guages, the easier, of course it is, to classify them, and to apply to them scientific names in an unscientific manner. But Comparative Philology is not a study for amateurs, and has nothing in common with the premature attempts of those precocious systematisers, who see no difficulty in bringing all the languages of the world under certain categories, although they would find it difficult to translate but one sentence from the idioms, which they have so hastily cast into the crucible.

It is, however, not so much an interest in language itself, which has given rise to these systems, as the pressing importance of other questions, which are more or less dependent on the results of Comparative Philology. Of these, the most remarkable are the problems relating to the early diffusion of nations in times not reached by history, and to the common origin of mankind. It is clear, that as soon as all languages, spoken by man, can be traced back to one common source, it will be in vain to maintain any longer that the physical varieties of man necessitate the admission of an independent origin for each race. It was natural, therefore, that the advocates both of the *monogenetic* and *polygenetic* theory should have tried

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'scepticism,' he says, 'which has been extended by others to the 'Indo-Gangetic languages of Hindostan, is extended by the present 'writer to the Persian.' He afterwards maintains, that the language 'of the arrow-headed inscriptions is Sanskrit.' Colonel Rawlinson, Burnouf, and Lassen, might have saved themselves their trouble if they had been informed of this before. But Dr. Latham has allowed himself to be misled into a still greater mistake. Colonel Rawlinson, Burnouf, and Lassen have shown, that the Persian branch of the Indo-European stock has preserved, particularly in its oldest literary document, the Zend avesta, ancient forms, which occur in the Veda, but have been modified in the more modern Sanskrit. Dr. Latham, not knowing that the language of the cuneiform inscriptions differs from that of the Veda nearly as much as that of Cicero from Homer, has misunderstood this grammatical observation, and imagines that the language of Darius approaches so much to the Vedic dialect, as to prove that the Veda cannot be older than Darius. The premises are wrong, but still more the conclusion. For if we applied this principle to other facts of Comparative Philology, we might say, because the Lithuanian, as spoken at the present day, approaches so much to the Sanskrit as to possess in its declensions Sanskrit terminations, which have been modified in the other Indo-European idioms; therefore Sanskrit may not be much older than the Lithuanian, which any traveller may still hear spoken in parts of Prussia. But there is a Nemesis in every thing; and in the only instance where Dr. Latham attempts to give an authentic specimen of cuneiform writing every letter stands TOPSY-TURVY.

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to support their views by evidence, derived from a comparative study of languages; and it was natural also, that, in their impatience to generalise, they should have anticipated results, where all was still conjectural, or taken for granted whatever in different works on Comparative Philology seemed best to suit their own theories. These great questions, however, must wait for their final solution, until the principal languages shall have all passed through the ordeal of Comparative Grammar. The results of Comparative Philology have always been progressive. Different scholars beginning with a diligent study of the organism of one or two languages, have gone on successively to compare them together, and to point out their essential differences or their radical resemblance. Families of languages have thus been established, and the members belonging to one or the other have continually increased in number. The families which have been traced out in this manner, comprise already most of the principal nations of the world; and an admirable statement of the results, arrived at by the combined labours of English and Continental scholars, may be seen in a paper of the late Dr. Prichard 'On the various Methods of Re-'search which contribute to the Advancement of Ethnology, 'and on the Relations of that Science to other Branches of 'Knowledge.' This article, which is incorporated in the Report of the British Association for 1848, is the last word which its lamented author has left on the classification of languages and the varieties of man; and it is remarkable, not only for the vastness and accuracy of its learning, but also for that noble spirit of truthfulness and fairness which pervades all the works of Dr. Prichard. After having enumerated the different languages, belonging to what he calls the Indo-European (Arian), the Ugro-Tatarian * (Turanian), the Chinese, and Syro-Arabian (Semitic) families, he candidly admits that in several cases the inter-connexion rests on unsatisfactory grounds. This applies in particular to the languages of Africa and America, and to several branches of the Ugro-Tatarian family, under which the Chinese and the Indo-Chinese are ranged by some authors. In fact, as before stated, wherever comparative grammar is least advanced, we find the most vague and changeful ethnological con-

* It is high time that the false spelling of Tartar, instead of Tatar, which is found not only in Dr. Latham's 'Varieties of Man,' but even in Dr. Prichard's works, should be given up. The Tatars have nothing to do with Tartarus and the Titans, but they are called Tata (and Tatan) from a Turanian root, which means to stretch, to draw the bow, to pitch tents, *ri* being the plural termination in the Tungusian languages.

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clusions, while languages, whose connexion rests on the firm basis of a grammatical comparison, place the ethnological relation of the nations, by whom they were spoken, beyond all contradiction. Although great progress has been made in a comparative analysis of the Arian or Indo-European, the Polynesian, the Semitic, and some branches of the Ugro-Tatarian family, yet the time for approaching the great problem of the common origin of languages is not yet come. No conclusions on this subject can be drawn from casual points of coincidence or difference, between single members of each family, but only from an inter-comparison of all families, and it will require the labour of centuries before this '*comparison of comparative grammars*' can be carried out. In the mean time, it is worthy of remark, that the scholars, who are best competent to give an opinion as to the final results of Comparative Philology, believe, that all researches are tending more and more to the establishment of the common origin of language. Dr. Prichard concludes his paper, alluded to before, with the following words: 'I may venture to remark that with the in-'crease of knowledge in every direction, we find continually 'less and less reason for believing that the diversified races of 'men are separated from each other by insurmountable barriers.' He remarks, that the same is the ultimate conviction of the great author of 'Kosmos;' and in the course of his paper he points out himself, that some of the barriers, by which families of languages seemed to be insurmountably separated, are already beginning to give way. In connexion with this subject, he alludes to a work by Professor Keyser of Christiania, in which its author endeavours to prove the wide extension of the Iberian people through Western Europe in remote times, and connects them with the Lapponic aborigines of Scandinavia. Nay, Dr. Prichard maintains further, that there are phenomena both in language and history which tend to favour the conjecture, that the Celtic nations (whose connexion with the Indo-European family he was himself the first to point out) were in part of Finnish or Lappish descent, and sprang from a mixture of this race with a tribe of Indo-European origin. And lastly, he refers to *Egypt*, where, as he says, 'it was reserved to a distin-'guished scholar of the present day (the Chevalier Bunsen), to 'erect the edifice of the most ancient history of the world, a 'monument of the intelligence of modern Europe more exalted 'than the royal pomp of the pyramids.' Now Chevalier Bunsen's great discovery, stated in his own words, is, that 'the 'Egyptian, and perhaps the African man in general, is a scion 'of the Asiatic stock, which gradually degenerated into the 'African type. The Egyptian language attests a unity of blood

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'with the great Aramaic tribes of Asia, whose languages have 'been comprised under the general expression of Semitic, or 'the language of the family of Shem; and it is equally con- 'nected by identity of origin with those still more numerous 'and illustrious tribes which occupy now the greatest part of 'Europe, and may perhaps, alone, or with other families, have a 'right to be called the family of Japhet (the Indo-European 'languages).' According to his view, Egypt is a colony which started from the central plains of Asia, before mankind was divided into the families of Shem and Japhet: the language, therefore, contains the undeveloped type of the Semitic and the Indo-European. This theory (the completion of which we may expect in the last volume of the 'Egypt') evidently implies the common origin of the Semitic and Indo-European languages, and would show, 'that the Egyptologic discoveries give a con- 'siderable support to the hypothesis of the original unity of 'mankind, and of a common origin of all languages on the 'globe.' We are most willing to accept these prospective views. But we must, nevertheless, insist on this, that if the method of Comparative Grammar is the only means by which the connexion of languages can be safely and firmly established, we are still very far from a scientific and complete solution of this problem; and that, in its present state, Comparative Philology can neither shake our belief in the unity of mankind, nor, on the other hand, materially confirm it.

We must therefore allow, that, like many other sciences, Comparative Philology is still incomplete, and that its final success will depend on further researches. And as such are being carried on at the present moment with great zeal in different quarters, there is good hope of their finally issuing in a favourable result.

In our remaining space we shall restrict ourselves to that branch of Comparative Philology, which has been brought to a certain degree of completeness and perfection, and where we have before us definite results, which are no longer exposed to the fluctuations of new discoveries,—we mean the languages of the Indo-European or Arian family. This branch is of by far the greatest interest, since it comprises the languages most familiar to ourselves, the principal tongues of Europe, together with those of Asia-Minor, Persia, and India.

Out of a large number of works which have been written on this family of languages, particularly in Germany, we have selected, for the present article, Professor F. Bopp's Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Sclavonic Languages, because it is univer-

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sally considered as the classical work on this branch of Comparative Philology.

We have to thank the Earl of Ellesmere, the noble President of the Royal Asiatic Society, for the translation of this important work. It is with him that the design originated. He has borne a share in its execution, and taken a warm and liberal interest in its completion. The main part of the translation devolved on Lieutenant Eastwick, now Professor of Urdu in the East India College at Haileybury; and in the name of Professor H. H. Wilson, who has conducted it through the press, we have the further guarantee, that nothing has been neglected to make it a faithful reproduction of the original. Anybody as yet unacquainted with the nature and principles of Comparative Grammar, and who connects with the latter word certain unpleasant recollections of tiresome hours spent in acquiring the declensions and conjugations of a foreign language, will certainly be rather astonished to hear, that there is such a thing as a grammar of eight languages. We have been told that at one of the London bookshops, Bopp's New Grammar, by which eight languages might be learnt at once, has been asked for, together with such happy compendiums as, 'French comparatively in no time,' 'German made easy,' 'Italian without a master.' There is no doubt, however, that the purchaser must have been severely disappointed in his expectations. Comparative Grammar presupposes a knowledge of language, and, so far from giving us a new idiom, it rather teaches us, that we must return to the nursery of knowledge, and endeavour to gain a new acquaintance with our own mother-tongue. Our former instances were taken from the French, but we might just as well have chosen them from our own language. Everybody knows the difference between 'I love' and 'I loved:' but, who could explain, how this change of feeling, which it requires three volumes of a novel, or five acts of a tragedy, to describe, could be expressed by the small and insignificant letter *d*! We know also the very essential difference between a rich man and a richer man, between pound and pounds. But, how a mere *er* should have the power of making a rich man richer, an *s*, of changing a pound into pounds, is a question which probably few have put to themselves, still fewer have answered. Yet, on the whole, the Grammar of the English Language is not a difficult one, nay, we are frequently told, that it has no grammar at all. Our Future, for instance, 'I shall love' is much more distinct and intelligible, in its origin and meaning, than the French *j'aimerai*. But the French *j'aimerai*, is again much easier than the Latin *ama-bo*. And although every schoolboy is able to

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conjugate *amare* through all its tenses, moods, and persons, yet there are few classical scholars who could account for the origin and meaning of those mysterious syllables, which have been the fate and the fortune of so many Abelards. Now we have already seen, how the formation of the French language may be explained by a reference to the other Romance languages; and a perusal of Diez's Comparative Grammar will show, that, by a careful analytical comparison, the historical growth of each of these Latin dialects can be explained in all its detail. It will also show, that, in cases where the Latin does not furnish the clue, the older vernaculars, particularly the Provençal, are the most instructive, because they have preserved the growing language in a more transparent and intelligible form. The same applies to the old languages. Forms and words, which are difficult to explain in Latin, find frequently a more intelligible analogue in Greek, and *vice versâ*. In other cases the Lithuanian, Gothic, the old Sclavonic dialects, the Persian, and most of all, the Sanskrit, will come in, and throw light on the complicated ramifications of the Arian languages, so much so that in the work before us Professor Bopp could treat eight languages under the form of one grammatical organisation.

Before attempting to follow the learned grammarian into some of his ingenious deductions, we must request the patience of our readers, whilst we give a short outline of the component members of the great Arian family. The first is the *Sanskrit*, with all the different dialects, which have sprung from it in the course of nearly four thousand years. We find the Sanskrit as a fully developed language in the hymns of the *Veda*, at the time when the first Arian settlers immigrated into the north of India. We find it changed already in the laws of *Manu*, and in the epical poems of the *Mahábhárata* and *Rámáyana*. We see it again, under a different form, in the popular dialects, at the time of the Buddhistic reformation, in the edicts of *As'oka*, carved on the rocks of Kapurdigiri, Dhauli, and Girnár, and in the soft and melodious Prakrit idioms, spoken by the heroines and the inferior characters of the Indian drama. Even in the dialects now spoken all over India, with the exception of the Dekkan, we still recognise the same original language, though deprived of its former richness in form and expression, and depraved by the admixture of foreign elements.

The second branch of the Arian family is the *Persian* language, which may equally be followed, in its historical growth and decay, through different periods of literature. The language of the *Zendavesta*, most intimately connected as it is with the language of the Veda, the inscriptions of *Cyrus*, *Darius*, and

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Xerxes, the *Pázend* or pure Persian, spoken under the Sassanian dynasty, the grand epic poem of *Firdusi*, and the language, now spoken in the country, exhibit a complete biography of the Persian tongue. There are some other scions of the Arian stock which struck root in the soil of Asia, before the Arians reached the shores of Europe; but they are of far less interest, because they do not exhibit in their literature, the gradual progress of a growing language. Although the Armenian may boast of a rich literature, yet we can scarcely speak of a history of the Armenian language in the same sense as of the Sanskrit and Persian.

Another Arian language, the *Ossetic*, has never produced any literature at all, but has been collected only from the mouths of the people, on account of its linguistic importance. This language, spoken in the valleys of Mount Caucasus, and surrounded by tongues of different origin, is one of the most startling phenomena of Comparative Philology. It stands out, like a block of granite errant in the midst of sandstone strata, as a strayed landmark of the migrations of the Arian tribes. So much importance was attributed to this fact, which had first been indicated by Klaproth, that the Berlin Academy sent an expedition to the Caucasus, with the principal object of studying this language. The results of this expedition, as published by Dr. Rosen and Professor Bopp, have proved the connexion of the Ossetic with the Arian languages to any one who has but the slightest knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. *

* We may mention, as a curiosity, that Dr. Latham, without pretending to any knowledge of either Sanskrit or Chinese, and in the face of Dr. Prichard's researches, still expresses 'his belief that the 'Ossetic is more Chinese than Indo-European.' The same author admits, however, that the extension of the Seriform (Chinese) group, so as to include the Caucasian, Georgians, and Circassians, on the one side, and the Indians of Hindostan, on the other, is one of the points for which he is responsible, and which he promises to prove elsewhere. It would be very desirable that in these future articles a proper distinction should be made between the Ossetic, on one side, and the Iberian or Circassian languages, on the other. Though geographically united, these two classes of languages require to be treated separately, as much as Celtic and Anglo-Saxon. No one has ever doubted the Indo-Germanic character of the Ossetic language; while Professor Bopp's analysis of the Iberian languages, especially the Georgian, has met with much contradiction. For the edification of Chinese scholars, we subjoin some grammatical forms from the Ossetic, which they will be astonished to learn 'are more Chinese 'than Indo-European.' *Staw* in Ossetic means to praise; it is the same root as the Sanskrit *stu*, to praise. From this we have,

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Much more instructive, however, for an analytic study of the Arian language, is the *Greek*. We have here the particular advantage that various coexistent dialects have happily been preserved to us in their undying literature. We thus gain a most curious insight into the original individuality of the Greek language. Other tongues were once spoken in Asia Minor, and on the borders of Greece, and had their fame in the history of nations. But they have left no written documents, so that we must content ourselves with the scanty fragments, preserved by Greek lexicographers. These are, however, sufficient to prove that Arian blood was running in the veins of some of the most important of these languages, as the Maeonian or Lydian, the Cappadocian, the Thracian and Macedonian, while the old Epirotic and Illyrian are considered to be still living in the Skippetarian, Albanian or Arnaut.

Another group of Arian languages has taken possession of Italy. Its principal representative is of course the *Latin*. But a sufficient number of fragments has been preserved, to prove that Italy, fruitful in so much else, was the mother of more than one language. Long before the time of Rome, the Apennine peninsula was peopled by a variety of dialects; and some of them, like the Oscan, were still spoken under the Roman Emperors. It has been shown, that the Umbrian and Oscan were sisters of the Latin; and the languages of Etruria and Messapia, though widely differing from the other Italic dialects, in case their

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Singular.	*Plural.*
stawin, *I praise.*	stawam, *we praise.*
stawis, *thou praisest.*	stawut, *you praise.*
stawi, *he praises.*	stawinc, *they praise.*

The termination of the Comparative is *der*, in Sanskrit *tara*, Greek τερος, Persian *der*.

The declension is Nom. fid, *father.*
Gen. fidi, *father's.*
Dat. fiden, *father.*
Acc. fidéi, *father.*

This language, then, is called *aptotic* by Dr. Latham, aptotic being derived from a=not, and ptosis=case. And if by the application of 'the vaunted laws concerning the permutation and transition of letters,' the termination *am* in stawam, we praise, is compared with *amus* in amamus, *ut* of stawut, you praise, with *atis* in amatis, *inc* in stawinc, they praise, with *ant* in amant; Dr. Latham calls this method philological leger-de-main, and gives vent to complaints as to the retrograde direction of scholarship! Surely there seems to be a falling back from classical scholarship, if in analogy with *aptotic*, without inflection, a word is formed like *ana-ptotic*, which Dr. Latham explains by 'ana='back, and ptosis=a case; falling back from inflexion.'

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parentage be ever disclosed, will probably prove of Arian descent. If we add to these, the three great branches, *Teutonic*, *Slavonic*, and *Celtic*, we have before us a tolerably complete list of the members of the Arian family.

It is by itself of no great importance whether this family be called the Arian, or the Japhetic, the Sarmatic, Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European family, as long as we know that all these names are meant to express one and the same idea. Parents, however, quarrel about the names, by which their children are to be christened, and it is not to be wondered at that savans should have done the same. Instead of entering into discussions on the relative merit of each name, it will be more interesting to point out the origin of the title, which we have throughout given to these languages.

'*Arian*' is derived from *árya*, which, as it seems, is the oldest name by which the nations speaking these languages used to call themselves. Traces of this name are found scattered in the most distant quarters of the world, and it is but lately that it has been recognised and adopted for scientific purposes. In the later Sanskrit literature, *árya* means 'of a 'good family,' 'venerable,' 'a master;' but it is no longer used as a national name, except as applied to the holy land of the Brahmans, which is still called *A'rya-âvarta*, the abode of the A'ryas. In the Veda, however, A'rya occurs very frequently, as a name of honour, reserved to the higher classes, in opposition to the Dasyus, their enemies. For instance, Rigveda, i. 54. 8., 'Know thou the A'ryas, o Indra, and they who are Dasyus; 'punish the lawless and deliver them unto thy servant! Be 'thou the mighty helper of the worshipper, and I shall praise all 'these thy deeds at the festivals.' And again, i. 103. 3., 'Bearing the thunderbolt and trusting in his strength, he strode 'about rending in pieces the cities of the slaves. Thunderer, 'thou art wise, hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu; let the power 'of the A'ryas grow into glory!'

In the later dogmatical literature of the Vedic age, the name of A'rya is distinctly appropriated to the three first castes of the Brahmanic society. Thus we read in the S'atapatha-bráhmaṇa. 'A'ryas are only the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and 'Vais'yas, for they are admitted to the sacrifices. They shall 'not speak with everybody, for the gods did not speak with 'everybody, but only with the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and 'the Vais'ya. If they should fall into a conversation with 'a S'údra, let them say to another man, "tell this S'údra so." 'This is the law for an initiated man.' But while this old name 'A'rya' fell afterwards into oblivion amongst the Hindús, it was more faithfully preserved by the Medians and Persians.

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In the Zendavesta, the first created and holy land is called *Airyaném vaejo*, 'the source of the Arians,' and this name was in later times transferred to Media, a country too far west to be mentioned in the Zendavesta. Herodotus was told in his Oriental travels, that the Medians originally called themselves Ἄριοι, and Hellanicus gives Aria as a synonyme of Persia. And now, that we can read, thanks to the wonderful discoveries of Rawlinson, Burnouf, and Lassen, the same records from which Herodotus derived his information, we find Darius calling himself in the cuneiform inscriptions, 'a Persian, the son of a 'Persian, an Arian, and of Arian descent.' And when, after centuries of foreign invasions and occupation, the Persian empire rose again to historical importance under the Sassanian sway, we find their kings also calling themselves in the inscriptions, decyphered by De Sacy, 'Kings of the Arian and un-Arian 'races.' (Irán va Anirán, Ἀριάνων καὶ Ἀναριάνων). This is the origin of the modern name of *Iran*. Again in the mountains of the Caucasus, we find an Arian race, the *Ossetes*, calling themselves *Irón*, and a tribe of *Arii* was known to Tacitus in the forests of Germany. Here then we have the faint echoes of a name, which once sounded through the valleys of the Himálaya; and it seems but natural, that Comparative Philology, which first succeeded in tracing the common origin of all the nations, enumerated before, should have selected this old and venerable title for their common appellation.

It must not be supposed that Professor Bopp was the first who discovered the connexion of the Arian languages. The close relationship which the ancient vernacular of India bears to Greek and Latin, did not escape the eye of our ingenious Oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, who was the first to point out the wonderful structure of the Sanskrit. He said, at once, 'that the old sacred language of India was more perfect than 'the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely 'refined than either—yet *bearing to both of them a stronger* '*affinity*, both in the roots of the verbs and in the forms of 'grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; 'so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all 'three, without believing them to have sprung from some com-'mon source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a 'similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that 'both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very 'different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit. 'The old Persian may be added to the same family.' We may observe, also, that the three founders of Sanskrit philology in England — Colebrooke, Prinsep, and Wilson — were, from the first, aware of this affinity. A comprehensive view of

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the close relationship of the Germanic and classical languages had been previously given by *Rask* in his valuable prize treatise 'On the Thracian Tribe of Languages.' The same scholar, who himself travelled across the Caucasus to Persia and India, and brought back with him the most valuable MSS. of the Zendavesta, was the first to establish, on a safe ground, the common origin of the Sanskrit and the old Persian; and in a letter of his, written from Petersburgh, in May, 1819, we find a classification of languages, where the Sarmatic, *i. e.* the Arian race, is stated to comprehend the Indian, Median, Thracian, Lithuanian, Slavonic, Gothic, and Celtic. Professor Bopp himself acknowledges this. But at the same time he observes*, that Rask 'halts almost everywhere half-way towards the truth, because he had no knowledge of Sanskrit.' Rask's works on the classification and comparison of languages are, indeed, the best specimen of what could be accomplished in Comparative Philology without the aid of Sanskrit. Rask is learned, ingenious, and bold; yet, compared with Bopp, he is like a sailor without a compass. The discovery of the Sanskrit, and its application to grammatical comparison, form quite a new era in the history of languages, in the same way as the discovery of the loadstone, and its application by the sailors of the Mediterranean, form a most important epoch in the history of navigation. As soon as the Sanskrit appeared above the horizon, the broad fact of the connexion of the Arian languages became as clear as daylight; and we should entirely misapprehend the purpose of Bopp's Comparative Grammar, if we thought that its object was to prove the common origin of the Arian languages. 'The establishment 'of a connexion of languages,' he says himself, 'was not so much 'a final object with me as the means of penetrating into the 'secrets of lingual development; since languages, which were 'originally one, but during thousands of years have been guided 'by their own individual destiny, mutually clear up and complete 'one another, inasmuch as one in this place, another in that, 'has preserved the original organisation in a more healthy and 'sound condition. Most European languages, in fact, do not 'need proof of their relationship to the Sanskrit; for they 'themselves show it by their forms, which, in part, are but very 'little changed. But that which remained for philology to do, 'and which I have endeavoured to the utmost of my ability to 'effect, was to trace, on one hand, the resemblances into the 'most retired corner of the construction of language; and, on 'the other hand, as far as possible, to refer the greater or less

* Bopp's 'Comparative Grammar,' transl. by Eastwick, Preface p. viii.

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'discrepancies to laws through which they become possible or 'necessary.'

In all these researches Sanskrit is the principal and safest guide, because, in general, it is more complete, more distinct, or, as Professor Bopp calls it, more *organic*, in its structure than the other Arian languages. Yet the other Arian languages can by no means be considered as derived from the Sanskrit, or as standing to it in the same relation in which the Romance languages stand to the Latin. Although the Sanskrit of the Veda is, even chronologically, older than either the Greek of Homer or the Persian of Cyrus; yet, as far as relationship goes, it is only the eldest sister, and holds, with regard to the other cognate tongues, exactly the same position in which the Provençal stands to the Romance languages. This is evidently the opinion of Professor Bopp, although he has more than once been accused of 'believing too much in the imaginary inviola-'bility and pristine fidelity and perfection of the Sanskrit.'

The first part of the Comparative Grammar is devoted to the phonetic system of the Arian languages. After giving an explanation of the principal Arian alphabets, Professor Bopp tries to find which letters in any one language correspond to certain letters in another. The laws of the interchange of letters are arrived at by a comparison of words whose identity cannot be doubted. Safe coincidences, for instance, may be looked for in the numerals of the Arian languages. If we compare Latin *quatuor* with Sanskrit *chatvar*, four, we learn that Sanskrit *ch* can be represented by Latin *qu*. If we compare Latin *quinque* with the Sanskrit *pancha*, five, we find that Sanskrit *p* can be represented by Latin *qu*. Knowing, therefore, these letters to be interchangeable, we can now also identify the Sanskrit *pach*, 'to cook,' with Latin '*coquo*.' Again, as Sanskrit *chatvar* corresponds to the Attic τέσσαρ or τέτταρ, for which we have also the Æolic πίσυρ (Oscan *petur*), we may compare the Greek πέπτω with Sanskrit *pach*, to cook. And, as

coquo = pach, and πέπτω = pach,
∴ coquo = πέπτω.

If Sanskrit *das'a*, ten, corresponds to Greek δέκα, and Latin *decem*, Sanskrit *as'va*, horse, becomes identified with *equus*; the Sanskrit *s'van* (genit. *s'unas*), 'dog,' with Greek κύων, and Latin *canis*. These phonetic coincidences and the etymological results based on them, have been worked out by different scholars, particularly by Pott, in his 'Etymologische Forschungen.' Amongst others, the late Dr. Rosen was the first to point out that Sanskrit *ksh* corresponds with Greek κρ, and Latin *cr*; for instance, S. *kshatra*, 'power,' = κράτος; S. *kshipra*, 'quick,' = κραιπνός;

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S. *kshura*, 'hoof,' = Latin *crus*. On this he founds afterwards the identification of the Vedic *urukshaya*, wide-ruling, with the Homeric *εὐρυκρείων*. These comparisons, however, have sometimes been carried too far. Because one letter corresponds to another in words whose common origin is certain, it does not follow that it does so always. Professor Bopp identifies, for instance, the Bengali *bohini*, sister, with the Sanskrit *svasar* (the Latin *soror*, Gothic *svistar*), by means of the following process: — 'The initial *s* is rejected, and the second corrupted 'to *h*. The Sanskrit *v* is, in Bengali, regularly pronounced as '*b*, and *a* like *o*. As regards the termination *ini*, I look upon the '*i* as an interposed conjunctive vowel, and the *n* as a corruption 'of *r*, as in the numeral *tin*, three. Properly speaking, *bohini* 'presupposes a Sanskrit *svasrî* from *sva-strî*.' Now, although we have no doubt that Professor Bopp has analogies for all these changes, yet this process reminds us a little of the old etymology of 'fox,' which was 'alopex (*ἀλώπηξ*), lopex, opex, 'pex, pax, pox, and fox.' The fact is, that the Bengali *bohini*, 'sister,' is simply the Sanskrit *bhaginî*, 'sister.' On the other hand, the systematic regularity — the almost absolute certainty — to which the phonetic laws of different languages can be brought, may be seen from what is generally called Grimm's Law, on the transposition of sounds (Lautverschiebung). According to this law, which is based on the most minute observations, and which helps, as Grimm expresses himself, to break in wild and vicious etymologies,

1.	Greek (and generally Sanskrit, Latin, and Lithuanian)	P,	corresponds with	Gothic	PH (f),	and Old High German		B (v, f).
2.	"	B,	"	"	P,	"	"	PH (f).
3.	"	PH (f, φ),	"	"	B,	"	"	P.
4.	"	T,	"	"	TH,	"	"	D.
5.	"	D,	"	"	T,	"	"	TH (z).
6.	"	TH (f)	"	"	D,	"	"	T.
7.	"	K (c),	"	"	KH (h, g),	"	"	G (h).
8.	"	G	"	"	K,	"	"	KH(ch).
9.	"	KH (h, χ),	"	"	G,	"	"	K.

EXAMPLES.

	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Old High German.
I.	pâd, pâdas (foot).	*πούς, ποδός.*	pes, pedis.	fôtus.	vuoz.
	pitar (father).	*πατήρ.*	pater.	fadrein.	vatar.
	upari (over).	*ὑπέρ.*	super.	ufar.	ubar.
II.	s'aṇa-bisa (hemp-fibres).	*κάνναβις.*	cannabis.	. . . .	hanaf.
	bâla (young).	. . . .	pullus.	. . . .	folo.
	. . . .	. . . .	turba.	thaurf.	dorf.
III.	bhar (to bear).	*φέρω.*	fero.	baira.	piru.
	kapâla or kakubh (head).	*κεφαλή.*	caput.	haubith.	houpit.
	nabhas (air, cloud).	*νέφος.*	nebula.	nibls.	nepal.
IV.	tvam (thou).	*τύ.*	tu.	thu.	du.
	trayas (three).	*τρεῖς.*	tres.	threis.	dri.
	antara (other).	*ἕτερος.*	alter.	anthar.	andar.

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	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Old High German.
V.	dvau (two).	δύω.	duo.	tva.	zuei.
	'asru (tear).	δάκρυ.	lacry ma.	tagr.	zahar.
	Dyaus, divas (sky).	Ζεύς, Διός.	Dies-(piter).	Tius.	Zio.
VI.	duhitar (daughter).	θυγατήρ.	. . . .	dauhtar.	tohtar.
	dhê (to suckle).	θάω, θηλή.	fe mina.	daddyan.	taan.
	dvar (door).	θύρα.	fores.	daur.	tor.
VII.	hṛid (heart).	καρδία.	cor, cordis.	hairto.	herza.
	pas'u (cattle).	πῶυ.	pecus.	faihu.*	vihu.
	svas'ura (father-in-law).	ἑκυρός.	socer.	svaihra.	suehur.
VIII.	jânu (knee).	γόνυ.	genu.	kuni.	chuni.
	jnâ (to know).	γνῶμι.	gnosco.	kan.	chan.
	mahat (great).	μέγας.	magnus.	mikils.	mihil.
IX.	hansa (goose).	χήν.	anser.	gans.	kans.
	hyas (yesterday).	χθές.	heri.	gistra.	kestar.
	lih (to lick).	λείχω.	lingo.	laigo.	lekom.

After some explanations on the roots of words, Professor Bopp goes on to a detailed analysis of the declensions. He distinguishes most carefully, in every word, between the root, the formative or derivative suffix, and the termination of the cases, and shows how all the Arian languages have employed the same elements for expressing the different relations of substantives to substantives and to verbs. Instead of following him into this minute analysis, where often many pages are devoted to one single letter, we shall give one instance, which will show the affinity of the Sanskrit declensions with those of the classical languages and the Gothic, without requiring long expositions as to the changes and losses of letters.

Singular.

	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Latin.	Greek.†	Gothic.
Nom.	bhrâtâ (brother).	brâta.	frater.	πατήρ.	brôthar.
Gen.	bhrâtur'.	brâtar-s.	fratr-is.	πατρ-ός	brôthr-s.
Dat.	bhrâtr-ê.	brâthr-ê.	fratr-i(Loc.)	πατρ-ί (loc.)	See *Inst.*
Acc.	bhrâtâr-am.	brâtar-ĕm.	fratr-em.	πατέρ-α (ν.)	brôthar.
Ab.	bhrâtur', (gen.)	bhrâthr-aṭ.	fratr-e(d).	. . . .	. . . .
Inst.	bhrâtr-â.	brâthr-a.	. . . .	. . . .	brôthr.
Loc.	bhrâtar-i.	brâthr-i.	fratr-i(Dat.)	πατρ-ί (Dat.)	
Voc.	bhrâtar.	brâtarĕ.	frater	πάτερ.	

Plural.

Nom.	bhrâtar-as.	brâtar-o.	fratr-es.	πατέρ-ες.
Gen.	bhrâṭṛi-n̲-âm.	brâthr-am.	fratr-um.	πατέρ-ων.
D. & Ab.	bhrâṭṛi-bhyas.	brâtarĕ-byo.	fratr-i-bus.	πατρά-σι (Loc.)
Acc.	bhrâṭṛi-n(s).	brâthr-eus.	fratr-es.	πατέρ-ας.
Inst.	bhrâṭṛi-bhis.	brâtarĕ-bis.	. . . .	. . . .
Loc.	bhrâṭṛi-shu.	. . . .	. . . .	πατρά-σι (Dat.)

* From this our word fee, pecu-nia.

† As the Greek language has lost the common Arian word for brother (φρατήρ), it was necessary to take πατήρ as the Greek paradigm. It is very characteristic of the genius of the Greek language, that the old word (bhrâtar) is not used there in the sense of brother. There can be little doubt that the Greeks knew this common Arian word, for the Homeric φρήτρα is clearly derived

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The first volume of the Comparative Grammar further comprises the Adjectives, the Degrees of Comparison, and the Numerals. The numerals form a most interesting page of Comparative Philology. Their general similarity in the Arian languages, with a few exceptions in the words for 'one' and 'nine,' is too striking to admit of any doubt with regard to their common origin. It is true that, in some cases, these words, which have been in continual use for the last four thousand years, passing from mouth to mouth in the transactions of daily life, have almost lost their original stamp, and, like old coins, require an experienced eye to recognise them. In most cases, however, they have resisted most wonderfully the wear and tear of centuries. It is not unlikely that several Arian numerals go back as far as the times when the Arian and Semitic families were not yet separated; and, in this case, it would follow, according to Chevalier Bunsen's before-mentioned theory, that the old Egyptian language of the hieroglyphics ought to have the same, or even an older form. This seems, indeed, to be borne out by a comparison of the Egyptian *saf-χ*, 'seven,' on the Arian side, with Sanskrit *sap-ta*, Zend *haptan*,

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from it. But the Greeks must very early have extended the ties of brotherhood from the exclusiveness of family life, to the broader range of political society. There were brothers-in-arms, brothers in warlike expeditions; brothers, not as born of the same mother, but as men whose common mother was their common country: they were to each other real φρατέρες, fratres, companions and friends. Now, if φρατήρ had once taken the meaning of clansman, brother-in-arms, it was no longer fit to express the particular relation between children of the same parents, and therefore another word was coined for this meaning,—ἀδελφός (for ἀμαδελφος),—corresponding to the Latin co-uterinus, and the Sanskrit sa-garbha, *i. e.* of the same womb. This way of accounting for the absence of the word φρατήρ, in Greek, is most strikingly confirmed by a reference to the modern languages. The laws which affect the growth of language are the same in ancient and modern idioms. But in modern languages the process of formation is almost historical,—we can prove it by documents, and trace it from century to century; while in the ancient languages we must begin with conjectures, and try to confirm them by critical research. Now, why has the old Latin word for brother, which the French has preserved in *frère*, been lost in Italian and Spanish?—Because in Spain and Italy the classical word, frater, took so entirely the technical sense of 'a brother 'of a religious order,'—a monk (*friar*), that the Italian *frate* and *fra*, as well as the Spanish *frey* (freile, fray, fraile), could no longer be used for brother in its original sense, and had to be replaced by *fratello* and *hermano*. The same accounts for the substitution of *sorella* for the Italian *suora*, and of *hermana* for the Spanish *sor*.

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Greek *ἑπ-τά*, Latin *septem*, Gothic *sib-un:* and, on the Semitic side, with Hebrew *shib-χâh*, Ethiopic *sabâχe-tu*, and Arabic *sabatun*, which explains the Hebrew *Sabath*, 'the seventh day 'of the week.'

The following list will show the similarity of the Arian numerals:—

	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Persian.	Greek.	Latin.	Lithuanian.	Slavonic.	Gothic.	Anglo-Saxon.	Welsh.
I.	eka.	aêva.	yeki.	εἷς.	unus.	wienas.	jedin.	ains.	ân.	un.
II.	dva.	dva.	du.	δύο.	duo.	du.	dva.	tvai.	tvegen.	dau.
III.	tri.	thri.	sih.	τρεῖς.	tres.	trys.	tri.	threis.	thri.	tri.
IV.	chatvâr.	chathvâr.	chehâr	τέτταρες.	quatuor.	keturi.	tschetyri.	fidvor.	feover.	pedwar.
V.	panchan.	panchan.	penj.	πέντε.	quinque.	penki.	pjat.	fimf.	fif.	pump.
VI.	shash.	cvaa.	shesh	ἕξ.	sex.	szeszi.	schest.	saihs.	six.	chwecc.
VII.	saptan.	haptan.	heft.	ἑπτά.	septem.	septyni.	sedm.	sibun.	seofon.	saith.
VIII.	ashtau.	aštan.	hesht.	ὀκτώ.	octo.	asztuni.	osm.	ahtau.	eahta.	wyth.
IX.	navan.	navan.	nuh.	ἐννέα.	novem.	dewyni.	devjat.	niun.	nigon.	naw.
X.	das'an.	das'an.	deh.	δέκα.	decem.	deszimt.	desjat.	taihun.	tyn.	deg.

How the difference of form in these words may be accounted for by phonetic laws, can be seen from Professor Bopp's elaborate investigations. Nothing, however, shows better the close relationship of the Arian numerals, than a comparison with the numerals of different families of languages, as may be gathered from the subjoined specimens of Turanian numerals:—

	Finnic.	Lappic.	Hungarian.	Bask.
I.	yksi.	akt.	egy.	bat.
II.	kaksi.	qwekte.	ketto.	bi.
III.	kolmi.	kolm.	harom.	hiru.
IV.	nelya.	nelye.	negy.	lau.
V.	wiisi.	wit.	ot.	bost.
VI.	kuusi.	kot.	hat.	sei.
VII.	seitsen.	kietya.	het.	zazpi.
VIII.	kahdeksa.	kaktse.	nyolts.	zortzi.
IX.	yhdeksa.	akte.	kilentz.	bederatzi.
X.	kymmen.	lokke.	tiz.	amar.

How far the identification of the Arian numerals can be carried, appears from this, that even the accent, which has so long been despised as an invention of grammarians, while it is, indeed, the very soul of words, is ascertained to be the same in the Greek and Sanskrit numerals. At the time, when Professor Bopp wrote his Comparative Grammar, it was not yet known that the Sanskrit had preserved its system of accentuation in manuscripts. None of the works written in the so-called classical Sanskrit are accented; and the late Dr. Rosen had not marked the accents in his edition of the first book of the Rig-Veda. The new edition of the Rig-Veda, however, which is now publishing under the patronage of the East India Company, shows that the Vedic literature of the Brahmans is accented; and Professor Bopp promises a supplement to his Comparative Grammar, in order to prove the common origin and true principles of the Sanskrit and Greek accents. The rules on the accent in Sanskrit are contained in the Prâtis'âkhyas,—works which are quoted by the famous Indian grammarian, *Pâṇini*, and are therefore anterior to the fourth century B.C. They coincide in their general bearing with the Greek

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rules.* In the numerals, for instance, the only two which are oxytona in Greek, are also oxytona in Sanskrit (Sansk. ashṭán = ὀκτώ, eight, saptán = ἑπτά, seven); while pánchan = πέντε, návan = ἐννέα, dás'an = δέκα, are paroxytona, both in the Veda and in Homer. This should be a fact of some interest to those who 'extend their criticism, or rather scepticism, both to 'the language of Persia and the Indo-gangetic languages of 'Hindostan.'

The second volume begins with the *Pronouns*, which as we now know, form the oldest elements of language, although they have long been considered as mere expedients to avoid too frequent a repetition of substantives. The apparently irregular forms in the declension of pronouns, are proved by Professor Bopp to be, on the contrary, the most regular, in so far as they have preserved the old Arian terminations with greater fidelity than either nouns or adjectives. It is, indeed, one of the principal results of Comparative Philology to have proved that, in language, there is nothing irregular, in the usual sense of the word. Former grammarians considered everything as irregular which did not conform to rules which they had themselves invented: and it was seriously maintained, for instance, that, in the Teutonic languages, 'all verbs were originally irregular.' A language, however, as Archdeacon Hare remarks, could no more coalesce out of irregular words, than a world could out of the indeterminate atoms of Epicurus. The coincidences between the Arian languages with respect to the so-called irregular forms of the pronouns, are most striking, and extremely instructive in their applications to Greek and Latin grammar. How great an interest has been taken in these 'venerable relics 'of language,' may be seen from the considerable number of works exclusively dedicated to a comparative analysis of the pronouns. We shall only mention the two most important,—that by W. von Humboldt 'On the Relation of Local Adverbs 'with the Pronouns of different Languages,' and by Bopp 'On 'the Influence of Pronouns on the Formation of Words in San-'skrit and the Cognate Languages.'

Singular.		*Plural.*	
* Greek	= Sanskrit.	Greek	= Sanskrit.
ὄψ	= vâ'k.	ὄπες	= vâ'chas.
ὀπός	= vâchás.	ὀπῶν	= vâchâ'm.
ὀπί	= vâchí.	ὀψί	= vâkshú.
ὄπα	= vâ'cham.	ὄπας	= vâ'chas.

Dual.

ὄπε = vâ'châ.
ὀποῖν = vâgbhyâ'm.

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The most difficult, but at the same time the most brilliant, part of Comparative Philology, is the *Verb*. Before the appearance of his Comparative Grammar, Professor Bopp had written on the formation of the Verb, and his 'Conjugations-System' was translated into English as early as 1820, in the Annals of Oriental Literature ('Analytical Comparison of the Sanskrit, 'Greek, Latin, and Teutonic Languages'). We may dispense with giving a detailed account of Professor Bopp's theory on this subject, as the principal results of these researches have been put before the public by several eminent English writers, whose works have either modified or more fully illustrated some points of Bopp's system. We allude in particular to Donaldson's Cratylus, and the Rev. R. Garnett's valuable Articles.* But with regard to the general tenor of Bopp's investigations, if his object had been no higher one than to prove the connexion of the Arian conjugations, a few paradigms would have been sufficient, instead of the 825 paragraphs devoted by him to this subject. Coincidences like those which run through the principal tenses and moods of the verb in all Arian languages, put the question as to their common origin beyond the reach of reasonable doubt.

For instance,—

IMPERFECT.

Singular.

Sanskrit.	Greek.
atarp-a-m, (I pleased).	ἐτερπ-ε-ν.
atarp-a-s.	ἐτερπ-ε-ς.
atarp-a-t.	ἐτερπ-ε-(τ).

Plural.

Sanskrit.	Greek.
atarp-â-ma.	ἐτερπ-ο-μεν.
atarp-a-ta.	ἐτερπ-ε-τε.
atarp-a-n.	ἐτερπ-ο-ν.

Dual.

Sanskrit.	Greek.
atarp-â-va.	. . . . .
atarp-a-tam.	ἐτερπ-ε-τον.
atarp-a-tâm.	ἐτερπ-έ-την.

PRESENT.

Singular.

Sanskrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Lithuanian.	Old-Slavonic.
vah-â-mi, (I carry).	vaz-â-mi.	ἐχ-ω-'.	veh-o-'.	vig-a '.	wez-u.	vez-u.
vah-a-si.	vaz-a-hi.	ἐχ-ει-ς.	veh-i-s.	vig-i-s.	wez-i.	vez-e-shi.
vah-a-ti.	vaz-ai-ti.	ἐχ-ε(τ)ι.	veh-i-t.	vig-i-th.	wez-a-'.	vez-e-tj.

Dual.

vah-â-vas.	. . . . .		. . . . .	vig-ô-s.	wez-a-wa.	vez-e-va.
vah-a-thas.	vaz-a-thô.	ἐχ-ε-τον.	. . . . .	vig-a-ts.	wez-a-ta.	vez-e-te.
vah-a-tas.	vaz-a-tô.	ἐχ-ε-τον.	. . . . .	. . . . .		vez-e-ta.

Plural.

vah-â-mas.	vaz-â-mahi.	ἐχο-μεν.	veh-i-mus.	vig-a-m.	wez-a-me.	vez-o-me.
vah-a-tha.	vaz-a-tha.	ἐχ-ε-τε.	veh-i-tis.	vig-i-th.	wez-a-te.	vez-e-te.
vah-a-nti.	vaz-e-nti.	ἐχ-ο-ντι.	veh-u-nt.	vig-a-nd.	. . . . .	vez-utj.

Bopp's great merit, however, does not consist in having pointed out these coincidences, but in having explained them, by tracing most minutely the origin and progress of verbal forms in the different languages of the Arian stock. A classical scholar, there-

* Published in the Transactions of the Philological Society.

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fore, even if he takes no interest but in Greek and Latin, will discover in the 'Comparative Grammar' the most useful information on the verb of these two languages. It is true that, after studying this work, he will not find himself a better hand at composing hexameters in the language of Homer, or writing essays in the style of Cicero. But, as astronomers admit it to be useful to know the construction of the instruments, and even the nature of the materials of which they are made, before they use them for observing, classical scholars also will find that the time has not been wasted which they may bestow on the analysis of language and the elements of which it is composed.

If we conjugate the Latin passive, I am loved, *amor, amaris, amatur, amamur, amamini, amantur*, it is easy to observe that *amamini* steps out of all analogy with the other passive persons. Nothing but the circumstance that former grammarians did not trouble themselves at all with the foundation of lingual phenomena, and that the relation between the Greek and Latin was not systematically and scientifically traced out, can account for the fact that the form *amamini* had so long found its place in the paradigms, without raising the question how and whence it came there. Professor Bopp, in 1816, was the first to bring the form under discussion in his 'Conjugations-System;' and he shows there that *amamini* is a passive participle in the masculine nominative plural, and that *amamini* for *amamini estis* is explained by the analogous form of the Greek perfect, *τετυμμένοι εἰσί*. The Latin suffix is *minu-s*, and corresponds to the Greek *μενος*, and Sanskrit *mân-as*. From the fact, however that these participles in Latin are thrust aside in ordinary practice, *mini* has, in the second person plural, where it has continued as if petrified, assumed the character of a verbal termination; and thus, also, after losing the consciousness of its nominal nature, has renounced its distinction of gender, and its appendage *estis*. If we found *amaminæ* for the feminine, and *amamina* for the neuter, we should be spared the trouble of seeking an explanation for *amamini*, inasmuch as it would partly be afforded by the language itself. There are several objections which might be raised against this explanation by classical scholars. The first is, that if *amamini* be a passive participle in the masculine plural, one should expect *amaminæ* and *amamina* with feminine and neuter substantives. This objection is met by a reference to the Sanskrit, where similar periphrastic forms of the future equally retain the masculine terminations, although they are followed by feminines and neuters. Another objection is, that this peculiar termination of the passive and medial participle exists as *mâna* in Sanskrit, *μενος* in Greek, *ma* in Lithuanian,

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and *manas* in Old Prussian, but never occurs in Latin. Against this Professor Bopp points out the Latin *alu-m'nus* and *Vertu-m'nus*, which evidently belong to these participial formations, but have lost the *i*. The *i*, however, has been preserved in *terminus*, 'frontier,' if we consider it as expressing 'that which is over-'stepped,' and identify its root with the Sanskrit *tar* (Lat. trans). *Femina*, too (as *giving birth*, and therefore having a middle sense), has been recognised as a formation belonging to the same category, the root being *fe*, from which, also, fe-tus, fe-tura, fe-cundus. The third and most weighty objection is the Imperative *amaminor*. For, if *amamini* be the plural of a participle, it would be impossible to append to it the *r* of the passive. However, this objection, too, can be removed. *Amaminor* is nothing but the older form of *amamini*, and the final *or* is the old termination of the plural, which we have in the Eugubian Tables, where *subator* occurs, for the Latin *subacti*, *screhitor* for *scripti*. Further, the singulars of the second masculine declension in the Umbrian end in *o*; and we find *orto* for *ortus*, *subato* for *subactus*. Now, in accordance with this singular form in *o*, there are extant, also, in Latin, singular imperatives in *mino*, namely, *famino* in Festus, *præfamino* in Cato, and *fruimino* in an inscription, '*is eum agrum nei habeto nei* '*fruimino*,' 'he shall neither have nor use this field.' *Amaminor*, therefore, is the regular old plural of *amamino*; and this archaic form has been preserved in the imperative, while *amamini* became fixed as the second person plural in the present.

We hope that we have not wearied out the patience of our readers, by giving this one instance, out of many, in proof how much advantage Classical Philology might derive from Comparative Philology. Professor Bopp's Grammar is not a work for Oriental scholars only. The Grammar itself supplies all the knowledge that is needed, in order to understand what is taken in it from the Oriental languages. The principles of the Sanskrit, as the groundwork and connecting bond of the comparison, are exhibited in some detail, and, for the Zend language, there is even more than is needed. By a transcription in Roman characters, a translation and analysis, the examples taken from the Sanskrit and Zend are as intelligible as those derived from Gothic and Slavonic. Classical scholars (to use the word in its present restricted sense) may therefore study the work without difficulty; and they will find it a rich mine for their own researches. It is, of course, not to be expected that comparative grammar will ever be introduced into schools: and it would be injurious to the effects of education to exchange a thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin for

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a less accurate acquaintance with many languages. But it is one thing to learn a language, another to teach it, *i. e.* to describe its mechanism and organisation. The learner may confine himself within the strictest limits, and forbear to look beyond the narrowest boundaries of the subject of his study: the teacher's glance, on the contrary, must pass beyond the narrow limits of the language which he has to explain, and command at least a general view of the historical growth of the forms of human speech.

Comparative Philology, however, is not confined, in its results, to the organisation and history of languages, but it sheds also a new light over the history of nations. If it is once recognised that the Latin stands to the Greek not in the relation of a daughter, but of a sister, it follows that the historical relation of Italy and Greece, particularly with regard to the oldest times, will have to be viewed in the same light.* Instead of looking to Greece for the elements of Italian civilisation,—to Egypt and Phenicia for what made Greece what she was, our eyes will be directed to those parts of the world where language preserves to us the traces of the early migrations of the Arian tribes. If it can be proved that the words for many of the arts belonging to an early state of civilisation are the same in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and German, it follows that the Arian nations knew these arts before they separated, and that they carried the germs of civilisation from a common centre on one side into India, and, on the other side, into Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and the rest of Europe.

The conclusions which Niebuhr attempted to draw from the fact that 'the words for a house, a field, a plough, ploughing, 'wine, oil, milk, swine, sheep, apples, and others relating to 'agriculture and the gentler ways of life, agree in Latin and 'Greek, while the Latin words for all objects pertaining to war 'or the chase are utterly alien from the Greek'†, are altogether invalid in the eyes of Comparative Philologists. Professor Lassen was the first to show it in his Article on the Eugubinian Inscriptions.‡ Niebuhr thought he could prove by this ingenious observation, that the Sicelians, a peaceful Greek colony, had been conquered by the Cascans or the warlike inhabitants of Italy. First of all, it would be very unlikely that the Sice-

* This point has well been illustrated in a small but very interesting essay, 'On the results of Comparative Philology in reference to 'Classical Scholarship,' by Dr. G. Curtius, lately translated into English.

† Niebuhr, History of Rome, i. 83.

‡ Rhenish Museum for 1833, p. 361. *seq.*

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lians should have had no names for martial, and the Cascans no words for agricultural occupations before they came into contact with each other. Secondly, the observation which Niebuhr made with regard to Latin and Greek, applies with equal force to all Indo-european languages. They all exhibit the most striking coincidences in words expressive of the first peaceful occupations of mankind, while the terms connected with chase and war are mostly peculiar to each. There is no reason, therefore, why these words which the Greeks and Romans have in common, should be called a Greek element in Latin. Since the same words occur in all the Indo-european languages, they can only be considered as a common Arian element, that is to say, as words which existed before the Arian family was broken up. Many of these words have even preserved a more primitive form in Latin than in Greek. We could hardly imagine that *ovis* should be taken from *ὄϊς*, if we see that the original form of this word is *avis* in Sanskrit, *awis* in Lithuanian, and *eovu* in Anglo-saxon. The Latin *pecus* is much nearer to Sanskrit *pas'u*, Prussian *pecku*, and Gothic *faihu*, than to the Greek *πῶν*; nor could we call the Latin *canis* a derivative from the Greek *κύων*, if we see how much more closely the Latin word resembles the Sanskrit *s'van*, and the Sclavonic *kon'*. Besides some of the so-called martial Cascan words are not peculiar to Latin, and though they do not occur in Greek, they are found either in Sanskrit, or in other Arian dialects, as, for instance, *ensis*, which is the Sanskrit *asis*, a sword; *scutum* which is the Lithuanian *skyda*, a shield, and is derived from the same root from which we have the Greek *σκῦτος*, a hide; for *scutum* means originally a dressed or tanned hide, the material which was used by the ancients for making shields.

But while in this case Comparative Philology must discountenance the historical conclusions which were drawn from too partial evidence, it enables us on the other hand to reconstruct on a firmer basis the oldest history of the whole Arian family, that is to say, on the evidence derived from an accurate and systematic comparison of all Indo-european languages.

There are words which form, so to speak, the common heirloom of the Arian family. These old relics are to be found among the tribes now settled in India, as well as among the nations of Europe, that is, among races who have had no lasting intercourse with one another since they first started from the common centre of mankind. If properly decyphered, these words might be made to furnish historical documents for times when neither Greece nor India were peopled by the Arians,—when neither Greek nor Sanskrit existed as separate languages,

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—for times previous to Homer, the Zendavesta, and the Veda. For this primeval period, which is far beyond the reach of written history, single words, which have been scattered all over the earth like Sibylline leaves, if carefully gathered as historical documents, and decyphered by the help of Comparative Philology, may still be found to contain the faint traces of the earliest civilisation of the human race. The process by which these obliterated traces can be brought out and construed into historical evidence, does not form part of Comparative Grammar; and it would lead us too far to enter fully into a subject which, as yet, has remained almost untouched. One instance of the curious results which may thus be obtained, will suffice.

It is a question of deep interest to know whether any religious ideas can be discovered among the wandering tribes at that early period of history, when the mythology of the Arian nations—not yet separated—was following the impulse of its gradual development. Questions of this kind have usually been answered in a very vague manner, or according to theories which rested on preconceived notions, but not on facts. In the absence of all other historical documents, we can deduce such facts from language only; and we shall see how far Comparative Philology is able to supply them.

There are three words in the modern languages of Europe, which express the idea of God,—one belonging to the Romance dialects, the other to the Teutonic, the third to the Sclavonic family. From an historical point of view, these words must be looked upon not as modern productions, but as the most ancient relics of language. It has been very truly observed that the modern nations of Europe are the oldest nations of the world. Their history, if more deeply investigated, if considered as the result and natural consequence of all previous history, discloses to our eyes a picture, where, behind the living foreground of the present generation, we see all the former stages in the progress of the human race arranged in true perspective, so as to form together one uninterrupted whole. Wherever we look around us, we are living among the ruins of a by-gone world; and if we attempt to read in History the biography of the human race, the ancient world forms but the prelude, with the interesting scenes of our childhood and youth, while each successive century brings us nearer to what may be called our manhood or old age. As in the life of the individual the experience of later years is everywhere interwoven with the early impressions of childhood, the Historian sees the image of the earlier ages of the world's history reflected in that of his own time. And, if he endeavours to trace the aggregate experience of the present day to its first

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beginnings, he finds himself carried back to the very dawn of history, before he can lay his hand on the roots of the old Tree of knowledge. Looking only at the principal elements of modern society, we see that the Law of the present day, in spite of all innovations and revolutions, flows in its main channels either from the sacred customs of the Teutonic race, or from the codes of Roman emperors. These codes again were based on rogations, which at an earlier period of history were carried in the Senate or in the noisy forum of Rome; nay the laws of succession and inheritance, — of paternal authority and filial duty point back to still more remote times, when Numa was listening to Egeria, and when the mythic ancestors of the Latin people immigrated into Italy. The high-roads of our commerce which are now mapped down in the guide-books of peaceful travellers, follow in many cases the footsteps of Roman armies or Phœnician caravans; and the purest models in our modern school of art, what are they but the very creations which we hear the joyous people of Athens applauding at the foot of the Parthenon, fresh from the chisel of Phidias and Praxiteles? But nowhere is this view of modern history more strongly confirmed than if applied to language. There is an uninterrupted continuity in the growth, or, so to say, in the life of language, much more than in any succession of historical facts. For although it is in the power of one individual to change empires, to abolish laws, to introduce new customs, new forms of government and new ideas, no King or Dictator has ever been able to change the smallest law of language. Language belongs in this respect to the realm of nature, whose laws *are* invariable, and can be deduced as such, by repeated observation.* The laws of history on the contrary are not invariable, or, at all events, it is impossible to deduce them by observation ever so

* 'The phenomena of our globe declare, that the laws of Nature, or the operations of secondary causes, physical or physiological, *have not been* invariably uniform, or absolutely similar; some peculiar to the nascent world, all more intense; the collective life of all classes of animated beings endued with the vigour and flexibility of individual youth. Species and their varieties seem to have been produced by an inward nisus, which decreased with the advancing age of the world. The like with respect to languages. The process of linguistic formation did not suddenly terminate. A certain degree of vitality, now lost to us, was still subsisting; somewhat also of the generative energy of speech, "until" about the era when the Canon of Holy Scripture was closed by the last mysterious book of Prophecy.' — *Palgrave's History of Normandy and England*, vol. i. c. 2. 'On the Roman Language.' Where is the evidence of this 'until'?

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minute. Moreover the history of man is retrogressive as well as progressive. It is in the power of one generation to bring an art to the highest pitch of perfection, while the next generation may allow it to relapse, till a new genius takes it up again with increased ardour. This is not the case with language. New languages have arisen, but like the young shoots round a decayed trunk, they are but new forms of the old stock. As far as we can follow the history of the world, there has never been an absolutely new language, nor has any addition been made to those radical elements by means of which languages are formed. It is only out of the tombs of dead languages that new languages arise, like new towns, built on the ruins of ancient cities. The bricks with which the modern city of Baghdad is built on the borders of the Tigris, bear all, as Colonel Rawlinson * tells us, the cuneiform legend of Nebuchadnezzar, stamped upon them, for they had been taken from the ruins of the ancient cities built by this Assyrian monarch. In the same way, if we examine the structure of modern dialects, we shall find that each word bears still the unmistakeable stamp of an older language whose decayed fragments have furnished the materials for a new structure.

These preliminary observations were necessary in order to determine the point of view from which we may look on languages whether ancient or modern, as historical documents, and they will explain how it is possible, by laying hold of the nearest points of our own language, to communicate, as it were telegraphically, with the remotest antiquity of the human race.

We begin with the Sclavonic word for God, which is '*Bog*.' This word, which is used by the different branches of the Sclavonic family to express the idea of God, was employed by

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* 'It was a custom, borrowed from Assyria, that the bricks used in building the ancient cities on the Lower Tigris and Euphrates should be stamped with the name and titles of the royal founder. With regard to Babylonia Proper, it is a remarkable fact, that every ruin from some distance north of Baghdad, as far south as the Birs Nimroud, is of the age of Nebuchadnezzar. I have examined the bricks *in situ*, belonging, perhaps, to one hundred different towns and cities within this area, and I never found any other legend than that of Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopalassar, King of Babylon. At Baghdad itself the right bank of the river within the town is formed for the space of nearly one hundred yards of an enormous mass of brickwork, which until lately was supposed to be of the time of the Caliphs, but which I found on examining the bricks to date from the age of Nebuchadnezzar.' — *On the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia.* 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic 'Society,' vol. xii. p. 476.

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the early inhabitants of the Russian Empire as a name of their heathen deities. According to Schaffarik, in his excellent work on Sclavonic Antiquities, it can be proved that the old Sarmatic tribes worshipped a supreme God,—the creator of heaven and earth,—though they admitted at the same time several lesser gods, who were the mediators between man and the Supreme Being, and who received sacrifices, consisting of cattle and fruits.* The old Slaves believed in a resurrection, and in rewards and punishments after death. Now this name *Bog*, which we find spread over the immense area of the Sclavonic empire, has its origin not in the steppes of Russia, but in the valleys of Northern India. It is known that the Sclavonic dialects belong to the Arian family, and, in Sanskrit, *Bhaga* means originally the sun. For instance, Rig-veda, i. 136. 2. 'The wide-shining Dawn has been seen ascending to the sky,—'the path of the Eternal is full of rays; full of rays is the eye of 'Bhaga.' *Bhaga* is, indeed, among the principal deities of the Veda; and in the epic poem, also, his name is by no means forgotten. The word *bhaga* is derived from a root *bhaj*, to divide, and signifies the divider, distributor, or ruler. There are many similar names given to the sun by the old nations of the world, who looked upon this celestial luminary as the emblem of order, the divider of day and night, the author of the seasons, the source of time, and the ruler of the heavens. But the same word *bhaga* is also used in the Veda as a general term for deity; and in the Zendavesta, where it occurs as *baga*, it has entirely adopted the abstract meaning of God. The same form, *baga*, is found again on the rock inscriptions of the Persian kings. The upper inscription on the sepulchre of Darius at Nakshi-Rustam, begins with the following words: "Baga wazarka Auramazdá, hya imám bumim adá, hya awam 'asmánam adá, hya martiyam adá, hya shiyátim adá martiyahyá, 'hya Dáryavum khsháyathiyam akunaush, aivam pauruvanám 'khshayathíyam, aivam paruvanám framátaram.' 'A great 'God is Ormazd, who created this earth, who created that 'heaven, who created man, who gave life to man, who made 'Darius king,—the only king of the people,—the only law-'giver of the people.' In the inscription of Behistun, which Colonel Rawlinson has decyphered with such singular ingenuity and so vast an amount of learning, we find the same word

* There are even traces of human sacrifices among some tribes on the shore of the Baltic. But Schaffarik thinks that this barbarous custom does not occur among the pure Russians, that it had been introduced from without, and, at all events, that it did not last for a long period.

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in the plural also, *bagâha*, meaning 'the gods.' For instance, 'Says Darius the king, On that account Ormazd brought help 'and the other *gods* which are, because that I was not a heretic, 'nor was I a liar, nor was I a tyrant.' The very name of the sacred rock of Behistun, on the western frontiers of Media, on the high-road conducting from Babylonia to the eastward, where Darius had the royal charter of the Achæmenian dynasty engraved in arrow-head characters,—was originally 'bhaga-'sthánâ,' 'the abode of the gods,' or, according to Diodorus Siculus, 'the abode of Zeus.'* Here, in the name of Behi-stun, we see the old word *bhaga*, much more changed and corrupted than in the Sclavonic *bog*; and we learn from this, that the name by which God is invoked by the present Czar of Russia, is the very same word which was used by Darius, by Zoroaster, and by the poets of the Veda; that is to say, we find the roots of a word which lives in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, in the fourth, the eighth, and the fourteenth century before Christ.

It is much more difficult to trace the Teutonic word, 'God,' back to its origin. There is no doubt that the Supreme Being has always been called by this name in all German tongues. We have *guþ* in Gothic, *god* in Anglo-Saxon, *cot* in Old-High German, *gud* in Swedish and Danish, and *gott* in modern German. The most natural supposition, if we took into account our modern languages only, would be to take *god* as the same word, or as derived from the same root, as *good*. This may, indeed, be considered as the common Christian etymology of the word '*god*,' and an apparent authority has been found for it in the passage in the gospel of St. Mark, 'there is none good but one, that is God.'† But this etymology is indeed essentially Christian, and the occurrence of the same German word in the old heathen world, and for the old heathen gods, is fatal to it. Besides, although *God* and *good* have a very similar sound in English, the two words diverge, if we trace them back to the ancient German languages. Good in Gothic is not *guþ* but *gods*, in Anglo-Saxon not *god* but *gôd*, in Old-High German not *cot* but *cuot*, in Danish not *gud* but *god*, in Dutch not *god* but *goed*. However, Comparative Philology has not yet been able to substitute a better etymology. The most common opinion of comparative philologists—we are not able to say with whom it originated—that the Teutonic *God* is the same as the Persian

* Diodorus speaks of τὸ δὲ Βαγίστανον ὄρος, ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Διός. —*Cf. Rawlinson's Memoirs*, p. 187.

† In Anglo-Saxon, 'Nis nân man gôd buton god âna.' Gothic, 'Ni hvashun þiuþeigs alja ains guþ.'

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Khodá—is equally untenable. *Khodá* means, indeed, God in Persian; but it is a word which, according to the phonetic laws of the Iranian tongue, must have sounded *hvadâ* or *hvadâta* in the old language of Darius or Zoroaster. Its meaning would be 'self-produced.' But how is it credible that a word, which only after the time of Darius could possibly have taken the form of *Khodá* * in Persian, should, under this peculiarly Persian and modern Persian form, have been transmitted to the old Teutonic nations? Another etymology has been attempted by bringing the Teutonic word at once into connexion with the Sanskrit 'Gûḍha,' which means 'hidden, concealed, a mystery.' But this word again is much too metaphysical to furnish a real and natural explanation of so primitive a word as '*God*.' We can only say, therefore, that 'God' was probably an old Teutonic word, used long before the introduction of Christianity, to signify either one Supreme Being, or gods in general. Indeed, we find that in the Old Norse, *goð* in the neuter means a graven image, an idol, while *guð* in the masculine signifies God. Other Teutonic nations, after they had been converted, called their old heathen gods *abgotts* (Old-High German *apcot*), which makes it still more likely that *god* had been used by them before in the abstract sense of *deus*. In modern German an idol is called *ein Götze*, which is evidently derived from *Gott*; and Luther translates the verse from the Fifth Book of Moses, 'And ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods' by 'die Götzen ihrer Götter.'

The third word which we have still to consider, is the Latin *deus*, together with its modern derivations in Italian, Spanish, and French. The history of this term can be traced much more satisfactorily than the Teutonic word; and it allows us a deep insight into the silent vegetation not only of words and roots, but also of names and ideas.

There is an old root in Sanskrit—*div*, to shine—which, according to a general rule of Sanskrit grammar, may be changed into *dyu*. From this root comes the Greek word *Zεύς*, which, by a regular transition of letters, is nothing but the root *dyu* or *yu* with the *s* of the nominative, and corresponds, therefore, exactly to the Sanskrit *Dyaus*. The Greek language does not

* 'Le mot *Khodai*, seigneur, qui sous les Sassanides avait été appliqué aux rois, ne servait, depuis l'introduction de l'Islamisme, que pour designer Dieu; de sorte que Firdousi pouvait craindre qu'on ne lui reprochât comme un blasphème le titre de la source principale de son ouvrage (Khodai námeh), et toute accusation d'impiété, si frivole qu'elle fût, était grave pour le poëte au milieu de la cour jalouse et bigote de Mahmoud.'—*J. Mohl, Shah-nameh*, Introduction, p. x.

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admit of two such consonants as *dy* at the beginning of a word. It has sometimes dropped the first, sometimes the second letter. Dropping the *y*, we get the Greek form Δεύς, which, according to ancient authorities, was used instead of Ζεύς. The initial *d* is likewise preserved in the accusative Δία. Dropping the first letter, the Sanskrit *y* is regularly changed into the Greek ζ— (like Sansk. yuj = ζεύγνυμι, Sansk. yava = ζέα) — so that Ζεύς may, indeed, be considered as the Greek pronunciation of the Sanskrit *yaus*. In Latin there is no nominative, like *Jos*, which would be the Latin form, corresponding to Sanskrit Dyaus, but the old word reappears in the oblique cases, where we have *Jovem*, &c. Other words, like *Dispater* and *Diespiter*, show that, like the Greek and Sanskrit, the Latin also knew both forms of the ancient root. The corresponding words in Old German are *Zio* and *Tius*, one of our old heathen gods, now long forgotten, but whose name still lives in the name of Tuesday.

It has generally been supposed, that the Sanskrit language and religion did not know *Dyaus* as a god, but that *dyaus* in Sanskrit, as a feminine, was used only for heaven and sky. Yet, if we examine the Sanskrit in its oldest form, as we find it in the Veda, traces can still be discerned, proving the former existence of a god Dyaus. It is true, that in the Commentaries, *dyaus* is always explained by the resplendent sky. But it may be observed in the hymns of the Veda, that the word dyaus, which is a feminine, is sometimes used as a masculine, and in these cases it always means the god Dyaus. Thus we read in the Rig-Veda:

'When the pious man offers his morning libation to the great 'Father *Dyaus*, he trembles all over, as he becomes aware that 'the archer sent forth from his mighty bow the bright dart that 'reaches him, and, brilliant himself, gave his own splendour 'unto his daughter, the Dawn.' Moreover, Aurora is frequently called duhitâ Divaḥ, which is usually translated by the 'daughter 'of the sky.' But, according to the principles of mythology, she cannot be the daughter of the sky. She is produced by the Sun from Night, and, therefore, she is the daughter of Night and of the Sun, that is to say, of the god Dyaus.

Although, then, to the Indian mind, the name of the god *Dyaus* was lost already at an early period, because his name had become the usual word for sky, as in Latin 'sub dio,' and because poets and priests soon introduced other names for this deity, as Agni, Indra, Mitra, and the like, yet we see, that he was once known under his old Arian name in India, and we thus arrive at a result which flashes, like a sudden ray of light, through the dark world of the first mythological ideas among the Arian nations. We see that, before their separation took

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place, they had a name for a god, expressive of the brilliancy of the sun, the sky and daylight, that they called him 'Dyaus,' and the 'Great Father.' We see that Zeus was not an invention of Homer, that Jupiter was not borrowed from Greece — but that long before the Arians immigrated into Greece and Italy, they had worshipped the same god under the same name —that the Brahmans who migrated towards the South invoked him along the rivers of the Penjáb, and that the Teutonic nations proceeding towards the North, celebrated the same god on the mountains of Scandinavia.

Dyaus, as the name of this old Arian god, means light, but not light, in its abstract sense, not as a feminine or a neuter, but as a masculine, as the shining sun, the bringer of light and life. It was a happy thought of the sons of nature, who first raised their eyes up to heaven, to perceive there, high above them, the brilliant manifestation of a divine power: and it was a happy grasp of language, to express the awful feeling of the existence of a divine power by a word which meant light. It was the light of the sun, by which men were awakened every morning from the sleep of night, and with the setting of the sun, their own life faded away into an unconscious slumber. That brilliant globe, whence they received light and warmth, the silent majesty of whose daily course the clear atmosphere of the Himalayan regions permitted them to witness, must have excited the feeling of devotion in every human heart; and, although the poetical genius of men may have perceived afterwards the active presence of a divine power, in other forms of nature, from no other source could it have beamed with greater splendour. If then, as we cannot doubt, the consciousness of God was latent in the hearts of all men, like a veiled remembrance of a former world, it was the power of the Sun that pierced and lifted the veil, and thus brought the idea of God in its brightness before the eyes of the heathens. How natural, that the name of the Revealer should have been given to that which he revealed, and that the sun, by which the glory of God became first manifest in this world to the senses of men, should have been taken as a manifestation of God himself! Nothing in this world could have been nearer, no image worthier to represent and express God, than the sun; and it shows the existence of a transcendental power in the mind of those early worshippers, that they looked for their God, not in the world around them, which they could touch and grasp, (fetichism,) but up to that world, which one sense only, and that the highest, presented to the mind's eye.

What we have here said, however, would only prove that, the Arian nations possessed some of their mythological gods in

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common, but it would not enable us to affirm that they had also felt the want of an expression for the simpler and purer idea of God in those early times when they were still connected by the bonds of a common language, and of a common faith. In order to prove this, we must take into account another class of common Arian words, formed from the same root *div*, by means of a derivative, which gives to these words a more general and abstract meaning. These words are *deva* in Sanskrit, *Θεός* in Greek, *deus* in Latin, *diewas* in Lithuanian. *Deva*, which means originally bright, brilliant, divine, expresses a quality equally ascribable to all the different forms and names of God that had arisen out of the individualising spirit of language; and it adapted itself, therefore, most easily and naturally to express the general and essential idea of God, godly, divine. This is already the case in the Veda, although the transparency of the vedic language permits, in most cases, the original meaning of the word *deva* — that of brilliancy — to shine through. Whether, for instance, the old poets meant to say the 'divine 'Aurora,' or the 'brilliant dawn,' by calling Ushas (aurora) as well as her rays, *devî*, must remain doubtful in many passages. In Greek and Latin, however, *Θεός* and deus, are neither attribute nor name of God, but they have really become the word for God, expressing at once the abstract idea of the philosopher, the poetical image of the old bards, and the breathing creation of the sculptor.

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* These pages were all but struck off before we had seen a most interesting pamphlet by Sir George Staunton: 'An Inquiry into the 'proper mode of rendering the word "God," in translating the 'Sacred Scriptures into the Chinese language.' Although it refers to a country with which, as far as we know, the Arian tribes have had no connexion in language or history, it offers the most striking parallel with regard to the progress of language, and its influence on the human mind among the Chinese and the Indo-European nations. There has been a long controversy between the different sects of Christian Missionaries as to the best way of rendering the word 'God' into Chinese. The first preachers of the Gospel who visited China accepted without scruple the Chinese words *Tien* and *Shangtee*, which they found already in popular use. The word *Tien*, however, though, according to the imperial dictionary of Kanghee, it means 'the Great One, He that dwells on high and regulates all 'below,' is also used in a physical and material sense, as heaven, and in that sense it constantly occurs in the most familiar language. It is even used in the sense of 'day.' *Kin tien*, literally 'new heaven,' means only 'to-day,' and *ming tien*, literally 'bright heaven,' means 'to-morrow.' We must here add, that exactly the same takes place in Sanskrit. From the same root *Div*, from which, as we have seen, *Zeus*, *Dispater*, and *Deus* were derived, we also have *dies*, in

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We see, thus, that the word *deva*, by which, in the course of time, language seems to have recovered the idea of God, was derived from the same root *div*, from which those other words had arisen, by which language had failed at first to express the same idea (Dyaus, *Zεύς*, &c.). We see, also, that this second step must have been made before the Indo-European separation.

Sanskrit, *diva*, 'day;' we have in Sanskrit *dyaus*, and in Latin *sub dio*, in the sense of 'heaven.' Nay, in the same way as the Chinese says *Kin tien*, 'to-day,' the Hindu uses *a-dya*, literally, 'this heaven 'or this day,' in the sense of 'to-day,' hodie. Now, on the strength of this supposed equivocal meaning of the word *Tien*, the Pope, in 1715, issued an Apostolic precept, by which the Missionaries were prohibited from using the word *Tien* in the sense of God, though they were allowed to use it for 'heaven.' The decision of the Pope was, of course, final, and it was implicitly obeyed by the Roman Catholic missionaries of every order. The phrase *Tien-chu*, or Lord of Heaven, has accordingly been universally and invariably adopted by all Chinese Roman Catholic Christians from that time to this day. Whether in passages like that in the parable of the Prodigal Son, 'I 'have sinned against Heaven,' the Pope would have allowed the use of *Tien* does not appear. But he has equally excommunicated the other Chinese word for God,—*Shang-tee*, which is the same as *Tien*, —heaven, that is, the God of Heaven. The Abbé Grosier, in his 'History of China,' gives a striking account of the character and attributes of *Shang-tee*, the Divinity or Supreme Being from the King, or canonical books of the Chinese.

In spite of this, *Tien* and *Shang-tee* were stigmatised by the Roman Catholics as heathen idols, not better than the Zeus, or Jupiter, of the Greeks and Latins. As a natural consequence, the Christians are popularly considered by the Chinese as the introducers of a new and strange God, a sort of idol of their own, which they call *Tien-Chu;* and this notion has been sedulously inculcated, until very lately, in successive edicts by the Government. We hope that the views so admirably advocated by Sir G. Staunton may prevail with the Missionary Societies in Europe and America, and that the old word *Shang-tee* may be re-adopted by Christians of whatever denomination in China. Upon a deliberate consideration of all the bearings of the questions, Sir George observes, 'It still may be right 'to reject the term *Tien-Chu*, but I cannot agree with those who 'think that this should be done upon the specific ground of it being 'advantageous or desirable that Protestant and Roman Catholic 'Christians in China should be distinguished from each other by 'their employment of different words for the Deity. This distinction 'may be unavoidable, but it must always be a matter of regret, from 'its tendency to suggest to the Chinese that Protestants and Roman 'Catholics do not worship the same God, which is not only untrue in 'itself, but is a mischievous exaggeration of the difference between 'the two forms of faith, which can have no other effect in China but 'that of discrediting our common Christianity.'

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And now, that generations after generations have passed away, with their languages, — adoring and worshipping the name of God, — preaching and dying in the name of God, — thinking and meditating over the name of God, — there the old word stands still, as the most ancient monument of the human race— *ære perennius* — breathing to us the pure air of the dawn of humanity, carrying with it all the thoughts and sighs, the doubts and tears of our by-gone brethren, and still rising up to heaven with the same sound from the basilicas of Rome and the temples of Benares, as if embracing by its simple spell millions and millions of hearts, in their longing desire to give utterance to the unutterable, to express the inexpressible.

It may be seen from this single instance that Comparative Grammar addresses itself not only to the Grammarian, but to the Philosopher and the Historian also. It has opened a new and a safe path through a forest hitherto impervious, and it is now for other sciences to follow, and to gather with a careful hand the fruits which are brought within their reach.

ART. II. — *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy, from* 1440 *to* 1630. By JAMES DENNISTOUN of Dennistoun. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1850.

URBINO, the birth-place of Raphael, is a name familiar to every body; but the place itself lies so much out of the highway, both of travellers and historians, and the petty princes who once reigned in it are, consequently, so little known, that even lovers of books, if their reading does not happen to lie in such directions, will have been almost as much surprised at the sight of Mr. Dennistoun's splendid volumes, as they would be at meeting as many portly footmen in blue and gold, clearing the way in the streets for the Kings of Brentford. The sweet painter, for the last two hundred years, has almost usurped the name of the Duchy; as his brother artist Allegri has done that of Correggio, and Claude Gelée that of Lorraine. Raphael d'Urbino every body knows; but who was Duke Federigo, and Duke Francesco Maria?

And, in truth, lovers of Italian literature, generally speaking, know little more of them. They meet them occasionally in the pages of Sismondi and Napier, of Black, Roscoe, and others; but it is either in the midst of petty wars, which leave nothing but confusion in the memory, or as obscure patrons of art and literature, whose names are not worth remembering beside those of the Medici and the Este. The best figure they make is in

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Ginguené, but that is chiefly in connexion with one book. One book alone connected with them (the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione), became an Italian classic; and in their city was born, though not to flourish under their patronage, the great painter, without whom Mr. Dennistoun would not have been moved to write their history.

Nevertheless, for these very reasons among others, we hailed the appearance of Mr. Dennistoun's volumes; for he had much to tell us respecting men little known; and the prospect of seeing a graceful court revived, and distinguished names returning to us with new interest, made us open his work with no little eagerness. It seemed as if we were again looking down, through parting mists, on one of those spots in Italy, which we had long desired to behold; and that a new stock of pleasure was about to be added to our recollections.

Nor have our expectations been disappointed. Mr. Dennistoun's Dukes, whether for their virtues or their vices, their talents or their absurdities, are very interesting people; and Urbino itself, for the first time in our lives, has become a distinctly known place to us, — a clear, definite object, with its pinnacles and its households, quite different from what we had supposed it. We do not like to find fault with writers from whom we derive either amusement or information; Mr. Dennistoun has given us both; and therefore, although he himself is by no means free from those imperfections and inconsistencies, both in style and matter, which, in the writings of those who have gone before him, offend his own better judgment, yet as he always mingles what praise he can with blame, speaks with great modesty of his own literary pretensions, and mentions no living author but with direct or implied commendation, we shall give him the benefit due to so much good nature, and treat him with all considerate thankfulness. Indeed, it is but justice to our author to say, that besides his possession of a stock of new and curious information, he sometimes writes so well, that he wrongs himself in not doing so at all times. If he has not studied the subtler spirit of literary criticism, he is worth hearing on the subject of Art; and we think every impartial person will admit that, upon the whole, he has shown himself an inquiring, discerning, and — with allowance for a biographer's predilections — a liberal and conscientious writer, superior, except in one instance, to unhandsome prejudices, and anxious at all events for the triumph of the highest principles. Again, to speak unequivocally of the more visible ornaments of his work, they are by no means confined to the 'blue and gold.' They contain, besides pedigrees and facsimiles of handwriting, many illustrations in portraits and other pictures, not, indeed, well engraved, though

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by Italians, but very interesting. One of them is a half length of Ariosto from Titian; another of Tasso; another of Castiglione; another of Raphael when a child, after his father; and there is a view of the city of Urbino, very striking from the towering and stony severity of its aspect,—so different from what might be expected of the birthplace of the gentle artist. But thence issued his passion and sincerity. We hope the portrait of Ariosto is genuine, for it is more like his writings than the older one in profile, which is also called Titian's. It has more force, geniality, and variety. That of Tasso makes the poet of the Jerusalem seem a poor creature. It has all his weakness, but nothing of his pride. That the portrait of Castiglione is by Raphael, the author doubts; but whomsoever it is by, it is a masterly production,—a living and breathing fact; and we see nothing in it to deprive it of the honour it enjoys. The painting, it is true, is not before us; and there may be something in the treatment of that, which implies a different hand: but the engraving is better than most in the three volumes,—less hard and slight; and there is a handwriting of art which strikes through the coarsest facsimiles, if they have the least resemblance to the spirit of the original. We shall feel henceforth that we know the face of Castiglione as well as if we had seen him.

We are sorry we cannot repeat some of Mr. Dennistoun's observations on Art. He has said much about it, and to the purpose; particularly as regards the religious precursors of Raphael, the culmination and declension of the religious spirit in the great painter himself, and the difference between a just admiration, and spurious imitation, of mediæval sincerity. We recommend his observations to those retrospective young gentlemen (natural stumblers on the road of progress) who take such pains to prove to us that they are not Raphaels, and who are nevertheless unable to be in earnest without turning to his precursors to help them. But as the subject is not new, we must hasten to other matter. We regret that we cannot notice even the accounts which Mr. Dennistoun gives us of the glazed and coloured pottery, called *majolica*, the renown of which Mr. Maryat also connects with Raphael and Urbino. Other nations of Europe have lately discovered what Italy knew long ago,—that as nature adorns her least as well as greatest works with beauty, so beauty may be brought to pervade artisanship as well as art; that as a daisy or a weed is gracefully turned, so may a pen be, or a spoon, or the knife that cuts the loaf; that a plate need not be clumsy, because it is cheap; nor the water-jug remind us of the dropsy, instead of being entwined with lilies. The moment poverty itself perceives the beautiful, it doubles its possessions.

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Next to the blessing of peaceful intercourse, no higher lesson than this will have been taught by the Crystal Palace. But as majolica itself is to be found elsewhere, we must quit it for what Mr. Dennistoun's book is unique in showing us.

The only truly original topics of the work are the dukes themselves. Next to these in novelty is the court of Urbino, as depicted by Castiglione; and to these two points of interest we shall confine ourselves. The accounts of the sacking of Rome are worth reading; and a certain kind of interest is always roused by the Borgia family, whom our author has not forgotten. But he has added nothing to their history. We propose by and by making one suggestion respecting it, meaning, however, to notice nothing that does not, in some measure, bear upon the novelties of the work; and in whatsoever we do notice, we shall confine ourselves to the only permanent topics of interest in all ages; those which enable us to imagine ourselves under the same circumstances with the human beings who have gone before us, whether as actors or spectators.

The reader will bear in mind, that the space of time occupied by these annals of Urbino, namely, from 1440 to 1630, commences in the reign of our Henry the Fifth, and includes the reign of our First Charles. It is thus divided between the middle and modern ages; and the characters of our author's successive princes are to be estimated accordingly. During nearly one half of this period, the German emperors, content with the nominal sovereignty which they held from the Cæsars, had discontinued their wars in Italy, only to leave it the prey of its own. It was one incessant battle-ground of republics and principalities all struggling for existence or for ascendancy, now with one another, and now betwixt themselves, the Pope, like an evil genius, lording it in the midst of all, and 'more embroiling 'the fray' for his own purposes. During the other half of the period, Spain, France, and Austria interpleaded in arms for the sovereignty of this unhappy country, till at length they reduced it to the state in which it has since remained.

In times anterior to the first of these epochs, there had grown up a race of feudal chieftains, whose origin, according to a received phrase, was 'lost in the clouds of antiquity.' Like most such origins, it was probably not worth finding, its whole merit most likely consisting in the arm of some military adventurer on the fall of the Roman Empire. The name of this family, derived from one of their Apennine possessions, was Montefeltro; they lived near the town of Urbino, the old Urbinum Hortense, or Garden Urbinum, of Pliny, so called, in all probability, from a cultivation of the soil superior to that of the Urbinum, its namesake; though from a passage in Mon-

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taigne, who saw the place during his travels, towards the close of the sixteenth century, it had singularly fallen off from its old reputation, only one petty garden surviving. These lords of Montefeltro, who had been made counts of the fief by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, were for some time Ghibellines, or adherents of the emperors, as distinguished from Guelfs, or pope's men; but Urbino is not far from Rome, and it suited the family to go over to his Holiness, who, in reward for their services, invested them as counts of the district, and finally as its dukes. By degrees, either as purchasers, conquerors, or deliverers, the warlike race acquired lordship in the neighbouring districts: a pope gave them more, with one of his kinsmen for a son-in-law; and the Duchy of Urbino finally swelled into an area forty miles long, and as many broad, partly consisting of rugged Apennines embosoming rich valleys, and partly of a line of coast on the Adriatic Sea. The region nearly corresponds with the modern legation of Urbino and Pesaro, that is to say, with one of the unhappy States of the Papal Church; for, on the last duke's becoming as childless as he was weak, it pleased his friend the Pope, vicar of one whose 'kingdom is not of this world,' to take the crown of it to himself, and so subject it to the same ecclesiastical misgovernment as the rest of central Italy.

In proceeding to make the reader acquainted with these successive Dukes of Urbino, after the particulars afforded us by Mr. Dennistoun, we shall first, in order to complete the intimacy, by showing in what sort of age they originated, extract a passage or two from his volumes equally illustrative and comprehensive. One is from a recent Italian writer, who makes us feel, in a very striking manner, the whole spirit of the old Italian struggles. From the second, which is by the author's own pen, we receive an equally forcible impression of the strange part that was taken in those struggles by the celebrated Condottieri, or mercenary leaders, national and foreign.

The 'feeble and unquiet domination' of the early princes of Italy (observes Mr. Dennistoun's author) 'was obtained some-'times by usurpation from rivals, from the people, or from the 'Church; sometimes by authority wrested originally from pope 'or emperor, and subsequently sanctioned; which was wielded 'now with more, now with less rigour. But these princes were, 'all of them, encompassed by a numerous following; were de-'voted to the profession of mercenary war; and were at once the 'abettors and dreaders of rebellions, ambushes, and poisonings.' (This word 'all,' as we shall see, is not to be taken to the letter; but the spirit of the truth is in it.) 'Various were the vicissi-'tudes of these chiefs. In order to oust a competitor, they would 'offer large concessions to the Church or the populace; and

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'having attained a sovereignty, would gradually curtail them 'until the community called in another master, to be in like 'manner supplanted by a third. In other cases they compro- 'mised their disputes by partitioning cities or principalities. 'Frequently the pontiff would favour one faction in order to 'put down another, and to profit by their mutual strife. Again, 'he would elevate a third over them both, under cloak of free- 'dom. It was, in short, constant wavering between abuses and 'concession, tyranny and license; the seigneur intent upon 'extending his influence, although by dishonest means; the 'people prompt to diminish it, even to anarchy.' (Vol. i. p. 82.)

'This description,' observes Mr. Dennistoun, 'might be fitly 'applied to the Montefeltrian holdings under most of their early 'Counts.' It may be added, that thus grew the dominations of the Visconti and the Sforzas in Milan, of the Gonzagas in Mantua, of the Estes in Ferrara, of the Bentivoglios in Bologna, the Malatestas in Rimini, &c., and not only those, but the dominations of the republics over one another and over their own citizens; of Florence and Venice over their neighbours; of the Medici over Florence; of the King of Arragon over Naples; and of Popes and Emperors over all. For republics were as ambitious as principalities: equality was better understood than liberty, as it still is in some republics: Popes had no decency, and Emperors could not be expected to have what Popes derided.

But the most curious feature in the struggle remains to be noticed. Condottieri (conductors, a very different title upon highways at present) are personages well known to all who have journeyed in Italian history. Less political readers will have met with them in the pages of Mrs. Radcliffe. Our countrywoman has invested them, in her 'Mysteries of Udolpho,' with a curious minor interest, between the terrible and the shabby, which is as different from that of the real people as a gaming-table is from a field of battle. Her chief, Montoni, was christened after one of the veritable brotherhood; but if she had known as much of real castles and Apennines as she did of old houses in the abstract, and of frightened young ladies, she never would have confounded her swindling fortune-hunters with the great military adventurers, cheats though they were, who became the terror of the Middle Ages, and the arbiters of power.

The condottieri originated in the imperial descents on Italy, and in the wars of the French and English. They were acceptable to the agricultural and commercial populations of Italy as substitutes for military service; excited the imitation of native

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commanders; and, by tacit consent of one another, ended in reducing war to a trading speculation under the best bidder;—a business of stratagems, and ransoms, and exactions; bloodless, and a mere matter of profit, if it could be so contrived; ferocious on occasion; unprincipled always. There was the German Werner, who styled himself the 'enemy of God;' Hawkwood the Englishman, son of a tanner, whose name received thirteen versions from the despairing tongues of the Italians; Sforza, who is said to have been a wood-cutter; his son, who became Duke of Milan; Braccio da Montone, a feudal lord; a Frenchman (we forget his name), one of the greatest; Piccinino (Little One), a terrible fellow; Giovanni de Medici, called the Great Devil; the Malatestas, lords of Rimini; and, as the custom grew into repute, the Montefeltri themselves. For this hireling system easily became ennobled by princes who had already practised it under the name of allies and vassals; they gladly studied the art of war under its leaders; and the retaining salaries which were given them in large annual sums by the princes next in rank above them and by money-getting republics, ultimately grew into commanderships under greater powers, who thus enriched their poverty, secured their adhesion, and employed the restless portion of their subjects. The first princes, then styled counts, of Urbino, began their career under the most brutal phase of this system. The last duke had thirteen thousand men at the disposal of the King of Spain.

'Any bold baron or experienced captain,' says Mr. Dennistoun, 'having formed round his banner a corps of tried and daring spirits, leased their services and his own for a stipulated term and price. Their whole arrangements being avowedly mercenary, they had no patriotism, no preference for standards or watchwords. The highest offer secured them; and when their engagement expired, or their pay fell into arrear, they were free to pass over to the enemy, or seek any other master. But besides their fixed stipend, they had perquisites from the hazards of war; the ransom of rich prisoners accrued to the leaders, while the soldiery were glutted by the occasional booty of a sacked city.

'The changes occasioned by this system influenced Italy in its military, political, and social relations. Formerly, a truce disarmed the combatants, and sent them to forget their discipline in their domestic duties. Now, one campaign followed another, teaching the same free companies new evolutions and more perfect lessons in martial science; or if a piping-time of general peace ever arrived, their leaders scrupled not to keep them in practice by a private adventure of pillage against some feeble victim, until they should be required for the fresh contests which a few months were sure to develope. Their armour, accoutrements, and drill, thus became more complicated; men-at-arms and lances were considered the only effec-

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tive troops. But their efficiency was counteracted by another result of stipendiary warfare. Exempt from enthusiasm in any cause, their tactics became a money question. To close a campaign by a series of brilliant successes was to kill the goose that gave them golden eggs; to carry havock into the adverse ranks was damaging to those who might be their next pay-masters or comrades. Sanguinary conflicts brought them danger without advantage, whilst the capture of an opponent or a camp ensured for them a rich prize. War was, in fact, a game which they were paid to play, with no interest in the stakes beyond their individual opportunities of plunder. Equally indifferent to past victories or future fame, they cared little for beating the enemy, could they but reach his baggage-waggons, or temporize until he could buy them off. Battles, thus deprived of their dangers and stirring interests, became great prize-fights, in which the victors deserved no sympathy, and the conquered required no commiseration. Gain was substituted for glory, languor for gallantry, calculation for courage. Patriotism slumbered; honesty of purpose and energy of action, fell into disuse; the parties in the match, careless of victory, manœuvred only for stale-mate. Hence the political results of Italian campaigns were inconsiderable, compared with the forces in the field, the time consumed, and the resources expended. Impoverished States were left without defenders, and even wealthy belligerents were liable to a sudden and immediate desertion by their hireling bands. Still more fatal were the moral effects upon the people. The feudal system rendered every occupier of the soil a soldier, ready to stand by his king and country; and it transmitted to more peaceful times "a bold "peasantry, their country's pride," and best defenders. But it was otherwise with the brave spirits of the Ausonian commonwealth. They were bound to the banner of some privileged bandit, who served the best bidder, whilst the mass of the community became indifferent to a native land, for which they were never called upon to hazard life or limb. The stipendiaries fought for or against freedom, faith, country, and comrades; the citizens endured their outrages or purchased their mercy. In the end, the military were brutalised, whilst the civilians became enervated. The former were made venal, the latter cowardly. The master-mind of Machiavelli, after the French invasion of 1592–9, saw these mischiefs, and would have remedied them by his plan for a civil militia; but it was too late, and the degeneracy engrafted upon the national character of Italy by the condottière system still cankers it to the core.' (Vol. i. p. 12.)

Who is to wonder that during the earliest days of this system Italy should have been afflicted with some of the worst of its petty tyrants? On the other hand, who is not to wonder, and to feel tenfold admiration, at princes who could be bred up in it, and yet become fathers of their people? For such, in one instance at least, we shall see to have been the case. A noble nature, it is true, becomes shocked by examples which would debase a common one. A son with a great mind, in spite of his wrong training, shall go counter to the habits of an evil father,

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But the greatness itself is not the less observable and delightful.

The attainment of their highest rank by the Montefeltri was rendered ominous by the crimes and catastrophe of its possessor, who, if history says true, was a youthful monster. His name, which to an English ear sounds like a burlesque, and an apology for eccentricity, was Oddantonio (a compound of Antonio and Oddo, or Otho). This first Duke of Urbino, whose rank was given him by the Pope by way of soothing a refusal to a great vassal, appears to have crammed into the small space of his existence the lives of some dozen scoundrels. He was probably out of his wits. He had come prematurely to a great inheritance, and his faculties were perhaps overborne by the prosperity. His history carries us at one step into the midst of the splendours, the luxuries, and the horrors, which the imagination connects with the deepest Italian romance. Oddantonio succeeded at fifteen to his father's princely domains. Two years afterwards he is made Duke by the Pope, amidst the pomps of chivalry and religion. Meantime he riots in orgies of the most hideous description, becomes hated by all the husbands within distance, and commits a dreadful murder. In the summer of his seventeenth year, just before his own marriage, he attended the nuptials of his betrothed's brother, among festivals and pageants, and the slaughter of boars and bullocks; and three months afterwards he perished in a conspiracy on the part of those whom he had injured, and his body was loaded with indignities. The murder which he committed is related as follows, on the testimony of the Pope who crowned him:—'He made 'one of his pages, who had neglected to provide lights at the 'proper hour, be enveloped in sear-cloth, coated with com-'bustibles, and then, setting fire to his head, left him to the 'horrors of a lingering agony.' (Vol. i. p. 50.)

The bare possibility of the truth of such a story is something appalling to humanity; yet who that has read the histories of tyrants and inquisitors shall say that it is impossible? When the will is suffered to grow enormous, it must have enormous satisfactions.

'Next the dark night,' says the poet, 'comes the glad morrow.' The first and worst Duke of Urbino was succeeded by the best; and, as his reign was longer and happier, we shall dilate upon it accordingly. His name was Federigo. Since the publication of Mr. Dennistoun's book, it is a name which will be known a great deal more than it was, and should become a favourite with posterity. Federigo was an elder brother of Oddantonio, born out of wedlock; a circumstance which, in those days of

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contested successions, was considered no flaw in a scutcheon, especially if the bearer was a man fit to govern. Scandal said he was no son at all, at least not on the father's side; and there have been six other theories, most of them going to prove that he had no direct claim to the diadem. These, after centuries of dispute, Mr. Dennistoun has set at rest by the fortunate discovery of a document from Pope Martin the Fifth, conferring legitimation in due form. It is preserved in the Archivio Diplomatico at Florence, and declares his mother to have been a 'maiden of Urbino.' For some reason or other, however, most likely because his nominal lord the Pope was not pleased with his politics, Federigo succeeded his brother, not as Duke, but as Count,—the old title of the family; nor was he invested with the higher title till thirty years afterwards; and only then, it would seem, because his daughter married a nephew of Pope Sixtus the Fourth. The Popes were always hungering after the estates of their vassals;—if possible, as inheritances for their own families; if not, as encroachments for the church. At all events they were bent upon having them. The old saying, 'By hook or by crook,' singularly fitted these ecclesiastical neighbours. What their claw could not seize, their crozier abstracted.

Not, however, from a man like Federigo. And had his successors resembled him, they might have kept the title to this day. Making every allowance for the flatteries of courtiers, the pride of contemporaries, and the laudable enthusiasm of gratitude, Federigo di Montefeltro, second Duke of Urbino, was a man for whom every human being that becomes acquainted with him is bound to express his love and reverence. He himself was of a loving, a reverencing, and a thankful nature. He was a soldier, yet a lover of books; religious, but not bigoted; energetic, but superior to anger; severely tried, yet cheerful; voluptuous by temperament, but not by habit; a prince at once magnificent and paternal; a right gentleman and fellow-creature; above all, a man true to his word. We speak of that as his crowning virtue, because, not to compromise the truth of our history, but to give both him and others their due, he lived in what must be pronounced to have been an age of liars. The only thing held shameful, said Macchiavelli, was want of success. To succeed, that is to say, to obtain the sure and certain non-success of a criminal prosperity, every body (so to speak) lied, and cheated, and was guilty of the grossest perjuries. It is not to be supposed that, in times so unprincipled, the best man alive, early employed as a soldier and politician, and forced to plot as well as to contend, could have kept himself utterly free

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from this objection. Yet, by the universal consent of the age, and to the astonishment of the cunning knaves in it who laughed at sincerity, and who nevertheless saw him prosper beyond them all, Federigo was so strong in the foundation of every virtue — good faith — that the only doubt which has been cast upon it by the jealousy of republican writers is, whether it was spotless.

But his conduct shall speak for itself. To praise a noble nature is delightful; but to see it in action, is more so. We will first give a brief sketch of his life.

Federigo had the good fortune to receive an excellent education, as far as one person could give it. His master understood the training both of mind and body. At eight years of age he was affianced (which was not so wise), and at fifteen he was married. He studied the art of war under Piccinino and Sforza, whose different systems of daring and caution he is said to have combined. He had long and successful contests with his neighbour, Sigismund Malatesta, a ferocious dilettante, who committed murders, and struck medals. He had also the honour of being excommunicated by Pope Eugene the Fourth for adhering to an unfortunate friend; became successively Captain-General of the Florentines, of the Duke of Milan, and of the King of Naples, the last of whom he delighted by his honesty; was then general in the service of the Church; refused to break his word with the most faithless of his enemies; built a splendid palace and library, and kept a stately court, which did not hinder him from mixing in the pleasantest manner with his people; was chosen commander of the first National Confederation, prototype of the measure so often since desired by Italians, and so invariably nullified by their divisions; helped to procure for his country, nevertheless, twenty-eight years of comparative tranquillity; attended with pomp the convocation of Pope Sixtus the Fourth, who invested him with the dukedom, and married a nephew to his daughter; received the order of the Garter from our Edward the Fourth, which, though truly fit for such a mirror of knighthood, was bestowed with an eye to his good offices with the Pope; indulged his love of scholarship and philosophy, and patronised art and science; rejected with scorn and horror a proposal to aid the Roman court in the assassination of Lorenzo di Medici and his brother, yet thought it no dishonour to conceal the plot from its objects, and to conduct troops against them for his papal employer; found himself, nevertheless, in a short time, fighting on the side of Lorenzo against papal encroachment; and on the 10th of September, in the year 1482, died of a fever, caught during the campaign, and rendered fatal by his refusal to quit his post.

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This concealment of a plot to assassinate, seems to have been the only blot on the scutcheon of this admirable person. He could not, it is true, have disclosed the names of the plotters, who were his friends, but he ought surely to have warned the intended victims. One of them perished. Lorenzo survived to become the greatest man in Italy. It is pleasant to think that he and Federigo personally came together. As to the transference of services from one State to another on no consideration but profit and expedience, it was not only the allowed but the approved custom of the age, especially if there was no violation of confidence, and no desertion of a friend. It has in truth been the custom in all ages. But in those days, nicety on such points was reckoned absurd, and Federigo stood unique in his scruples. Every other prince and condottiere played his game like a cheat. He alone kept his cards above board; and by the brave identification of honesty with policy, swept off all the honours.

Federigo was eminently a gentleman. He had a large heart which could afford both to give and take; and he did the best things in the best manner. A Count Gian Francesco di Meleto, who, though properly a subject of his own, had sided with his enemies, and had always been his ill-wisher, was captured by his exasperated soldiers, and with difficulty rescued from their hands by Federigo himself. When the battle was over, the culprit and his son were summoned before him, and thus addressed: — 'Count, this will be evil news for your wife. It 'would be right to console her with tidings of your welfare, 'and her son's. It is, therefore, my pleasure that you convey 'them to her in your own persons.' And he dismissed them home with an escort. (Vol. i. p. 189.) 'His modesty,' says Mr. Dennistoun, 'equalled his merit.' Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza having one day observed, 'Whenever I have fighting in 'hand, I should wish to keep by me your lordship, who, in my 'opinion, cannot be worsted;' he replied, 'I learned all that 'from his excellency the duke, your father.' (Id. p. 261.)

'He was most particular in the performance of justice, in acts as well as words. His master of the household having obtained large supplies for the palace from a certain tradesman, who had also many courtly creditors, and could not get paid, the latter was obliged to have recourse to the Duke, who said, 'Summon me at law.' The man was retiring with a shrug of his shoulders, when his lord told him not to be daunted, but to do what he had desired, and it would turn out for his advantage and that of the town. On his replying that no tipstaff could be found to hazard it, Federigo sent an order to one to do whatever this merchant might require for the ends of jus-

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tice. Accordingly, as the Sovereign issued from his palace with his retinue, the tipstaff stood forward, and cited him to appear the next day before the podestà, on the complaint of such-a-one. Whereupon he, looking round, called for the master of his household, and said, in presence of the court, "Hear you what this man says? Now give "such instructions as shall save me from having to appear from day "to day before this or that tribunal." And thus, not only was the man paid, but his will was made clear to all,—that those who owed should pay, without wronging their creditors.

'It having been represented to him that the fashion of going armed gave daily occasion for brawls and tumults, he made the podestà put forth a proclamation that no one should carry any weapon, and took care to be passing with his court when the crier was publishing it. Stopping to listen, he turned:—"Our podestà "must have some good reason for this order, and, that being so, it "is right he should be obeyed." He then, unbuckling his sword, gave it to one of his suite to be taken home, whereupon all the others did the same. Thus, by his example, he maintained more prompt and perfect justice than others could effect by sentences, bails, bonds, imprisonments, tortures, or the halter; and it was just when he made the least show of power that he was most a sovereign. One Nicolo da Cagli, an old and distinguished soldier in his service, having lost a suit, went to Fossombrone to lodge an appeal with Federigo, and, finding that he was hunting in the park, followed him, without ever considering that the time and place were ill-adapted for such a purpose. At the moment when he put his petition into his sovereign's hands, a hart went by with the hounds in full cry. The Count spurred after them, and in the hurry of the moment dropped the petition, which Nicolo taking as a personal slight, he retired in great dudgeon, and went about abusing him roundly, as unjust, ungrateful, and haughty. Federigo, hearing of this, ordered the commissary of Cagli to send the veteran to Urbino, who hesitated to obey the summons, dreading punishment of his rashness. In reliance, however, on his master's leniency and his own merits, he set out, and found the Count at breakfast in the great audience chamber. It was customary, while at meals, for those who had the *entrée* to fall back on each side, leaving the entrance clear, so that he saw Nicolo come; and when he had done eating, he called, and thus addressed him:—"I hear that "you go about speaking much ill of me; and as I am not aware of "having ever offended you, I desire to know what you have been "saying, and of what you complain." At first he turned it off with some excuse; but, on being pressed for an explanation, he recounted what had occurred in the park; and that, considering his long and zealous service, his sacrifices and wounds, it appeared to him a slight, and virtually a cut direct, to run after a wild beast when he came in search of justice; that having, in consequence, let slip the opportunity of appealing, and so irretrievably lost a cause of much importance, he had in irritation given too much license to his tongue. Whereupon Federigo, turning to the bystanders, said, "Now see "what obligations I am under to my subjects, who not only peril

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'their lives in my service, but also teach me how to to govern my "State!" and continued thus to the litigant: "Friend Nicolo, you "are quite right; and since you have suffered from my fault, I shall "make it up to you." He then ordered the commissary of Cagli to pay him down the value of the house and all his travelling expenses, although the fault was clearly his for not bringing his appeal at a fitter time. Again, during one severe winter, the monks at St. Bernardine being snowed up, and without any stores, rang their bells for assistance; the alarm reaching Urbino, Federigo called out the people, and went at their head to cut a way and carry provision to the good friars.' (Vol. i. p. 268.)

There are minds so well constituted that, (like naturally graceful bodies unspoilt in the training, which are sure to fall into becoming attitudes,) they cannot be thrown out of their propriety by any mischance. A wooden balcony once breaking beneath him, and dashing him to the earth, so that his leg underwent a dangerous fracture, his first exclamation was, not one of confusion, or pain, or anger, but of gratitude that he had not lost his life. So, on a still worse occasion, when he received a blow between the eyebrows, which knocked out his right eye, and defaced his nose for life, he repaid with cheerful words the condolements of those who flocked round him, and showed them what a capital thing it was that he had an eye remaining. There is no surer mark of a vulgar nature, than its willingness to thrust pain upon others, in order to divert its own. Here was a man, whose only advantage taken of the sympathy which he deserved, was to keep all the pain to himself.

There is a profile of Federigo among Mr. Dennistoun's illustrations, which carries with it melancholy proof of its likeness in the disfigurement of the nose and eye. The expression is that of determined sense and manliness; and though the painter has been very properly suffered to take the seeing instead of the blind side of the face, the sitter has not allowed him to spare four or five warts with which it is sprinkled; — a magnanimity, we believe, which has been thought peculiar to Cromwell.

One more passage, and we have done; for we have four Dukes remaining.

'While at Urbino he daily repaired to the market-place, whither the citizens resorted for gossip and games, as well as for business, mixing freely with them, and joining in discourse, like one of themselves, sitting among them, or leaning on some one by the hand arm. If in passing through the town he noticed any one buil house, he would stop to inquire how the work went on, ence him to beautify it, and offering him aid if required, which h

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well as promised. Should any answer him that, though desirous of making a handsome dwelling, he was frustrated by the refusal of some neighbour to part with an adjoining hovel at a fair price, Federigo sent for its obstructive owner, and urged him to promote the improvement of the city, kindly assisting to arrange a home for him elsewhere. On hearing that a merchant had suffered loss in his business, he would enter his shop to inquire familiarly into his affairs, and, after learning the extent of his difficulties, would advance him the means of restoring his credit and trade. Once, meeting a citizen who had daughters to marry, he said to him, "How are your family? "—have you got any of your girls disposed of?" And being answered that he was ill able to endow them, he helped them with money or an appointment, or set him in some way of bettering himself. Indeed, such instances were numberless of his charitable and sympathising acts, among which were the numerous poor children of talent or studious tastes, whom he educated out of love for letters. On the death of those in his service, he took special interest in their families, providing for their maintenance or education, or appointing them to offices, and continually inquiring in person as to their welfare. When the people came forth to meet him as he went through his State, receiving him with festive demonstrations, he had for each a word. To one, "How are you?" to another, "How is your old "father?" or, "Where is your brother?" to a third, "How does "your trade thrive?" or, "Have you got a wife yet?" One he took by the hand; he put his hand on the shoulder of another; but spoke to all uncovered; so that Ottaviano Ubaldini used to say, when any person was much occupied, "Why, you have more to do than Fede- "rigo's bonnet!" Indeed, he often told the Duke that his cap was overworked, hinting that he ought to maintain more dignity with his subjects. Talking of his courtesy; when returning one day from Frossombone to Urbino, he met a bride being escorted to her husband by four citizens, as was then customary; he at once dismounted, and joined them in accompanying her and sharing in their festivities.' (Vol. i. p. 268.)

Adieu to noble Federigo; and thanks to Mr. Dennistoun for making us acquainted with him.

Guido Ubaldo, (or, as the Italians generally write it, Guidubaldo,) became third Duke of Urbino at the age of eleven. He was a worthy, but luckless son of his father. He was good, brave, learned, very handsome, and seemed to be very strong; and he trod entirely in his father's steps, till prevented by what looks like a burlesque on the metaphor; to wit, the gout. Such, at least, is the name given to his malady; though we suspect it to have been what would now be called acute rheumatism. It seized him in his seventeenth year; and after rendering the soldierly part of his life insignificant, killed him before he was forty. Guidubaldo received the Order of the Garter from Henry the Seventh, as his father had from

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Edward the Fourth, and for the like reasons. During the usurpations of the infamous Pope Alexander the Sixth, he was twice driven from his dominions by the Pope's no less infamous son, Cæsar Borgia; which gives occasion to Mr. Dennistoun to repeat the history of that portentous family, and to enlist himself in the number of those, who, in opposition to Roscoe and others, think the worst they can of the female Borgia, Lucrezia;—a disposition, as it appears to us, neither so warranted by a knowledge of the times, nor so desirable for the interests of virtue, as the amount of their arguments, or even the tone of their indignation, would imply. There is sometimes a gusto of reprobation, which is not the best evidence of a wish to dispense with its necessity.

Federigo had been a patron of letters: had built, as we have observed, a splendid palace; and had collected, in emulation of the Medici, a library worthy of it; every book in which, we are told, was, by his express desire, bound 'in crimson and 'silver.' (Castiglione says, 'adorned with silver and gold;' and the variety looks more like the truth.) But the illustrious 'Captain-General' led too active a life to be as conversant with literature as his son, whose gouty chair seems to have attracted the visits of all the wits and poets of the nation, at the commencement of a period which has been called the Golden Age of Italian genius. We shall see, presently, who were among them. Whether they profited as much as they were honoured, we shall see, perhaps, also. At all events, there was a great deal of praise on both sides. The duke, when he could no longer take a part in the manly exercises of which he was as fond as of his reading, contented himself with looking at them from his windows, and conversing with his books and literati;—and when his infirmities compelled him to go to bed, which was at an early hour, the circle retired to the apartments of his duchess (Elisabetta Gonzaga), and there, after dances and music, continued the conversation, or amused themselves with ingenious devices. So informs us the writer just mentioned, Count Baldassare Castiglione; and through his means it is, that a lively interest, or any interest at all, attaches itself to the reign of the good Guidubaldo the First, Third Duke of Urbino. He and all that belong to him now depend for the attention we give them on one solitary volume, which his sickness occasioned, and which has left to posterity a picture of his court.

The distinguished author of this book, the *Cortegiano*, was of a noble family in Lombardy, and related, on the mother's side, to the princely house of Gonzaga. He was attached to Guidubaldo's person during the close of the duke's life; and he re-

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mained with his successor, till vicissitudes in the ducal family took him back to his native country. He then became ambassador to Rome for the court of Mantua, and was ultimately nuncio from Clement the Seventh to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, at the period when the disastrous sack of Rome took place under the Constable Bourbon. The consequences of this 'untoward event,' and the complaints of Clement at his not having foreseen it (though there was, perhaps, not a man in existence to whom it was not equally unexpected), are supposed to have caused him so much chagrin, as to shorten his days. He died at Toledo in his fiftieth year, and was pronounced by Charles to have been 'one of the best knights in the world.' The Emperor had wished him to become his second in his proposed romantic duel with Francis the First.

As the long popularity of Castiglione's book, the repeated editions of it in other languages, its particular connexion with Urbino, and the effect it probably had on the rest of 'polite 'Europe,' naturally call upon us to speak of it at some length, we must here beg the reader to consider himself as loitering for a time at the court before us, going in and out of doors on its lofty terraces (it was a sort of Edinburgh in Italian highlands), and above all, accompanying us to the apartments of the Duchess Elisabetta, and joining the illustrious company, who are resting from the dance. The silver lamps have just been replenished; the statues are placidly smiling in front of the tapestries of cloth of gold; there steals into the room an odour of myrtle and orange; and the music of an unseen orchestra is slowly dying away, as if too happy to leave off.

On looking about us, we do not see Ariosto; which is a pity, for he knows the parties; but he has not yet come to his fame. Neither is Raphael here, for he is too busy at Rome (a picture of his has gone to England in return for the Order of the Garter). But here are gallant friends of Ariosto, — Gonzagas and Pallavicinis. Here is Ottaviano Fregoso, whom by the prophetic eye vouchsafed to visitors in our condition, we behold afterwards Doge of Venice. His brother Federigo is with him, who was afterwards Archbishop of Salerno (though you would not think it, to see his vivacity). Next him is the son of the great Lorenzo, — Giuliano de' Medici, — 'elegant and gentle.' And here is Pietro Monte, surnamed Terpander for his exquisite music; and Bernardo Accolti, called the Unique, for his improvisation; and Bernardo da Bibbiena, afterwards Cardinal, one of the founders of Italian comedy (for these priests were then the merriest gentlemen existing); and not to enumerate less distinguished persons, here is the renowned Bembo, after-

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wards Cardinal also, whose letters to the fair Lucrezia are found to this day wrapped up with her golden hair in the famous library at Milan. We cannot help noticing, however, for the curiosity's sake, a friar, very stout and jovial, in his plain woollen dress, with the rope round his waist, one Brother Serafino, — a personage with an eye as little seraphical as possible, though it is often turned on the ladies. As to the ladies themselves, we are not sure that we are acquainted with more than two of them; one, the Duchess herself; and the other, the Lady Emilia Pia, her friend and favourite, widow of the Duke's brother Antonio. The ladies are not so numerous as the gentlemen; but they do not seem the less contented. The Lady Emilia, as usual, has been appointed president of the evening, to encourage or admonish the gentlemen, as the case may require: the whole company are seated indiscriminately, yet with a kind of orderly disorder; and the sweet majesty of the Duchess throws a mingled charm of delight and respectfulness over all.

The Duchess makes a sign to the Lady Emilia to begin, and the fair president desires the gentlemen to speak, and say what shall be the theme of the evening. Signor Gasparo Pallavicini, one of the Duke's captains, proposes accordingly, that every one should declare what kind of virtue they would most desire in the person they loved, and what kind of vice be most willing to excuse. Cesare Gonzaga, another soldier, is for the company's confessing what follies they were most subject to; which, he thinks, would greatly conduce to their respective self-knowledge, and thus, perhaps, help to 'save a soul.' The company are much amused at this proposal, and fall to confessing themselves immediately; but Friar Serafin interrupts them by observing, that such things as follies must needs be very long in the confessing. He, therefore, to the surprise of us northern visitors, proposes an equivocal subject; but the fair president puts it down by enjoining him silence, and the 'Unique' is called upon to speak instead. This singular gentleman, who is accused by some of making love to the Duchess, for the purpose of being thought to have more influence with her than he really possesses, first makes some remarks on hard-hearted Serpents and Sirens, and then, as if he meant to apply the initial of those words to his question, proposes that the company should declare their opinions respecting an ornament in the shape of the letter S, which the Duchess wears on her forehead. Nothing comes of this but a sonnet, which he extemporises; and Ottaviano Fregoso then proposes, that every gentleman should declare on what ground of objection it would least pain him to find his

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addresses to a lady refused. He has heard, he says, of things called 'sweet disdains,' and he would fain learn what they are. Bembo is for limiting the question to the choice between real faults on the lover's side, and mistaken imputations of them on the part of the lady. The president, however, is still unsatisfied, and passes the word to Fregoso's brother, who finally settles the difficulty by proposing for discussion the requisites of an accomplished courtier. The opening of the debate is assigned to Count Ludovico da Canossa (afterwards Bishop of Baieux), who on Gonzaga's recommending adjournment to next day, in order to give the speaker 'time to think,' pleasantly declines the accommodation, for fear of resembling the jumper, who, 'on 'stripping himself to his waistcoat, got over less ground than 'he did in his coat.'

We need not repeat the requisites in question. They amount to some four score; for not a shadow of qualification is omitted. The aspirant is of course to be a paragon of a gentleman, the Crichton or Sir Charles Grandison of his day. Bibbiena is chief jester in the argument; Pallavicini, consistently with his severity on the fair sex, is the confiner of love to gallantry; and to Bembo is assigned the belief in love sentimental. The discussion occupies three more evenings; and its close is wound up by a really beautiful aspiration on the part of Bembo, and by the discovery (which as beautifully fits it) of the morning light through the shutters; the company having been so wrapped up in their subject, that they forgot the hours, and thought it was still night.

In Castiglione's book a fair counterpart is provided for his Court-gentleman in an equally consummate Court-lady. The reader may guess her perfections. Both lady and gentleman are very unlike those of Chesterfield, with whom, as a writer, the Count has been compared: much to the Italian's wrong; for, with all his mistakes, Castiglione was a manly and good man, and would equally have disdained the importance which the other attaches to trifles and the solemn foppery of his never condescending to laugh. But it must not be concealed, as an evidence how far a good and high-minded man, naturally beyond his time, may be injured by it, that with all his love of truth and delicacy the Count has not escaped so well as Duke Federigo from the infection of the trickeries he beheld around him, or even from the coarseness of the Condottieri soldiers. To say nothing of such things as puns and cross-purposes, which the court of Elizabeth admired, and which are eulogised in the *Cortegiano*, the reader is surprised to find how much raillery and horse-play is permitted to the gentlemen and ladies of the

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court of Duke Guidubaldo, even to the unhandsomest practical joking. Chesterfield would have triumphed over this. But he would have been equally pleased to see the Count's gentleman allowed to mix up a good deal of expediency with his veracity; and this, too, not unwillingly, or only upon perilous and perplexing occasions, but for the small purpose of being thought better of on little ones. He must not pretend openly to any virtue or accomplishment which he does not possess; but, on the white-lie principle, he may allow such conclusions to be drawn; nay, take measures to procure them. His 'music,' at the same time, though he is to play it well, he is to play but condescendingly, as if he did it by constraint. He is to take pains to show that he has taken *no* pains. He is to refuse honours and other favours, for the purpose of having them pressed upon him. In short, paragon of truth as he is, he is to practise a great deal of the *magis videri quam esse*, the sacrifice of truth to pretension. He is also not a little to despise the common people. His very highest motive is to be 'Honour;' that is, to be thought well of, and to be distinguished. There is not a word of patriotism, much less of the welfare of mankind: and though nobody (except in horse-play and mystification) is to be personally offended, particularly the ladies, the conversation is repeatedly allowed to trespass on their indulgence. Things are talked of, which could not even be hinted at now; and with an inconsistency not uncommon to books that teach manners, others are without necessity related, in order to show that no such things should be mentioned.* Time was not yet ripe for the Steeles and Addisons, nor even for resolutions like Mrs. Godolphin's,—not to smile, though the gentlemen talked filthily. The Reformation itself had not appeared; nor Papal courts grown serious, except when they were plotting. The very best people in those days had no suspicion that some things were wrong, which are now thought so, whatever might be said against them by the priests. The priests in truth said very little, especially as the Bible was not read; and what they did say, they were the first to laugh at. Not only men, therefore, but ladies of the very highest reputation, made no scruple of talking with the priests on the subject, and echoing the mirth. Mr. Dennistoun has spoken highly, and, we have no doubt, justly, of the two principal ladies recorded in the Count's book, and equally eulogised by himself, the Duchess of Urbino and

* There are two, if not more, translations of the *Cortegiano* in English, the latest of which is the least objectionable on the score alluded to.

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the Lady Emilia, her friend. He thinks them superior to the talk which they heard around them; or, at least, that they were not the sort of people to take a part in it. He speaks in particular of the Duchess's 'own pure example.' (Vol. ii. p. 42.) Yet, to say nothing of his own denouncements of the age in other places, its priests, ladies, and all, there is a book still popular in Italy — the Novels of Bandello — in which the sedatest personages in the *Cortegiano* cut a remarkable figure. One story, which no gentleman would think of telling to ladies now, is told to the author of the *Cortegiano* himself, on purpose that he should repeat it to his wife; a second is told to Bandello by a lady, on purpose that he should tell it to the world; and a third, which Mr. Dunlop, in his 'History of 'Fiction,' pronounces to be the most indecent 'in the whole 'series of Italian novels,' is related in the presence of 'Madama 'di Mantua,' and of the two Duchesses of Urbino, reigning and dowager, one of whom was the very Duchess whose example is so pure.

We have been the more particular in this matter, by way of caution to those biographers, who, while thinking the best of persons to whom they are well disposed, do not scruple to think the worst of others when it pleases them to do so, and this too on the strength of those very manners which, in the case of the former, they adduce in extenuation. Lucrezia Borgia had the misfortune of being born in a wicked family; yet, if all the arguments in her favour by Roscoe, and all the terms of respect and admiration in which she was spoken of by contemporaries who knew her, Ariosto included, are to go for nothing, because she was present with that family at scandalous spectacles (perhaps upon compulsion, — at all events, with the sanction of a father who was counted the vicegerent of heaven), what becomes of the pure example of the Duchess of Urbino, who could listen to the most indecent of Italian novels? No worse, of course, than we must think of the whole age, and of its gravest ornaments; but then, the poor daughter of the bad pope should partake the benefit of their countenance. The story in question is represented as told by the famous Navagero, the Latin poet, one of the most respectable of men; and it is addressed to Amanio, who was a judge, by Bandello, who was a bishop.

We all know how coarse and indecent, in a later day, were the writings of Pope, the favourite of the circles, and of Swift, who was a dean. Witness also the *Suffolk Correspondence*, in respect to the talk of ladies; to say nothing of what has transpired of a later generation, and which is quoted at this moment

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in periodical papers, not only with indulgence, but with glee. Though Afra Behu is now banished, our own age, perhaps, will not be thought so pure as it fancies itself, or so good as it really is, when coming generations read of all that it tolerates, and even admires. Readers might be startled out of their propriety, if we asked them what they thought, on reflection, of some of their gravest customs. There are foreigners who would certainly have no mercy on us. Look at a Turkish or Persian gentleman at one of our *soirées*, where the best and wisest of the land are assembled. Think how he keeps his own females from the company of men, and how he muffles them up to the eyes in public; and then fancy what he might think of our wives and sisters, upon the strength of their unsuspecting faces, their certainly *not* muffled up bosoms, and the clothes which seem to be slipping down their backs. Yet he knows very well, or would soon be taught, if necessary, what would be the consequence of his venturing to breathe an indecent word into the ear of one of the charming wearers.

Not that we are to conceive as highly of the morals or manners of Italy in those days, as we are of English ones at present. That would be as ridiculous, as to constitute our own customs the standard of all which are to come. There is too much that needs pardon in all ages. Only it is as well to be impartial in supposing as much goodness as we can, where there is no positive proof to the contrary.

We have been led into a long account of one of the particulars connected with the court of Duke Guidubaldo; but it was out of zeal to do our best for the reader. We hope the company which he has met with, have helped to warrant us; and shall now proceed to bring the rest of the Dukes to his acquaintance. They are a curious race, and will not let him slumber.

Francesco Maria della Rovere, successor to Guidubaldo, and Fourth Duke of Urbino, was the son of Giovanni della Rovere, nephew of Pope Sixtus the Fourth, and brother of Pope Julius the Second, by Giovanna di Montefeltro, daughter of Duke Federigo. It is thus that the dukedom passed into the Della Rovere House, giving rise to the second and concluding dynasty. Francesco Maria was an extraordinary person. He was famous for two things; delay in fighting battles, and promptitude in committing personal outrages. In private intercourse, it was a word and a blow with him: in his conduct of armies his maxim was, delays are safe. Mr. Dennistoun urges what he can for the duke on both these points; and thinks that Guicciardini and other historians have been hard on him.

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With how much good-nature, the reader may judge from the following little incidents.

In the seventeenth year of his age, Francesco Maria commences his career by assassinating the paramour of his sister. At twenty-one, he assassinates a cardinal in open day, and in the precincts of the Vatican. Fifteen years afterwards, so little had experience taught him, he knocks down Guicciardini himself at a war-council with a blow on the face, telling him that pedants were the men for him to converse with, and bidding him 'get up and be gone.' This was for differing with him in opinion. Guicciardini, besides being the man which posterity know him to have been, was at that time Papal commissioner, or lieutenant-general, with powers almost as great over the duke's army as the Duke himself. This may have been very irritating; but the duke's delays and brutalities were no less so. Two years afterwards, while in the act of departing from Venice, where the republic had mortified him, his attendants, being challenged by three of the patrol for riding armed, answered them by beating them to death. And many days had not elapsed, when an officer of the republic having 'somewhat 'disrespectfully' (the officer, perhaps, might have told us otherwise,) 'combated his opinion concerning the defence of Peschiera, 'received from him a severe blow in the face, tearing it with a 'diamond ring which he happened to wear, which was followed 'by a severe beating with his baton of command.' A biographer adds, that 'it was well for him the duke was unarmed.' But 'such pugilistic sport,' observes the same writer, when speaking of the treatment of Guicciardini, was 'habitual to my 'lord duke; and it was well for those who could command 'their temper in reasoning with him, as he was ever ready to 'strike any one who argued against his views with disrespect.' Disrespect! A man who was given to arguments like these was as little likely to be a proper judge of respect, as he was to maintain or deserve it. They do not leave him unjustly suspected even of cowardice. A man of a brutal temper is not, of necessity, a coward; but when he takes advantage of his rank to beat and assassinate, the case looks very like it.

We need not enter into further details respecting this bully. Like his predecessors, he was employed in the service of other princes as a military leader, sometimes with success, not seldom with failure, owing to his habits of delay, which Mr. Dennistoun acknowledges to have been occasionally suspicious and unaccountable. Nepotism, the scandal of the Roman Church, and not of the Roman only, was now in full action; and Francesco Maria, like others whom it brought into power, suffered as well as pro-

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fited by it. The Borgias had endeavoured to kidnap him when a boy, in order to hinder his succession to the Duchy; and Leo the Tenth would have ousted him from its possession, to give it to his own family. He does not appear, after all, to have been a bad sovereign. Even assassins must have justice done to them. Nor should it be forgotten, that every crime in those days was encouraged by absolution from popes.

Guidubaldo the Second, fifth Duke of Urbino, styled by his subjects Guidubaldaccio (Despicable Wretch Guido), inherited the irritability of his father Francesco without his violence. The native part of the Condottiere system was now over, and two events only are recorded of the reign of this prince,—one a quarrel which he had with his subjects, originating in his want of money, and his wish to extort it; the other, a movement on the part of his duchess, the importance of which may be gathered from the following historical document:—

'Master Steward, our well-beloved,

'This is to inform you, that on your return with his Excellency, our lord and consort, you must bring with you as much of the finest and most beautiful scarlet serge, such as is made on purpose for the cardinals, as may suffice to make us a petticoat.'

Guidubaldaccio died of a quartan fever at the age of sixty, and was succeeded by his son Francesco Maria the Second, then a youth of five and twenty.

Among the curiosities of his dynasty, Francesco Maria the Second, sixth and last Duke of Urbino, was not the least. He had been married, when prince, to Donna Lucrezia d'Este, sister of Alfonso, the last Duke of Ferrara; a union which, in some memoirs of himself which he left in manuscript, he describes as not having been much to his taste, 'for she was old 'enough to have been his mother.' She was thirteen years older. A Venetian observer adds, that she was 'below par in 'good looks, but well dressed.' What different accounts of people are given by prose and poetry! This is one of the two famous sisters, Lucrezia and Leonora, upon whose beauty such rapturous verses were written by Tasso, and of whom it has been doubted with which of them he was in love. Tasso, whose father had been a *protégé* of the Duke's father, and who had been partly brought up in company with the son, followed the wife of his former associate to Urbino; and Mr. Dennistoun intimates that the domestic peace of the couple may have been endangered. Be this as it may (and he says that neither then, nor afterwards, did the Duke betray any jealousy of the poet, or treat him with anything but regard), the couple lived but a

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few years together. Lucrezia returned to the gayer court of her brother; and her husband, after leading for some years the life of a sportsman, shut himself up during the long remainder of his days, with his books, his horses, his gout, and the cold Spanish manners which he had grafted on the family irritability. He thrust off the cares of government upon boards and councils, and even upon a foolish boy. He dictated to them, nevertheless, the items of their conduct; chose to take the execution of his directions for granted, in order to save himself trouble; was forced to resume his place and office by the poor boy's death; made arrangements with the Church for transferring the Duchy into its hands; and showed his jealousy, to the last moment, of a change which he was nevertheless anxious to facilitate. In short, Francesco Maria the Second was a selfish pedant, imitating 'in little' the abdication of Charles the Fifth, and loving power while he hated its cares.

The fate of his son—the poor boy alluded to—presents a strange and melancholy climax to the fortunes even of this strange and melancholy house. His father being a fool, the son naturally went counter to his directions: but the son, being unfortunately a fool also, became a proof of the old maxim, and only ran into vices the opposite of those of the father. He was a premature profligate; an associate with stable boys and strolling players; an actor on the stage himself, not as a hero or a gentleman, but as a buffoon, delighting in the lowest characters; and, after taking a wife, as if on purpose to insult her by the ostentation with which he kept a mistress, he died at eighteen years of age, of the debauchee's *coup de grace*, a fit of apoplexy. The poor child's name was Federigo: 'Alas, how changed from '*him!*' Mr. Dennistoun claims for his whole series of Dukes of Urbino, with the exception of the first, the praise of mild government and of a flourishing community, superior to those of Italy in general; and we think he has made out his case. The sovereigns were enriched by external military employment; the sequestered and mountainous nature of the country helped to secure it against invasion; and, besides the rich agriculture of their valleys, the natives had a good stock of wealth in their trade and commerce.

At the close of the dukedom, they exported silks, woollen, leather, and majolica; and they realised a large balance over their imports. They had flourished thus, more or less, for two hundred years; and they have now, for the same space of time, been equally the reverse of flourishing, under the Popes. We recommend that 'distinguished' fact to the reader's reflections. He has seen and heard enough of Popes lately to enable him to

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do it justice. If we have said little of the prosperity of the Urbinese, it is because it was the result rather of local circumstances than of the characters of its princes. Federigo was an exception; and (those circumstances considered) what he did was too well done to lose its effect, even under successors less worthy. But the patronage of talent was a fashion throughout Italy; and granting, for the sake of argument (for thorough justice to our subject compels us to state the doubt), that literature flourished better at Urbino than elsewhere, and that the majority of its dukes were the patrons they are supposed to have been, the fact has little to do with the country's prosperity. The peasants ploughed, and the merchants trafficked; but the natives, upon the whole, were a sombre race for Italians; and the district neither read other people's books, nor produced any authors to speak of. The palace (with the exception of pictures for churches) was all in all as the abode of taste; and it is questionable, notwithstanding the pleasing visions of accomplished court circles and occasional residents, how far men of letters were permanently better off at Urbino than elsewhere. They came and went, as at other places; stayed longer perhaps occasionally, and were received with more cordiality; but what great name, or second great name, or any name at all, has lifelong connexion with its history? Ariosto was only a visitor; Tasso was only a visitor; Castiglione himself was not reinvited; Raphael was suffered to bloom elsewhere; Galileo once 'passed through the country.' Men of genius are grateful; and there are patrons who have deserved their gratitude, for they have given as much comfort as they have received glory. But, with the exception of the Medici, to how many other rulers among their countrymen, princely or republican, can praise like that be given? Perhaps to the Polentas, in the case of Dante; perhaps to the Colonnas, in that of Petrarch. Certainly to very few others, even in cases equally solitary. Florence, as a republic, did nothing to speak of for her greatest children. Of Petrarch she knew little; and Dante she exiled. Venice patronised painting, which is a semi-sensual luxury and a marketable commodity; but Titian could have done without her. Genoa patronised nobody. The chief celebrities at the Court of Urbino, the Bembos, Bibbienas, and others, were such as had resources elsewhere; and those who had to be paid, probably had the same complaints to make as were made at Ferrara, of difficulty to get the money. All the courtliness of Castiglione did not render him an exception. (See vol. ii. p. 47.) Art and science flourished most; art, for the reason just mentioned, and for the magnificence of building;

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science, for its application to warfare. The patrons of Ariosto at Ferrara were studying cannon-founding to no purpose, while the man who immortalised them was neglected by their treasurer, and insulted by themselves. And what has genius experienced of late years in Italy but imprisonment and exile? The genius has flourished, it is true, whatever was the case with the man; for Italy is a land of genius, and its fruits will grow on the unworthiest of soils; but it is time that there should be an end to the talk about Italian princes and Italian patronage, compared with those of other countries. Louis the Fourteenth, with all his faults, did more for genius, than nine tenths of the princes of Italy; and we suspect that if the histories of our own British 'Dukes' were written, though they are no princes at all except in the herald's office, they would be found as far to exceed the Dukes of Urbino in princeliness of patronage, as in services (with one exception) to their country, and the diffusion of elegance and good manners. Italy is a beautiful and wonderful country; and we shall never cease to be interested in hearing of it, especially if it become happy. But even the addition of a Duke Federigo to our stock of acquaintance cannot but make us wish that biographers would travel more at home, and show us what 'houses' our own island has possessed, to glorify and delight us.

ART. III.—1. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By JOHN RUSKIN. London: 1848.

2. *The Stones of Venice.* Volume the First. 'The Foundations.' By JOHN RUSKIN. With Illustrations drawn by the Author. London: 1851.

IT is not usual to bring up young men as painters, sculptors, or composers of music, unless it is supposed that they have uncommon talents for painting, sculpture, or composition; but Architecture is seldom treated with such consideration. A father has four sons, feels that 'variety is charming,' and educates one for a lawyer, another for a soldier, a third for a physician, and, if he has too much conscience to make a clergyman of the fourth, who appears to have no 'call' that way, he resolves to make an architect of him, and does not entertain any misgiving, but that instruction, industry, and average general ability are capable of securing success in all the professions alike. Architecture and architects are no worse, and no better, than, under this condition, we ought to expect them

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to be. The art which (to judge by the paucity of its successful cultivators) requires, perhaps more than any other fine art, a peculiar faculty in its votary, sinks, in the hands of a man not so qualified, into the rank of the mere useful arts,—none the less surely because certain systems of eminently useless decoration are attached to its exercise. It is not only in the matter of education that we show a practical disbelief, at present, of its being the duty of an architect to be anything more than what his name—literally Chief of the Works—implies him to be. Men who have acquired a considerable standing as architects make open admission of the entirely 'professional' nature of the art as they practise it. Mr. Joseph Gwilt, for example, says, that an architect is a 'person competent to de-'sign and superintend the erection of any building;' adding, that an architect's qualifications are the instructions contained by his 'Encyclopædia,' and that a thorough grounding in these, together with 'devotedness, faithfulness, and integrity towards 'his employer, with kindness and urbanity to those whose lot it 'may be to execute his projects, will ensure a *brilliant* and 'happy career in his profession.' Perhaps it would be well, since the necessities of a civilised and populous State require the services of architecture in Mr. Gwilt's sense of the word, that the *fine* art—the art which divided with painting the affections of Giotto, Michel Angelo, Da Vinci, and Raffaello, and produced the Greek temple, the Gothic abbey, and the Venetian palace,—should go by some other name. So far is technical knowledge from being the main requisite,—so indispensable is genius to the practice of architecture as a Fine Art,—that the most consummate skill and learning which can be taught or acquired are of little worth in the absence of 'the 'faculty divine.' Sir Christopher Wren thought the great Pointed style barbarous, and knew not so much of its details as is at present known of them by every young lady with a turn for ecclesiastical antiquities; nevertheless, there is an amount of true Gothic character in his attempts in this style, such as is rarely to be met with in the modern village churches which crowd our metropolis, and for every moulding, crocket, and corbel-head of which the architects can allege unquestionable authority in ancient examples.

Mr. Ruskin's works, written in a highly popular and attractive style, among other good services, will do much towards elevating the common notions of architectural art: He is, however, frequently fanciful and extravagant, besides there being, in professional, as well as popular views, now prevalent, certain fundamental delusions concerning architecture, which his works,

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—original and, in many respects, valuable, as they are,—seem fitted rather to confirm than to dissipate.

Writers on architecture generally agree in classifying architectural details under two heads, specified, according to the notions of the critic, the mechanical and the artistical, the useful and the beautiful, the constructive and the decorative, and so forth; few, however, seem to be agreed, either with others or themselves, as to the point at which the constructive ends and the decorative begins. In the first instalment of 'The Stones 'of Venice,' Mr. Ruskin has made an elaborate, and, in some respects, a successful attempt to trace the working of the constructive element, in various details which are commonly held to be chiefly or entirely decorative; he has also put forth certain general views of decoration, the full development and illustration of which are intended to form the contents of the concluding volume. An attentive perusal of 'The Foundations' has served to convince us that Mr. Ruskin's ideas upon this subject require considerable modification; and we venture to hope that the forthcoming part of the work, unless it is already in an advanced stage of preparation, may have its utility increased by the adoption into its system of certain widely practised, but hitherto imperfectly examined architectural principles, which shall be stated, and briefly explained, in the course of the following pages.

Of the two great and acknowledged elements of architecture, considered as a Fine Art, the mechanical element only has been sufficiently, or, indeed, at all deeply and systematically investigated. The constructive history of architecture has now been well nigh exhausted. As a popular outline of this subject, Mr. Hope's book left little to be desired, and the details have been amply filled up by the labours of professed architects. But it has not been possible to ignore one half of the art, or to attempt to do so without falling into serious error concerning the other half. The notion has arisen, and it appears still to be gaining ground, that, if the architect takes good care of the useful, the beautiful will take care of itself. New constructional necessities and discoveries have been asserted, by architectural critics of respectable standing, to have constituted, not only the germ, but the whole essence and form of each new phase of architectural character; and our best authorities afford examples of many confused and self-contradictory statements, in which the nature of decoration, and all that relates *to effect*, are treated as wholly subordinate to, and exponential of, constructive obligations. This misconception—for such we shall prove it to be—has been the re-action of the opposite and far

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more pernicious error of regarding all decoration as arbitrary, unmeaning, and independent of construction. The error prevailed for centuries, and originated and completed the decay of every great style of architecture; it hid the discharging arch above the Roman doorway, with the falsehood of the sculptured architrave; it began the destruction of the Pointed style by the introduction of intersecting tracery lines; it brought about, by an easy gradation from forms either insignificant or unnatural, the ruinous contradiction of imitated materials, giving to Raffaello's Pandolfini Palace its cornice of perishable wood; it blinded the architects of the Cinque-cento manner in England and France to the absurdity of facing Gothic masses with spectral reminiscences of Greek details; and it has received its final glorification in the plaster splendours of London slop-shops and gin-palaces.

We believe that it is demonstrably wrong to regard the leading transitions of architectural style as having consisted wholly, or even mainly, in the fulfilment of new constructional necessities, and the effects to the eye, as having been no more than the simple, unforeseen, and unintended sequences. Constructional change, as an unavoidable condition to great novelties of effect, must have preceded such novelties in order of time. But who will venture on the absurdity of maintaining, for example, that the prodigious height of the naves of Beauvais and Cologne, and still more that of the spires of Salisbury and Strasburg, sprang from any necessities in the new construction, instead of the success and establishment of the new construction being chiefly owing to its capacity for producing this and other visual effects, which remained impossible till the round arch shot up into the lancet, and the ponderous masses of Roman and Lombard wall dissolved into the fairy framework of windows and buttresses? The very birth of the Pointed style seems to have been owing to the purely artistical element of architecture, to the desire for loftiness and magnificence, for their own sakes, and not to any incapacity of the preceding style for the fulfilment of all ordinary purposes of church-building.

We readily admit, as an important principle, perhaps the most important principle of architecture, that the peculiar artistical expression in every great and pure style, as the Egyptian, Greek, Lombard, Moresque, and Northern Pointed,—and, in an inferior degree, the mixed expression of less perfect styles, as the Roman, early Byzantine, Venetian-Gothic, and Cinquecento, is always in a peculiar and harmonious relation with the manner of construction adopted. It is in every case an expres-

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sion which could not be obtained, legitimately, under any other condition of construction. The law of the construction may be regarded as the theme of the architectural harmony; but its illustration is no such straightforward and prosaic business as Mr. Ruskin, and certain excellent architects, who are excellent in spite of the defects of their theories, would have us believe. These defects, in most cases, perhaps, consist rather in the statement than in the feeling of the truth, which, in the fewest words, appears to be this;—every kind of construction, when carried out in the simplest manner, is productive of some peculiar expression, which may or may not be one and the same with the truth of construction. Thus, the literal fact of the balance of supporting and supported members is the natural expression of the unadorned Greek 'hut;' and this expression, heightened immeasurably in emphasis, by means at which we shall presently glance, is the fundamental expression of the Erectheion and the Parthenon. Again, the semblance of ascendant energy, which is a violent contradiction of the literal truth of stones and mortar, is the unassisted expression of the nave walls rising out of the aisle-roofs, in the barest of the 'temporary churches' on the outskirts of London. This expression was seized on by the inventors of the Northern Pointed, and was repeated, and heightened, and illustrated by them in a hundred different ways. The Lombard architects, who built according to the same leading form, which was that of the Roman basilica, wanted the groined roof, the pointed arch, and the buttress system, and were consequently greatly limited in the power of developing its chief fundamental expression; they therefore devoted themselves, like the early Greek architects, to emphasising, by various appeals to the imagination, the simple constructive truth. Walls of enormous and uniform thickness were required to support the arched roof; and, accordingly, the power of the wall is the theme of a most interesting and elaborate system of decoration. The Romans made an attempt to develope a system of expression out of a construction based upon the semicircular arch: they almost wholly failed. The attempt was renewed by the Byzantines, with little better success. It was reserved for the Arabian architects to found upon the mechanical properties of the arch an expression which emulated, and even surpassed, the Northern Gothic in the extent of its departure from obvious constructive reality. The Egyptian builder continually laboured to give expression to that preponderance of mass, the existence of which was a condition imposed upon him by his materials and his want of science in using them. The architecture of the

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Renaissance, in its best monuments, confuses, rather than reconciles, the three principles of the wall, the arch, and the entablature. Other styles are modifications, combinations, or degradations of these, and respectively owe their claims to be regarded as styles to their development of one or more of these orders of natural expression.

In the following remarks, then, it will be our main object to show, that in every true style of architecture there are many details which should be classed as *means of architectural expression*, — a phrase which seems preferable to the term 'decoration,' or 'ornament;' for these words convey to most persons the notion of something more or less extraneous, or detachable, and they fail to include features which, nevertheless, decidedly refuse to be classed under the head of constructional necessities. The want of a full recognition of this order of details has been the source of an immense amount of misapprehension and confusion among architects and writers on architecture. By the architects of the Renaissance, and by their successors down to the beginning of the present century, the means of architectural expression, in the ancient styles, were treated as arbitrary ornaments; and some of the best writers of our own time, who have perceived this error, have themselves erred in the opposite direction, not less widely because much less dangerously, by regarding, or endeavouring to regard, the class of details in question, either as the ultimate fulfilments, or as the artistic exponents, of a merely constructive perfection.

A good deal of vagueness and timidity is necessarily manifest in the declarations of most writers upon this matter. Mr. Pugin's well-known maxim, for example, sounds much more simple and satisfactory before, than after, a little consideration of its terms: — 'The two great rules for design are these, — 'I. That there should be no features about a building which are 'not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety. 'II. That all ornaments should consist of the enrichment of 'the essential construction of the building.' The truth or falsehood of the first statement depends entirely upon the latitude in which the word 'propriety' is taken. Artistical propriety would, we conceive, include much which would be excluded by barely utilitarian propriety. The second rule asserts one of the *conditions* of ornament, but as a definition of ornament it is totally worthless, on account of the indefinite and inadequate meaning of the word 'enrichment.' Insufficient as this declaration appears to be, it is perspicuity itself when compared with the definitions of some architectural critics. Mr. Ruskin, however, in the 'Stones of Venice,' is bold and

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clear enough; vagueness and pusillanimity of affirmation are not among the charges which we shall have to make against his new volume. He states his principles broadly and simply at the outset, and then gives detailed applications of them; praising, as good architecture, all that agrees with them, and overwhelming with unmitigated, and often very eloquent scorn, whatever constitutes a departure from them. There is no mistaking his data, nor, if these are admitted to be the truth, and *the whole truth*, is there any denying his conclusions. Now, because some of Mr. Ruskin's leading principles are, in the main, the same which Mr. Pugin*, and other influential writers besides himself, have enunciated, though with less distinctness, and have maintained, though commonly with far less boldness and consistency, we conceive that we may be rendering good service to architecture, by a somewhat detailed demonstration of certain weak points in the critical system expounded in 'The Stones of Venice.' We shall glance briefly at each of the great styles of architecture above enumerated, regarding them not from the constructive point of view, from which nothing fresh is to be seen, nor under the aspect of their peculiar decoration, understanding by this term what Mr. Ruskin, and most critics who have spoken at all plainly on the subject, seem to understand by it, namely, sculptured and painted imitations of natural and artificial objects, chosen and executed for the sake of an interest, which may be more or less appropriate in character, but of which the character is not altogether destroyed by detachment from the architecture. By considering in each style its properly architectural expression, and the means by which this has been obtained, we may be enabled, not only to add our mite to the existing stock of architectural criticism, but also to increase the practical worth of that stock, by rendering more definite than heretofore its real extent and signification. On our way, we hope to justify the Greek and Northern Gothic architects, and shall, in part, excuse those of

* We are somewhat surprised to find Mr. Ruskin speaking in terms of unmixed wrath against Mr. Pugin. We sympathise quite as little as he does with that gentleman's rapturous visions of the ideal temple, where the 'albs hang in the oaken ambries, and the 'cope chests are filled with orphreyed baudekins; and pix, and pax, 'and chrismatory are there, and thurible and cross!' &c. &c.; but it seems to us that Mr. Pugin has been long, diligently, and not without success, calling for the introduction into architectural practice of some of the very principles upon which Mr. Ruskin lays most stress. In which case, this precursorship might be considered as constituting a claim to more merciful treatment.

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the Renaissance from some of the overwhelming charges which Mr. Ruskin has brought against them; and we trust that, before we conclude, our readers may have arrived at a clear understanding of a principle of great practical importance, as well to the production of works of architectural art as to the formation of a right judgment concerning them. We cannot, however, claim priority, even for the statement, much less for the perception of this principle: could we have done so, we should not have entertained our present bold conviction of its value. Its workings must have been felt by most persons as constituting a great part of the delight which they have received from architecture; and its existence has been repeatedly acknowledged, or assumed, in architectural criticism, though nearly always with a strange misappreciation of the extent and importance of its operations. F. Kugler, in his 'Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte' (a book which ought to be translated into English), and Mr. Freeman, in his 'History of Architecture,' have shown clear apprehensions of the source of architectural expression in a few of the details of Greek temple architecture: and some of the curious methods by which the Northern Gothic obtains the effect of ascendant energy, are become matters of ordinary criticism. The merit we mean to claim, is simply that of having shown, in something like its true breadth and depth, the working of a law, which is so paramount and universal, as almost always to have won for itself a dim recognition, even from critics whose theories have tended to persuade them, as far as possible, to overlook its existence.

To begin chronologically with Egypt: the effect of enormous massiveness, and of everlasting stability, is what first strikes, and to the last chiefly impresses, the beholder of her architectural forms. Massiveness in excess would necessarily characterise the original works of unpractised and unscientific builders in stone. It must be some time before the greatest length, with the least thickness of shaft and lintel, consistent with security, could be experimentally ascertained. The first builders would keep well on the safe side; and the unsought result, under almost any condition of construction, would be a high degree of that expression which distinguishes Egyptian architecture above every other style. Indian cavern architecture, and early Doric, for example, exhibit this superfluous massiveness; so that a careless observer would be likely enough to describe them as having an Egyptian look: there is, however, a wide difference in the way in which this fact of superfluous massiveness and its expression were dealt with by the three kinds of architects. The Egyptian designer was pre-

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pared, by his national culture, to be pleased, not only with the reality, but also with the ostentation of a capacity in his work for endless duration; and his associations and sympathy with ideas of material power must have found simple and lively echoes in the ponderous bulks of his earliest monuments. He would retain and seek to increase the expression which thus, in all probability, at first arose from defective science. It is true that he may, from the beginning, have foreseen, with 'the prophetic 'eye' of the artist, the visual effects of building with blocks, and in forms of excessive massiveness; but whether he did so or not is a question which it would scarcely concern us to determine, even were it possible to do so; and in the existing state of information, we prefer the simpler and more probable belief. The Doric architect, prepared by a different and better culture to receive delight from ideas of correspondence and moderation, would hasten to rid his architectural forms of every species of excess, and by economical management and a due experience of his stone material, he would find himself able to recur nearly to the proportions of the earlier wooden edifice, which he always remembered as his model, and of which the natural forms must have been far more congenial to his modes of thinking and feeling than those of its first transcript in marble. The Indian excavator was totally regardless of true architectural unity and expression: finding his shafts more massive than needful, but from the nature of his work, being without motive to reduce them to the limits of necessity, he spoilt their naturally fine expression by reducing their power without proportionably diminishing their general bulk, carving them into merely arbitrary, or, perhaps, symbolical forms. He was not, in the high sense of the word, an architect at all; and we have no further business with him, or with any of his class, of Mexico, Persepolis, China, or elsewhere, now that we have mentioned him and them as examples of what true architects are not.

The Egyptian builder had open to him two ways of increasing his favourite architectural expression of material power and duration; of which the first and most obvious would be to increase the actual masses of his work, even beyond their original excess. When we look on the vast bulks of architrave and cornice, and on the low-roofed spaces beneath, crammed with stunted columns, set, like squares of infantry, almost as thick as they can stand, we cannot doubt that this source of effect, in the simple reality, was abundantly employed. But a much more effective and properly artistical method of attaining the desired object was discovered by adding, to mere mass, architecturally expres-

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sive forms. The form of the pyramid, reiterated and enforced with extraordinary labour and ingenuity, conferred an ostentation of permanence wherever it occurred; and the sentiment of power was vastly increased by the addition to gross bulk, of outlines indicative of weight,—suffered, or violently resisted.

And first, of the pyramidal form, which was everywhere repeated, and which, in its boast of stability, seemed to defy the earthquake itself. The simple pyramid, though this assertion may sound paradoxical, affords but a weak expression of pyramidal form, when compared with that which is as much the leading feature of Egyptian architecture, as the pedimented porch is of Greek, or the spire of Northern Gothic,—namely, the vast double-towered Propylon. It has been shown by a contemporary Review, in an essay to which Mr. Ruskin himself directs attention, that, in this feature, the pyramidal form is emphasised by various and co-operating devices of multiplication and contrast. We may follow the design of this edifice from its first formal type, in the pure pyramid, by steps, each one of which is a means of rendering the pyramidal outline more impressive to the imagination. The pyramid is first truncated; then, and without destroying the integrity of its effect, it is divided into two secondary pyramidal masses, by an opening over the central doorway: the posts and lintels of this doorway rise from the inclined face of the wall, until they reach, or *nearly reach*, a perpendicular position, the sides of the aperture being parallel, and not convergent, as in the Greek entrances. On either side of this central doorway, which, by its upper projection and parallelism, throws the sloping walls into most effective contrast, there are commonly cavities like blank doorways, or merely long channels, incised perpendicularly in the pyramidal mass. These channels appear to have received perpendicular flag-staves, which rose above the top of the edifice, and acted, together with the cavities, in which their lower ends were hidden, as additional gauges of, and foils to, the slant of the wall. A cornice of the Propylon, always consisting of the hollow and impending moulding, called the 'cavetto,' crowns the pyramidal towers, and strikingly increases their general expression by a partial and comparatively insignificant violation of it. The angles of the building, where of course the pyramidal form is chiefly apparent to the eye, are strongly marked by a great roll moulding. Such are the main elements of an architectural effect, which is at the same time so simple and so powerful that a child, if he has once beheld it in one of Roberts's sketches, or, less perfectly, in the Hall in Piccadilly, can never forget it, though he might all his life be unable to account for it. The

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same or similar means were adopted for directing the eye to the pyramidal form in the other parts of the Egyptian temple. The outer walls, — and it is worthy of remark that this must have been at a great expense of constructional convenience, — were sometimes inclined for pyramidal effect; they also received the peculiar impending cornice, and revealed, between their sloping sides, the vertical colonnade. A further contrast was brought out between the masonry, always and ostentatiously of a stupendous thickness, and the abundance of sculpture in extremely shallow relief; while, finally, in the most conspicuous place, and as the liveliest foil to the low-spreading and eternal bulk of the Temple-palace, rose the airy obelisk.

The presence of weight, besides suggesting itself significantly in the prevalence of shelving masonry, was unmistakably announced in the forms of columns, as well as in their superabundance. Where the Greek, who wished to express a widely different notion, carved his shaft into hollow channels or flutes, the Egyptian frequently carved upon his a somewhat similar decoration, but *convex*. The shafts, near the base, often exhibited a bulge, strongly indicative of sufferance from pressure; and the capitals, by a very ingenious formation, were made to denote violent resistance to superincumbent weight. Mr. Gwilt says, 'The use of the palm leaf in this situation (*i. e.* in the 'capitals of the columns) may have been derived from a popular 'notion mentioned by Plutarch (Symposiac. lib. vi. cap. 4.), 'that the palm tree rose under any weight that was placed upon 'it, and even in proportion to the degree of pressure it ex-'perienced. This supposed peculiarity is also mentioned by 'Aulus Gellius (lib. iii. cap. 6.).' The same kind of unconscious testimony in favour of the views we are taking, is borne in another place by Mr. Gwilt, who, not entering into the spirit of their architecture, complains that 'Solidity is abused in the 'works of the Egyptians;' and that 'the means employed seem 'always greater than the ends.'

Three times our space would scarcely suffice for explaining the means employed in securing the remarkable character of Egyptian architecture; but in this, and throughout our examination of the series of great architectural styles, we must be contented with distinctly pointing out the principle on which their several details must be observed and judged.

We come now to the Greek architecture, in defence of which we have engaged to break a lance with the author of the 'Stones of Venice.' Mr. Ruskin tells us that the two virtues of architecture which we can justly weigh are, its 'strength, or 'good construction, and its beauty, or good decoration.' He

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allows that there is a third virtue, which he calls 'expressional 'character;' but he seems to mean by this phrase much less than we think ought to be meant by it. 'It is not,' he says, 'possible to make expressional character any fair criterion of 'excellence in buildings. It is evident that we can establish no 'general laws concerning it. First, because it is not a virtue 'required in all buildings. . . . . Secondly, because there are 'countless methods of expression, some conventional, some 'natural. . . . . The choice of conventional methods depends 'on circumstances out of calculation, and that of natural methods on sensations out of control.' Mr. Ruskin 'leaves, 'therefore, the expression of buildings for incidental notice 'only,' and in doing this, if we mistake not, he does what almost amounts to leaving Hamlet out of the play. He gives us no room to hope that the details, which we understand as being means of architectural expression, will have justice done to them in his second volume, under the head of 'Decoration,' or 'Ornament.' It was, of course, impossible not to recognise the existence of many of these details, though we are surprised to find that most of them are passed over in silence. Of those that are recognised, the greater number are thrown into one or other of the two categories of construction and ornament, which are assumed to include all possible architectural elements. Now every one knows what the word 'construction' means, and there is no mistaking what Mr. Ruskin means by the word 'ornament.' He divides ornament into 'noble' and 'ignoble.' Ignoble ornament is imitative of man's work, as 'I. Instruments of art, agriculture and war, armour, and dress: II. 'Drapery: III. Shipping: IV. Architecture itself.' Noble ornament is 'imitation of God's work,' of which the examples given as fitted for architectural adoption are too numerous for us to quote. If, then, Mr. Ruskin adheres faithfully to these first principles—and throughout the first volume of 'The Stones 'of Venice,' he has done so, — it is pretty clear what ought to be his opinion of styles like the Egyptian and the Greek, in which construction is often, and decoration always, subordinated to an expression — the basis of their unity — of which he takes no cognisance. Let the reader recall for a moment the Egyptian style, and its main features, which we have just enumerated and described. They certainly make a very poor figure as examples of either of Mr. Ruskin's 'virtues of architecture.' Most of them are caricatures and exaggerations of mere 'good 'construction;' and some of them, as the sloping walls and impending cornices, are absolute contradictions of it: nor are any of these features very striking examples of 'man's delight

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'in God's work.' Nor do they answer at all to Mr. Ruskin's views of 'expressional character;' for they are thoroughly amenable to a general law, and are not at all dependent on 'circumstances out of calculation,' or on 'sensations out of con-'trol.' Egyptian architecture is, therefore, put aside with a passing compliment, which, however, it can scarcely deserve, on Mr. Ruskin's principles. The Greek style is treated with more respect; though its 'decorative' system comes in for several brief, but vigorous attacks. Upon examination, it seems to us that all Mr. Ruskin's charges amount to this: the details of Greek architecture are not what they do not at all pretend to be. In matter of construction, certain minor features, as the fluting of the shaft, are condemned for being constructively bad, this being, as with the slope of the Egyptian wall, precisely a part of their merit, as vehicles of contrastive expression. And, as regards 'decoration' in Mr. Ruskin's sense of the term, there is no such thing in good Greek architecture, if we except the sculpture of the frieze and pediment, which should always be regarded apart from the architecture;—for we quite agree in Mr. Ruskin's doctrine, that 'No perfect piece either of painting or 'sculpture, is an architectural ornament at all, except in that 'vague sense in which any thing beautiful may be said to orna-'ment the place it is in.' The Corinthian order, in which 'decoration,' as Mr. Ruskin understands it, makes its first appearance, is not properly a Greek order at all. In the famous 'Choragic monument of Lysicrates,' we certainly find the germ which was afterwards developed by the Greeks, working under Roman masters, into the order of temple architecture, called the 'Corinthian;' but it is noteworthy that this germ took life amidst unmistakable signs of architectural degeneration, the edifice in question, for example, being a secular monument, consisting of a mock temple, mounted on a high pedestal, and itself officiating as a pedestal for the prize tripod.

Every detail of pure Greek architecture is actively engaged in announcing the facts of the upbearing power, and the burden which is upborne, and in expressing a just balance of the two forces. The antithetical comparison which is often made, between the 'verticality' of the Pointed, and the 'horizontality' of the Greek style, is quite without foundation. If this relationship exists any where, it is between the Pointed and the Egyptian architectures. In the Doric, and in a less degree in the Ionic style, the aspiring Gothic and the low and heavy Egyptian expressions are perfectly combined; the first expression breathing from every curve and cut of shaft and capital,—the latter showing itself, with surprising variety and power, in all the

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features of the entablature, in the dead unbroken mass of the architrave, in the frieze, with its hanging row of triglyphs and guttæ, in the impending corona of the cornice, and, finally, in the low, pyramidal pediment. We have no room to enter upon the very interesting and artistical manner in which these active and balanced expressions of columns and entablature, and the contrasting passive expression of the walls, antæ, and wall-cornices are wrought out. But we cannot pass over, without remarking their perfect adaptation to the right architectural effect, such details as seem more especially to come under Mr. Ruskin's charges of being nothing more nor less than simply bad construction, or bad decoration. However, since these charges are made without any systematic attack upon Greek architecture, and occur chiefly as occasional foils to the asserted perfection of Italian Gothic, they cannot be dealt with systematically: we must take one or two of them at random, as they come.

'Beyond a certain point, and that a very low one, man cannot advance in the invention of beauty without directly imitating natural form: thus, in the Doric temple, the triglyph and cornice are unimitative, or imitative only of artificial cuttings of wood. No one would call these members beautiful; their influence over us is in their severity and simplicity. The fluting of the column, which I doubt not was the Greek symbol for the bark of a tree, was imitative in its origin, and feebly resembled many caniliculated organic structures. Beauty is instantly felt in it; but of a low order. The decoration proper was sought in the forms of organic life, and those chiefly human. Again, the Doric capital was unimitative; but all the beauty it had was dependent on the precision of its ovolo, a natural curve of the most frequent occurrence. The Ionic capital, (to my mind, as an architectural invention, exceedingly base,) nevertheless depended for all the beauty it had, on its adoption of a spiral line, perhaps the commonest of all that characterise the inferior orders of animal organism and habitation. Further progress could not be made without a direct imitation of the acanthus leaf.' (Seven Lamps, p. 95.)

Concerning the ornament commonly known as the Greek Fret or Guilloche, and the Egg and Dart moulding, Mr. Ruskin writes, in the same work, p. 97., as follows: —

'It so happens, that in the crystals of bismuth, formed by the unagitated cooling of the melted metal, there occurs a natural resemblance of it (the Fret) almost perfect. But crystals of bismuth not only are of unusual occurrence in every day life, but their form is, as far as I know, unique among metals; and not only unique, but only attainable by an artificial process, the metal itself never being found pure. I do not remember any other substance or arrangement which presents a resemblance to this Greek ornament . . . . *on this ground, then, I allege the ornament to be ugly;* or in the literal sense of the

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word, monstrous; differing from anything that it is in the nature of man to admire: and I think an uncarved fillet or plinth, infinitely preferable to one covered with this vile concatenation of straight lines. . . . . Often in association with this horrible design, we find, in Greek works, one which is as beautiful as this is painful—that Egg and Dart moulding, whose perfection in its place and way has never been surpassed. And why is this? Simply because the form of which it is chiefly composed is one, not only familiar to us in the soft-housing of the bird's nest, but happens to be that of nearly every pebble that rolls and murmurs under the surf of the sea in all its endless shore.'

In 'The Stones of Venice,' p. 305., we find the following notices of this same Egg and Dart, and of the Honeysuckle ornament; from which it appears that a couple of years' further consideration of the subject has only ended in a more intense expression of Mr. Ruskin's ill opinion of Greek ornament.

'The Greek Egg and Arrow cornice, is a nonsense cornice; very noble in its lines, but utterly absurd in meaning. Arrows have had nothing to do with eggs (at least since Leda's time), neither are the so-called arrows like arrows, nor the eggs like eggs, nor the honeysuckles like honeysuckles; they are all conventionalised into a monotonous successiveness of nothing,—pleasant to the eye, useless to the thought.'

We might quote more to the same purpose; but these passages are sufficient as samples of the rest. It will at once be observed that Mr. Ruskin criticises the details of Greek architecture, as if they were not architecture; as if they might be plucked from the building, like flowers from the stalk, without any loss of significance. Now we will go the full length with Mr. Ruskin in denying merit to these details considered as detached, or detachable decorations; but the fact is, that properly speaking, they are not decorations at all. The influence of triglyphs does not depend primarily on their severity and simplicity, but on their power, in juxtaposition with the guttæ beneath them, of greatly strengthening the idea of weight in the entablature, by the addition of their pendent effect to the effect of simple mass in the bare architrave below them, and of *impension* in the cornice above them. Conceal the lines of triglyphs and guttæ, in the print of a Doric temple, with your paper knife, and the building will look light-headed at once: that is to say, the actively expressed power of support in the shafts will appear to be in painful disproportion to the burden carried by them. Again, we believe that the bark of a tree, or any other 'canilículated organic structure,' is the last thing that any one, with no particular theory at heart, would ever think

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of, in looking at a fluted shaft. This symbolism may have given birth to the flutes; but the beauty which continued their use and made it invariable, and which, as Mr. Ruskin allows, is instantly felt in it, has many accounts better than this to render of itself. The business of the shaft is to support weight; the aim of the Greek architect was to make it express, as well as perform, that business. The mind instinctively attributes motive and ascendant energy to a series of vertically convergent lines, which are checked before reaching their focus. This effect is much increased in the Doric shaft by the gentle swell, or entasis which accompanies its swift taper; but another, and far more subtle, and at the same time powerful reason, for the fluting is in the capacity of the series of concave surfaces to express an active resistance against, or rather a denial of, any tendency to burst and crumble beneath the super-imposed burden. This may, perhaps, seem a refinement; but let the reader compare the fluted Greek with the smooth 'Roman Doric' shaft, and he will probably acknowledge that a certain unpleasant effect which always accompanies the last, and which caused the Greeks invariably to flute their shafts, is mainly owing to the absence of any such suggestion of resisting power. That which sounds like an over-refinement when explained to the understanding, is often simple enough to the eye.

The fine hyperbolic curve, which is sometimes found in the Doric capitals, and upon which Mr. Ruskin affirms that all its beauty depends, no doubt constitutes one, but one of the least essential, of the elements of effect in that member. The capital, the point of conflict, as it were, between the opposed powers of weight and support, is the most interesting, and most carefully elaborated feature of Greek architecture. The curve in question was evidently not looked upon as very essential, for it was sometimes left out altogether, and replaced by a straight line; but the 'quirk,' or sudden contraction of the expanding surface, whether curved or straight, just before it reaches the 'abacus,' and the single or triple channel, which cuts through the fluting into the substance of the shaft, a little before its termination, were never omitted. Neither of these invariable features of Greek Doric will bear to be called decoration,—even bad decoration,—in Mr. Ruskin's sense of the word. According to his system, however, they fall well enough under the head of 'bad construction;' for each of them is a positive diminution of the actual power of support just in the position where that power is most demanded. We hope that Mr. Ruskin, in his forthcoming volume, will consent to do justice to these, and to several Doric and Ionic details, which most admirably express sufficient abi-

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lity for the performance of their work, by making a slight, but obvious sacrifice of force, in precisely the most critical positions.*

The 'Egg and Dart,' the 'Fret,' and certain other forms that were carved or painted on Greek mouldings and fillets, seem, at first sight, to be open to criticism as decoration; understanding, for the present, by the term, what Mr. Ruskin always requires us to understand by it,—imitation of natural or artificial objects for the sake of an intrinsic beauty supposed to be perceived in them. We fancy, however, that these details are fully defensible on the foregoing grounds. The Greek mouldings are very few and very simple, and have in their forms a reference to weight, so distinct, that it is universally recognised in practice; and we have heard it acknowledged in terms, not only by architects, but by ordinary plaster cornice manufacturers. This reference to weight, suffered and resisted, is the justification of their use in Greek architecture. F. Kugler has remarked (we believe for the first time), that each moulding has its allotted figure carved or painted upon it, and that this figure is the one which, of all others, is the *best fitted to exhibit the peculiar form of the moulding.* Thus the 'Egg and Dart' is so constantly appropriated to the most important of the Greek mouldings as to have conferred upon it the name of 'ovolo;' and its utility is such that it would be quite impossible, at a certain distance, and in unfavourable lights, to distinguish the ovolo from the 'cyma,' with which it is frequently associated, were it not for their explanatory carving or colouring. No one who is well acquainted with the peculiar figure can believe that its resemblance to any natural form is anything more than an accident: indeed the great body of critics who agree in Mr. Ruskin's mode of viewing this so-called 'ornament,' do not seem to have made up their minds as to what it is like; some call it 'egg 'and dart;' others, 'egg and anchor;' others, 'egg and tongue;' others even deny it the slight decorative merit of being like an egg, affirming that when seen with its original paint, context, and at a proper distance, it has rather the appearance of an overlapping leaf.

* We were lately discussing the end and operation of these and other details, with a sceptical architect, who facetiously suggested that a porter ought to stand upon one leg if he wished to produce an architectural effect under his burden. We answered, and we fancy, partly converted our opponent, by referring him to the Caryatides of the Pandrosium, figures which actually do receive the whole burden of the entablature on one leg, the knee of the other being bent forward.

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The 'vile concatenation of straight lines,' well known to most of our readers as the 'Fret,' is the figure which was most frequently painted on long, flat, and narrow bands, intended to act merely as bounding or separating members. This figure and, in a less degree, others which were less frequently employed, served, on the fillet or band, exactly the same purpose as the egg and dart on the ovolo, namely, to pronounce and to intensify its natural effect by lines which multiplied its outline, and attracted the eye to it.

Thus, then, we fully admit, with Mr. Ruskin, that the Greek architects were remarkably careless of faithful imitation of natural objects. Nay, we will go further, and assert our belief that they studiously avoided any such imitation; that, if they carved or painted figures something like eggs, honeysuckles, or arrow-heads, it was not their fault. They would much rather, we believe, have made the figures upon the mouldings, bands, and fillets purely abstract, and unlike any natural objects in the world, had that been possible; because any degree of likeness to such objects tended to divert the attention of the spectator from the abstract and all-important forms of the architectural members upon which those figures were cut or painted.

The Greek system of architectural colouring is vehemently denounced by Mr. Ruskin, and upon principles which we should vainly endeavour to answer, if we assumed, with him, that colour was employed by the architects for its own sake, and not, like other so-called 'decorations,' merely for the purpose of bringing out and adding to the purely formal expression of the members on which it was used. Most writers have looked shy upon this subject of architectural colouring. It seems at first to be a violent disturbance of certain traditional notions of 'simplicity,' 'purity,' 'classicality,' (!) and other vaguely defined qualities, which have always been attributed to Greek art; but one or two plain considerations will be enough to justify our persevering faith in the almost infallible good taste of the Greeks. Architectural painting, with us, has come to be regarded as an expedient for making brick, or some other cheap material, look like stone; this cause of unarchitectural character did not exist with the Greeks, upon whom the effect of a stone material could no more have been disturbed by simple colouring than that of metal material is disturbed by it with us. Coatings of paint, laid on very thickly, and sometimes upon a substratum of plaster, served the important end of hiding the joints of the masonry, where they would have interfered with the desired effect, as in the fluted shafts, of which the ascendant vigour would have suffered a serious check from the horizontal junc-

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tions of the frustra. Again, the unequal weather-staining of stone, though pleasing in itself, would have rendered less obvious the far more significant quality of expressive architectural form, especially in the lesser details of mouldings, triglyphs, &c. Over and above these valuable negative services of painting, there seems to have been an important positive end obtained, by an arrangement of the colours with reference to the different architectural expressions of the details. A brilliant blue and a dense red appear to have been the predominant colours; and the reader will at once perceive what assistance must have been afforded to the expression which we have traced in several details, by a judicious contrast of these colours. The aspiring shaft, with a bright blue fluting, separated, probably, by red fillets, bore up, first, the plain architrave of heavy red; above the architrave hung a row of triglyphs and guttæ, of the same colour; the channels of the triglyphs, the spaces of frieze between them, and the bands and plates, from which the upper and lower guttæ hung, seem to have been blue. The same principle, as far as we are enabled to judge from the indistinct remains of ancient colouring, prevailed throughout all the details. Where, however, the colouring had no direct reference to the effects of weight and lightness, but was used only to give distinctness to forms which had this reference, other colours appear to have been used. There can be little doubt, but that this curious and hitherto ill-understood subject would have great, if not full light cast upon it, by a careful study of what is known concerning it with reference to this idea. In the meantime, we have said enough to account for the direct violation, under the Greek system, of all Mr. Ruskin's rules of architectural colouring:—'Let it be visibly independent of form. 'Never paint a column with vertical lines, but always cross it. 'Never give separate mouldings separate colours; and in 'sculptured ornaments do not paint the leaves and figures (I 'cannot help the Elgin frieze) of one colour, and their ground 'of another.'

Had we space, we would gladly undertake to justify, upon the foregoing grounds, every detail of pure Greek architecture, —even the 'exceedingly base' Ionic capital. As it is, we must close our notice of this style by remarking, that, even in the somewhat florid Ionic of the Erectheion, and the pure Greek approximations to the Corinthian 'order,' we have nothing that professes to be independent 'decoration.' Below the volutes of the Erectheion, a necking of simple foliage, in unobtrusive relief, beautifully expresses to the imagination the sufficient power of the shaft where its diameter is smallest.

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The capitals of the 'Monument of Lysicrates,' and of the 'Tower of the Winds,' and even those of early and good Roman Corinthian, are examples more or less licentious of the operation of the same idea; and it was not until the Attic spirit was wholly quenched, that 'decoration' proper made its appearance, claiming the chief consideration for itself, instead of working as a servant for the honour and profit of a master.

When the best period of an art is over, and a degenerated and imitative one succeeds, it is to be expected that the latter should exhibit a non-comprehension of some, and an extravagant use of other of the means employed to affect the imagination in the former and purer time. This was the case with Roman architecture. We may discover in it a lively appreciation of the expressional effect of some few Greek details, and a tolerable comprehension of the source of that effect; but the Roman architects had no knowledge or feeling of the severity with which the various elements of the Greek art were subordinated to the perfect utterance, by the whole, of the language which was spoken, more or less plainly, by every part. Isolated details, therefore, acquired an independent importance; the colonnade, which in Greek architecture had no significance without reference to the supported entablature, was raised, as it were, for admiration, on a series of pedestals; single shafts rose beneath nothing in the places of public concourse; and attempts, entirely and necessarily abortive, were made to reconcile and harmonise certain of the Greek details with the new and contradictory element of the semicircular arch. Circular form was diligently sought for. The Doric shaft became a plain cylinder; the outlines of mouldings, in Greek architecture conic sections, became segments of circles; the dome rose behind the pediment, the horizontal entablature was at last wholly relinquished, and the arch sprang from column to column, bearing with it the entablature *curved;* and in this condition of impotence and inconsistency the architecture of Pagan Rome was transplanted to Byzantium.

The early Byzantines made a bold and unmistakable effort to create a style of architecture, in which the semicircular arch should afford, not only the main principle of construction, but also the theme of the expression. In Mr. Hope's words, 'Arches rising over arches, and cupolas over cupolas, we 'may say, that all which in the temples of Athens had been 'straight, angular, and square, in the churches of Constanti-'nople became curved and rounded, concave within, and con-'vex without.' In this attempt to obtain expression from the arch, there was necessarily involved a change that seriously

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impaired the beauty of every building in which it was made. The object of the circular arch is the distributed weight of the wall; just as the object of the column is the entablature, or the wall concentrated upon its capital, by means of the arch. The Byzantines, however, made the arch the chief object to the eye, setting little importance upon the chief object of the arch; and the consequence is, that an unpleasant sense of imperfect purpose is experienced by the beholder of most of the edifices in this style. A great resisting power, and one which immediately declares itself as such to the eye, is constantly and ostentatiously displayed, and little is given it to do. The natural upshot of this system was, that the power, wanting its proper object, took to displaying itself in fantastical tricks, of which, perhaps, the most famous and most foolish is the dome of St. Sophia at Constantinople. The chief boast of this dome —that it looks as if kept from falling down by a miracle, appearing thereby to justify its fabled origin,—is, as Mr. Ruskin says, its chief artistical defect; this defect is purchased at an immense expense of constructional convenience; and, after all, the wonder is but a lying wonder; for that which the uninitiated spectator gapes at, as a vast mass of legitimate masonry, unaccountably suspended in air, is a structure of Rhodian bricks and pumice-stone, possessing only a small proportion of the supposed force of gravitation, and exerting a lateral thrust, which is met by a vast and hidden buttress-system. This species of falsehood attained its climax in the dome of St. Vitale, Ravenna, which, while it claims credit for being constructed of stones, put together upon the principle of the all-prevalent arch, is, in reality, a kind of grotto, formed by a coil of empty earthern jars. In the Romano-Byzantine, or Lombard style, the semicircular arch was set to do its right work, and, for the first time, it then acquired its true expression, which was wholly subordinated to that of the wall: but, before entering upon this part of our subject, we must drop our chronology, and follow the Byzantine fancy into its full development by the Arab architects.

The aimlessness of the arch, which in the Byzantine style was an occasional blunder, became a distinct and carefully fulfilled intention with the Moresque architects, who, obeying what seems to be a constant condition of good architectural expression, namely, that it shall have some allusion to the law of gravitation, hit upon a species of allusion to that law, which was as agreeable to the vivid and exciteable Arabian temperament as it would have been painful to the associations of the Egyptian, and ridiculous to the good sense of the Greek. The

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miracle of the dome of St. Sophia became the common nature of the Moresque roofs. Gravitation, consolidated by the Egyptian, adequately opposed by the Greek, and turned into aspiration by the Gothic architect, was by the Arabian boldly and simply negatived. The form of the arch is repeated in his buildings without end; but it seldom has, or, rather, it seldom appears to have, any work to do: And this ostentatious idleness in a powerful means of support, together with a most curious and elaborate system of real or apparent lateral thrusts, by which the idea of gravitation in all the masses is hidden or confused to the eye, is the grand source of the marvellous effects of the Alhambra, and of the Mosque of Cordova,—to which, as being the edifices of this style which are most generally known, we refer our readers for examples of the details to which we shall have to allude.

We cannot, without illustrations, explain to the general reader many of the most striking methods by which the Arabian architect managed to contradict the idea of weight in his masses, and to make them appear to hang above our heads like summer clouds. We shall therefore notice only a few and well-known leading features. The Byzantine dome, 'upon pendentives,' as we have seen, exerts no perpendicular pressure, and requires no perpendicular support. All its weight is met by lateral and unseen, or, at least, unexpressed resisting forces; nevertheless, the vastness and simplicity of its form is such, that the beholder is led at once to infer the existence of such forces. In the honey-comb roofs of the Alhambra the eye is diverted from the direction of the weight by the innumerable repetitions of the pendent form into which the roof is broken up, and which really do hang above us in the air; as, the main dome pretends to do, being enabled principally by their means to practise its deception. Arches over very wide apertures frequently deny their true character by precisely the same expedient; they are broken up into little useless arches, or foliations, which entirely destroy the natural expression of the main arch, and win us, in some sort, to believe that it is as free from burden as themselves. Among the very curious means of confusing the eye as to the work done, or capable of being done, by the wide arch, the under surface, as we find on coming beneath it, is hollowed out into a deep and broad channel, leaving no substantial arch at all; the true working arch being higher up, and altogether unexpressed. In other cases, a similar effect is produced by decorating the wall immediately over the aperture with two arches, one above the other, but having the same width, and springing from the same points.

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In this case one at least of the arches is necessarily and obviously useless, and the eye does not readily credit either of them for doing the work. The broader the arch, and the heavier the burden that it bears, the more numerous and elaborate are the boasts of its form and the denials of its office. When the arch is not very wide its outline is left pure; but in this case new and equally curious expedients are adopted to conceal from the eye the performance of its mechanical purpose. The surface of the wall, above colonnades bearing arcades, is almost invariably divided by broad perpendicular beams, which rest on the capitals of the columns, and by horizontal beams laid on the tops of those which are upright. In this case only a small rectangular division of the wall remains to be borne by the arch, and the weight even of this, to appearance, is thrown off, upon the upright beams, by a network of transverse bars. The upright beam, in its turn, takes upon itself to deny its duty, or, at least, to confuse to the eye the inevitable exhibition of it, as far as possible, by assuming, with the help of the arch abutting on each side, the form of a huge pendent, the end of which is carved with the characteristic honey-comb figure, and meets a shaft and capital of dimensions so slight, that they seem to depend from rather than to support the masses above them. The arches between the columns never rest upon the capitals, but almost invariably maintain their position, and deceive the eye as to the direction of their forces, by abutting upon the sides of the upright posts. This is, perhaps, the most universally characteristic, and, at the same time, the most powerfully effective rule of Arab architecture; and the exception to it is even more striking, in its adaptation to the spirit of the style, than the rule itself. When the arch rests directly on the column, its terminations, instead of turning outwards, as they usually do, to meet the upright beams, are turned inwards, forming the characteristic 'horse-shoe' arch, and throwing the line of the arch, along which the eye travels, considerably beyond the capital, into vacuity, the actual working arch ceasing considerably within the ostensible terminations, and abutting directly, but unexpressed, upon the capital. Wherever a single archway pierces a plain wall, it is framed in a broad rectangular mass of fretwork, which, not alone by the transverse direction of its lines, as explained above, but also by the simple occurrence of so large a surface of light ornament added in that peculiar position, diverts the eye from the direction, and almost from the fact of the existence of the forces, which the arch in reality resists. It is noteworthy, that this peculiar fretwork of transverse lines seldom occurs, except where it has to practise

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this deception upon the eye, but that *there* it is almost invariably present. In the labyrinthine aisles of the Mosque of Cordova, the most remarkable of many expedients for obtaining the desired negation of supported mass, is an endless multiplication of totally useless arches, springing, like trelliswork, from post to post, in the closest and most curiously deceptive association with those which actually support and constitute the vaulted roof. In this building, which is one of the earliest specimens of true Moresque architecture, and in the Alhambra, which is about the latest, one and the same artistical purpose prevails; and the few instances which have now been given of its operation are enough, we conceive, to enable the student to trace it as the main secret of expression every where throughout the details of this remarkable and, as yet, not sufficiently appreciated style,—a style to which Mr. Ruskin does not attribute too much importance, when he says, 'The lava stream of the Arab, 'even after it had ceased to flow, warmed the whole of the 'northern air; and the history of Gothic architecture is the 'history of the refinement and spiritualisation of northern work 'under its influence.' (Stones of Venice, p. 19.)

We have now to speak of the Romano-Byzantine, or, as it is commonly called, the Lombard style, our 'Norman' being one of its varieties. Mr. Hope remarks that, 'In Lombard buildings, the 'whole of the strength requisite for support and resistance is sought 'in the general thickness of the wall.' This power of the wall constitutes the theme of the Lombard system of expression. The most common and peculiar decoration of the Lombard style is a sort of recessed panelling, produced, as it seems to the eye, by removing a certain thickness of the wall, and leaving a band of the original thickness, which follows the outlines of the walls, and surrounds the recessed spaces. This recessed space is seldom allowed to be large enough to admit of the eyes resting upon it to the exclusion of the raised surfaces. If the front or flank of the building is too large to be thoroughly taken in at once, its surface is divided up by strips of wall, dropped from the upper projecting surfaces, or 'wall plates;' or sometimes sent across from the perpendicular strips at the angles. These bands are of little — often of no use to the wall: the true buttress form is carefully avoided in them; but they powerfully aid the Lombard expression, by beginning, as the like Greek architecture began, with a delicate, but decided assertion of a superabundance of the kind of power to be displayed. The office of these 'wall plates' is greatly assisted by their reception of a degree of enrichment greater than that which is conferred upon the principal recessed surfaces. This enrichment, which consists in its

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most frequent and most efficient form, of a series of simple arch-heads or 'scollops,' impresses on the eye the existence and character of the raised wall-plate, and is therefore 'decoration' precisely in the same sense as the Greek fret or egg-and-dart is decoration. These recessions of the general surface of the wall are seldom limited to one degree: the recessed face recedes again behind a series of shallow arcades; and yet again, arcade within arcade; and in the upper parts of edifices there are often actual galleries practised in the enormous thickness of the wall. Apertures are turned to account with great skill; the chamfer or bevel of those which are to give light — contrary to the method which would be dictated by mere utility — is often chiefly external, and its depth is commonly marked, and even exaggerated, to the eye, by a perspective of elaborately carved mouldings, one behind the other. Lombard doorways of large dimensions are often approached by an advanced porch; and we do not perceive, on entering, where the porch ends and the wall begins: thus the eye is saved from the disappointment it might suffer, upon perceiving that the wall-decoration had indicated an amount of thickness which the wall, however solid, must have failed to realise. The devices employed, on this feature, for augmenting the importance of the wall, are various and highly interesting; but they are too numerous, and require too much technical explanation to be described here. There is one, however, of the most common and effective of these methods which we must not pass over. When there is no porch, a great part of the thickness of the wall is traversed and forced into notice by the shafted and moulded arch; but, before the wall is pierced, this chamfered approach stops, and is made to include a portion of plain wall, with an aperture, of which the head is horizontal, and the jambs plain, and at right angles to the face of the wall. Thus, there is a series of deep recessions from the outer wall surface, which, when they terminate, leave a further thickness to be traversed by the true aperture, the rectangular cutting of which leaves the remaining thickness, when the spectator is not absolutely within the doorway, to be measured by his imagination.

The outlines of apertures are most appropriate. Doorways and arcades always adopt the semicircular arch; and the most characteristic form of the Lombard window is the perfect circle, exhibiting the principle of the arch, of which, as we have said, the proper object is the wall, in its fullest development. The rosette window is the invention and most striking feature of Lombard architecture; and it is impossible to imagine a more admirable means of giving effect and artistic importance to the wall than the presence, in every principal façade, of the great

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circular window, revealing by its deep and decorated chamfer the vast power to which, by its form, it expresses an infinite power of resistance. The filling up of this window, when it is large, by thick bars, radiating from an inner circle, like the spokes of a wheel, excellently and obviously subserves this expression.

We must here take occasion to remind the reader that the views which we are advocating concerning the *expressional* intention or effect of this and other architectural details, in no way interferes with the symbolical intentions which have been often attributed to them, and of the existence of which, in many cases, as in this of the Rose or 'Catherine-wheel' windows, there can be no doubt. We hold, however, that, in an architectural work, next in importance to constructive obligations stands architectural expression, and that it would be out of course to attribute the existence of a feature, which perfectly fulfils the conditions of right construction and appropriate expression, to its capacity of receiving a further symbolical value.

Ornament, in Lombard edifices, is beautifully subordinated to the effect of pure masses of wall. It clusters about windows, cornices, string-courses and door-ways, and breaks out occasionally upon the wall itself; but it is always felt to be a judicious and brilliant foil, rather than an interruption to the plain and principal wall surfaces. This is the right economy of decoration; and we maintain, against Mr. Ruskin, that that which is all decoration is no decoration, for decoration should always, as in this case, subserve an object, and not be an object in itself. Lombard decoration was, moreover, fitted, no less by its peculiar character of amazing and apparently reckless variety, than by its skilful distribution, to give expression, by contrast, to the pure sheets of the all-important wall.

There are numerous features in Lombard architecture which aid the main expression, chiefly by negativing the possibility of any other. The wall ostentatiously rejects all aid. Where a pilaster or a buttress might naturally be looked for, we find, instead, a thin strip of wall or a moulding, carved to look like a rope, dropped from the cornice to the ground, with an effect the very reverse of an external prop. Shafts are plentifully used, but with visual results far different from that of the Greek system, in which the shaft is an *essential* part of the construction and expression. The thickness of the Lombard shafts, especially in the Norman variety of the style, seldom bears the right proportion to their apparent duty: sometimes they are too thick; sometimes too thin; very frequently they are twisted, and contorted, and knotted together; super-imposed arcades are ar-

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ranged without any attention to the rule dictated by common sense, that the bases of the upper series of columns should stand above the capitals of the lower; occasionally a shaft is made to look as though it were broken in the middle; the capitals generally bear the most ingenious irrelevance to the office of capitals as burden carriers; often, and in the principal porch almost invariably, the shafts are set upon the backs of beasts or reptiles; all of which practices betoken, in the column, an almost humorous sense of irresponsibility, and very materially assist in the self-assertion of the wall, whereon series after series of useless columns, forming useless arcades, or connecting upper with lower string-courses, appear as a constant superficial decoration — a decoration which Mr. Ruskin must of course condemn, in his forthcoming volume, as falling under the head of 'imitation of 'architecture.' When colonnades support the nave-walls,—as, chiefly in southern work, and before the invention of the pier, they often do,—they seem to have been regarded as unavoidable evils, and are left with as little architectural expression as possible. In the best and latest works they are replaced by piers, masses of wall declaring themselves to be such, and displaying their vast bulk to advantage, by juxtaposition with slender shafts, which nestle in their angles.

Although we entertain no small admiration of the subtlety and consistency with which the Lombard architects deduced a true architectural expression from the peculiar constructive necessity to which they were submitted, we cannot agree with Mr. Ruskin in his estimate of Lombard architecture, relatively to other styles. We feel little hesitation in declaring our opinion that this architecture, considered from the artistic point of view, is inferior in dignity to the Egyptian, Greek, and Northern Pointed styles. Its characteristic and all-prevalent expression possesses no such power of affecting the imagination, through association of ideas, as is possessed by these three styles, which, as we believe, have not yet found, and probably never will find, a fourth worthy of being ranked with them. Unity, it is true, even without reference to the worth of the unifying principle, is always delightful to the mind; and the perfect co-operation of many of the most various details towards the expression of a single thought or fact, constitutes in itself an eminent degree of merit. This is the merit, and we are disposed to believe that it is nearly all the merit, which can be rightly claimed for the expressional systems of the Lombard and Arabian architectures. The Lombard style is, moreover, chargeable with a practical deficiency, which exists, in an equal degree at least, in no other mode of architecture. It is only adapted to very large edifices, since

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these alone admit of a thickness of wall sufficient to give effective scope to the peculiar details of the style. Hence the unsatisfactory effect of most modern attempts in the Lombard manner, as compared with others in the subsequent style — concerning which we are now to speak.

As the leading expression of the Northern Pointed architecture has been not only generally perceived, but also frequently defined; and as even the methods of expression are many of them described in the works of the host of critics, professional and amateur, who have lately written upon the subject, we shall limit our remarks to certain novel, and, we must think, erroneous doctrines, put forth by Mr. Ruskin, upon this and other questions relating to the pointed style. From the following passage it will be seen that he dissents entirely from the views which are now prevalent concerning Northern Gothic, and that he speaks of it in almost the same terms which have made Wren and Evelyn famous for not having appreciated a kind of excellence which did not fall in with the popular tastes of their period: —

'The desire to build high is complicated [in this style] with the peculiar love of the grotesque which is characteristic of the North, together with especial delight in the multiplication of small forms as well as exaggerated points of shade and energy, and a consequent degree of insensibility to perfect grace and quiet truthfulness; so that a northern architect could not feel the beauty of the Elgin marbles . . . . whereas, among the Italian Gothic workmen, this capacity was never lost. . . . . There can be no question that theirs was the greatest school, and carried out by the greatest men; and that while those who began with this school could perfectly well feel Rouen Cathedral, those who study the Northern Gothic remain in a narrow field, one of small pinnacles, and dots, and crockets, and twitched faces — and cannot comprehend the meaning of a broad surface or a grand line. . . . . The Gothic of the Ducal Palace at Venice is in harmony with all that is grand in the world; that of the north is in harmony with the grotesque northern spirit only.'

We need not discuss the relative merits of Cologne Cathedral and of the Venetian Palazzo Ducale, which Mr. Ruskin holds to be, for merit as well as historically, the 'central building of the 'world.' Mr. Ruskin is not likely to make any considerable body of converts to his opinion, so long as he founds his judgment of Northern Gothic architecture upon an estimate from which the chief and all but universally recognised artistic principle of the style is omitted. To substitute a mere 'desire to 'build high,' and an 'especial delight in the multiplication of 'small forms,' for the sentiment of aspiration and for the invention and application of innumerable details, directed towards the

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expression of that sentiment, is an injustice to our Northern style which is almost too manifest to require exposure; and if any one has been dazzled into the belief of it by Mr. Ruskin's persuasive eloquence, let him compare any series of engravings of Gothic cathedral spires with Ferguson's or Daniel's illustrations of Hindoo pagodas. The thorough applicability of Mr. Ruskin's charges to these last will be a sufficient demonstration of their untruth when applied to the first. In attempting to compare the mediæval secular architecture of Venice with the Northern temple architecture of the same date, Mr. Ruskin has perhaps allowed himself, in consequence of the accident of the two styles having a common name, to overlook the fact that they have no common fundamental principle. The decorative use of the pointed arch for apertures is almost all that the two styles have in common; and, consequently, they are not properly the subjects of comparison. This use of the pointed arch does not constitute the essential character of any style. The Arabian, the Lombard, the modern Indian, all made use of the pointed arch, without at all approximating to the principles of 'pointed 'architecture.'

Broad surfaces and grand lines are not beauties to be looked for in a style of which the peculiar constructive merit is, that it does away with the wall; and the sunny cheerfulness which Mr. Ruskin so much admires in Venetian house-architecture, ought not to be lamented as wanting in the Christian temple by one who has before, and most justly, said, 'There must be, in this 'magnificently human art of architecture, some equivalent ex-'pression for the trouble and wrath of life; for its sorrow and 'its mystery; — and this it can only give by depth or diffusion 'of gloom — by the frown upon its front and the shadow of its 'recess.' As to the assertion of the incapacity of the northern workmen for the appreciation of the calm beauty and power of which Mr. Ruskin takes the Elgin marbles for types, there is many a Gothic figure wearing away almost unnoticed in the Northern frosts and rains, which, for simple grace and truth, though not perhaps for laborious finish, might dispute the palm with the friezes of the Parthenon.

Let us now notice two or three curious results, bearing upon Mr. Ruskin's Northern-Gothic criticisms, from his failure in perceiving any intention on the part of Northern architects to give effect, by 'decoration,' to that peculiar expression of ascendant vigour, which, as we have maintained, was probably the natural consequence of the constructive principle adopted by them; — whether or not, in the first instance, from the barbarous 'desire 'to build high,' we shall not stop to inquire.

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The Gothic architect, after he had once perceived the kind of effect which it was desirable to substitute for the Lombard expression (the Lombard construction having been discarded) found, almost ready made to his hand, one of the most important of the numerous means of producing it; namely, the Lombard ornamental column, with its base and capital, which, in various ways, expressed a total independence of constructive origin. There was, however, this difference between the class of Lombard shafts which we have noticed above, and the Gothic shaft, that the first was constructively superfluous, and expressed as much; whereas the last had really to take a primary part, — to bear burdens, and yet appear to do nothing of the sort, the burden and bearing members being alike transformed into portions of the great vertical stream of piers, pointed arches, groined vaults and vaulting shafts. The simplest way of obtaining this effect was to leave out base and capital altogether. It took some time, however, for architects who had always regarded a capital and a base as the natural extremities of a shaft, to get rid of the tradition; and when, at last, they seem to have done so, it was found that a base of some sort was essential to safe construction, and that there were serious artistical objections to dispensing altogether with the capital. When capitals were totally omitted, as sometimes was the case in splendid examples, — Cologne among others, — the eye became sensible of an unpleasant dubiousness as to the point from which the arch sprang; and when the moulded or many-shafted pier was the stem from which arose a system of still more numerous divergent ribs and mouldings, the capital was needed to cover the junction of the two systems, its omission necessitating the very disagreeable alternative of the 'discontinuous impost.' Elaborate devices were, therefore, invented for denying, and, as far as possible, reversing in their visual effects, the nature of bases and capitals as constructive members. Mr. Ruskin condemns a large class of Gothic capitals as 'unnecessary and ridiculous,' because they have 'no bearing power.' Now we hold that this expressed absence of any increase of power at the point of the capital is the only condition under which capitals could have been admitted into Gothic architecture; and that they are neither 'unneces-' sary' nor 'ridiculous,' because they perform what we have seen to be the important function of marking the termination of the shaft or pier, and the commencement of the arch. Another, and a very good reason for the existence of capitals in Gothic architecture, is one and the same with that which constitutes the merit of the horizontal channels under the Doric ovolo; namely, that they really add to the ascendant vigour of the members on

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which they occur, by opposing to that vigour an obstacle to be conquered. Mr. Freeman, whose remarks on some of the means of producing the effect of aspiration in Gothic architecture are particularly valuable, rightly says, 'When there is no strife, 'there is no victory: the vertical line cannot be called predo-'minant unless the horizontal exist in a visible condition of sub-'jection and inferiority.' Again, Mr. Ruskin declares that the 'shaft-system and moulding-system are entirely separate;' and he loudly complains that, 'the Gothic architects confounded the 'two — they clustered the shafts till they looked like a group of 'mouldings — they shod and capitaled the mouldings till they 'looked like a group of shafts.' Now this, which Mr. Ruskin admits to be the 'eminently characteristic state of Gothic,' seems to us to be a necessary completion of the Gothic idea. It is only in styles of the Greek type that the shaft and moulding systems are rightly separate; and there is better reason to complain of the frequent distinction of shaft from moulding than of their amalgamation, in an architecture from which the shaft, as an expressed supporting member, is banished. Mr. Ruskin tells us that 'he knows how much Gothic, otherwise beautiful, this 'sweeping principle condemns.' In our opinion, it condemns all Gothic or none.

The 'flying buttress,' according to Mr. Ruskin, 'is to be con-'sidered as a mere prop or shore;' and the merit of the form 'depends on its faithfully and *visibly* performing this somewhat 'humble office;' and concerning 'crockets,' he remarks that 'they 'are subjected to no shadow of any other laws than those of grace 'and chastity.' We believe that we shall have the suffrages of most lovers of Northern Gothic on our side, when we affirm that the artistical merit of the form of the flying buttress consists in an expression precisely the reverse of the passive 'prop or 'shore;' and that its name gives the common and the true perception of its artistical merit, — which ought always to be carefully distinguished in Gothic more than in any other style of architecture, from constructive excellence. And again we look for an equal concurrence of opinion, when we assert that all *good* crockets are rigidly subject to the rule that they shall aid and heighten the general effect of aspiration, by representing the energy of vegetable or other life striving upwards, or overcoming an obstacle in its upward path. The eye instantly recognises a good crocket from a bad one by its performance or non-performance of this office. Compare the leaves growing in vigorous curves over the blocks which project, at regular intervals, from the pinnacles of Cologne, with the little monsters that try with all their might to save themselves from

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slipping down the arched buttresses of Henry the Seventh's Chapel!

There seem to have been two principal causes of the imperfection of Mr. Ruskin's judgment on Northern Gothic. In the first place, he himself confesses that in certain respects his 'late 'studies in Italy have somewhat destroyed his sympathy with 'it.' And, secondly, he holds that 'the direct symbolisation of a 'sentiment is a weak motive with all men;' whence he deduces that the asserted effect of aspiration in Gothic architecture could not have been intended; and by a further consequence, that it can have no existence in it. We believe the argument to be vulnerable at every point. The direct symbolisation of sentiment is, if we mistake not, among the most powerful and universal of human instincts, producing a series of phenomena extending from the unconscious gesticulations of a child to the works of a Michel Angelo. But, granting as we do, that the symbolisation of religious activity, by aspiring forms, may possibly not have been intended, or even perceived by the Gothic architects, in the works which they designed, we have shown that a consistent and co-operating series of those forms might, and probably did, arise from the natural desire to intensify an expression which was, in the first instance, the simple result of a peculiar constructive system. At the same time nevertheless, the existence of a conscious intention, though we hold it to have been highly probable, was by no means necessary to the production of the effect in question, as Mr. Ruskin, and any one of far less spontaneous genius than he possesses, must very well understand, upon a minute's reflection on the operation of his own mind. For us, we confess, in these matters, 'seeing is believing;' and if Mr. Ruskin had established, by an apparently infrangible chain of logic, that the effect, which almost all besides himself have acknowledged, had no existence capable of being accounted for, we should not feel ourselves at all fettered by his conclusion, on calling to mind the upward cataract of shafts, and mouldings, and canopied figures which left us breathless when we first found ourselves before the piers of Cologne Cathedral. Mr. Ruskin has probably been sickened, as we have been, by the sentimental ravings on the subject of Gothic symbols, put forth by Puseyite clergymen, and some others whose studies should have taught them better: but however much and justly we may despise and ridicule any attempt to revive the whole system of mediæval symbolism for modern use, we ought not to forget that the former existence of that system is no mere theory, but an indisputable fact of history. The 'Rationale Divinorum Officiorum,'

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of Durandus, — a big folio, which, during half a century of the very prime of Gothic architecture, continued to be bought and read, as only such works as 'Copperfield' and 'Vanity Fair' are now, — affords unanswerable evidence of the extravagant tendency which then prevailed to symbolise on every possible occasion. It was so characteristic of the times, that we should err strangely were we to measure the impression which symbolical representations are likely to have produced upon the credulous and imaginative church-goers of the middle ages, by that which similar representations are calculated to exercise upon the fashionable, well-informed, and impatient congregations of St. George's or St. James's. While, however, we would discard from modern use the whole mediæval system of *arbitrary* symbolisation, we believe that we should be doing an injustice to Gothic architecture were we to refuse, with Mr. Ruskin, to perceive in its ancient examples an *artistic and essential* symbolism, which must retain its efficiency as long as the human mind retains its present constitution. That the effect of ascendant vigour was valued by the Gothic architects at a rate which can only be accounted for by assuming that they fully appreciated its admirable fitness in the Christian Temple, is proved, we think, by their constant subordination of all elements, *even that of arbitrary symbolism*, to this effect. For example, the orthodoxy of the well-known symbol of the triple lancet window was constantly destroyed, for the advantage of the all-important aspiration, by the superior height of the middle lancet. Another and equally conclusive proof that the Gothic architects were conscious of and valued themselves highly upon the characteristic Gothic forms, entirely apart from their constructive capacities, is provided by a practice which Mr. Ruskin reprobates as contrary to his law of excluding 'imitations of 'architecture' from the material of architectural decoration. 'This law,' he says, 'is greatly violated by those curious exam-'ples of Gothic, both early and late, in the North, in which the 'minor features of the architecture were composed of small models 'of the larger .... abuses which strike me with renewed surprise 'whenever I pass beneath a portal of the thirteenth century 'Northern Gothic, associated as they are with manifestations of 'exquisite feeling and power in other directions.' Probably the distinction which we have drawn between decoration, as Mr. Ruskin understands the word, and means of architectural expression, will induce the reader to judge more favourably than Mr. Ruskin has done concerning these and many other details of the Northern-Gothic style. We would gladly discuss the highly interesting question of the sources of appropriate beauty in

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Gothic cusps and foliations; but as Mr. Ruskin, though he gives a most ingenious account of the constructive origin of the cusp, says little about its decorative effect, and as these features form no part of the kind of expression which we undertook to investigate, namely, that which owes its existence to main constructional peculiarities, we forego the discussion of this point, and hasten to make a few remarks on the claims of 'Italian Gothic.'

Here we must take part with Hope, Gally Knight, Willis, Lord Lindsay, and others, against Mr. Ruskin. The Italians evidently adopted the forms of pointed architecture from the North with great reluctance; they systematically deprived those forms of their expressional powers, in order to subdue them, as far as possible, to a compatibility with the characteristic effects of the preceding style. Shafts and mouldings were maimed in their upward flight by horizontal bands of colour. Arch mouldings, in the North always plain and uninterrupted, sometimes received a further check by being carved and jointed, and by the marking of their separate voussoirs. The pointed arch was constantly mixed up with or enclosed by the semicircle and other figures which destroyed its natural expression. The Northern improvements on the Lombard bases and capitals were not admitted. Low roofs and low pediments, the detachment of the campanile from the body of the church; decoration by rich and various material, rather than by pure form; and many other means of anti-Gothic effect, conspired to spoil 'Italian Gothic' for temple architecture, and to make us regret its substitution for the noble and consistent Lombard style.

But out of this secularisation, if we may so call it, of the Northern Gothic, arose, perhaps, the most beautiful style of palatial architecture that the world has seen. Its purest and loveliest examples are the ancient palaces of Venice. Although we believe that Mr. Ruskin has greatly overrated the relative importance of these buildings in the scale of architectural merit, he has no doubt done very valuable service by calling attention to them; and we are glad to know that he has already awakened a lively interest upon the subject among practical men. We believe that a façade, like that of the Palazzo Foscari, the Ca' d' Oro, or the Palazzo Pisani, would meet with a degree of sympathy and appreciation from the dwellers in the North, which will never be awarded by them to any Greek, Roman, or Renaissance house-architecture, however admirable such architecture may have been in its time and climate.

Let us, however, before concluding, put forth a plea or two for the practitioners of what Mr. Ruskin calls 'the pestilent art of the Renaissance.'

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Mr. Ruskin treats the Italian Renaissance architects as if they were the inventors of the various 'barbarisms' with which he charges their style; the truth is, that they found all the most outrageous and particular barbarisms to which he alludes already invented in the remains of late Roman work; and that they adopted them in the blind belief, prevalent at the time, that to be Roman and to be perfect was one and the same thing. It is also to be remembered, that these men were totally ignorant of pure Greek art. Consequently they must have been at an enormous disadvantage, as compared with ourselves, if ever they were sufficiently heterodox to endeavour to form an estimate of the real merits or demerits of the corrupted reminiscences of it in Roman art: and they could thus build, and the people enjoy what beauty their buildings possessed, without being shocked, as we continually are, by having the absent and exquisite chastity of Greek architecture everywhere suggested by misapplied Greek details. When the architects of this school dared to be original, they often succeeded in producing very noble works. It would be difficult to speak too highly of the excellent good sense and true feeling of Palladio. There is a degree of beauty about some of his designs, for which, as in all works of real genius, we are at a loss fully to account; and it must be confessed, that his constructive barbarisms,—such as rusticated shafts, brackets in the form of triglyphs, strongly expressed voussoirs, with no weight above them to justify their emphasis, generally constitute parts of a harmony, which we are disposed to value far above the irreproachable and uninteresting accuracies of some of our modern purists.

Of all the complaints—some of them very just—which Mr. Ruskin brings against this school, none are so vehement, and, we think, so ill-founded, as that which he urges against the system of 'wall decoration' by 'rustic-work.' As this is a point to which the Renaissance architects attached great importance, and one to which modern critics have paid little attention, we may be allowed to detain the reader with a few words of explanation and defence. There are three principal kinds of rustication, called technically 'frosted,' 'vermiculated,' and 'chamfered.' The two former and least important consist merely in leaving or making rough the visible surfaces of the stones, except at the margins, where they are chiselled smooth; by the last method, the stones, whether rough or smooth, are bevelled, or 'chamfered,' at their edges. All these devices have one main end, which is to exhibit the structure of the walls, by marking the junctions of the stones; and, to this end, the third

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mode adds a capacity to express, by the depth or shallowness of the bevelling, different degrees of thickness in the wall; since, the beholder naturally and instantly concludes that its thickness is always great enough to render insignificant the loss of power which is produced by cutting away the edges of its stones. Now there is no end to the variety of interest, though it may not be very high, and of expression, though not, perhaps, of the most subtle kind, which the Renaissance architects produced by this last species of rustic-work in wall surfaces, more especially in those of the basement stories, of which the masonry is obviously required to be strongest, and where, therefore, the chamfered mode is most appropriate. Most Renaissance basements are elaborately and successfully studied for this special object. The nature of a basement excluded, for the most part, the barbarous traditional decorations which were apt to disfigure the *bel étage;* thus freer scope was left in it for dwelling on intelligent arrangement, and for displaying the living powers of gravitation and resistance in the stones. In the basement of the Palace of Charles the Fifth in the Alhambra, built by 'the 'Spanish Michel Angelo,' Alonzo Berruguette, every stone has its distinct office, and is unlike the one next to it; yet the whole is simple in effect, and capable of being comprehended at a glance. The basement of the Strozzi Palace, Florence, is divided by apertures into eight equal surfaces of wall, numbering in no case more than seven blocks, yet each differing from all the others in arrangement. It would require a volume to go through the constructive problems *visibly* solved in the exhibited masonry of the Renaissance. The practice of Rustication would, we think, have been sufficiently justified had it stopped at the production of this excellent and essentially architectural effect; but the exhibition of masonry answered another and even more important end,—one which was considered by the Greek architects of the best time as worth obtaining at a very large expense of labour. They polished the edges of the frustra of shafts so carefully, that the junctions became literally invisible; but they were just as careful to mark the *horizontal* layers of the wall masonry, and so to obtain those lines, which, 'on the Bank,' Mr. Ruskin says, 'may be considered as typical of accounts,' but which, in any other position, he regards in the light of mere disfigurements. The Greek architect did this in order to render the wall a foil to the all-important columns, by depriving it of all chance of being supposed to share in their activity. Now Renaissance rustication performs the same office of contrasting the naturally active expression of the shafts, by the naturally passive expres-

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sion of the wall; but the wall-lines are commonly much broader and deeper than in the Greek, and are also perpendicular as well as horizontal, because the wall itself has an independent power and importance, which in Greek architecture it had not. Mr. Ruskin objects against the system of displayed masonry, that Nature leaves her mountain bases smooth. Now, if we were prepared to receive this doctrine, of requiring antitypes in Nature for all that the architect expresses by his work, we should still hold that the Renaissance architects were not thereby condemned in their common practice, which was to justify any unusual *lowness* in their edifices, by an appearance of unusual massiveness, obtained by increasing the force of the chamfered rustication. We readily admit, however, that the Renaissance method of giving expression to the wall is gross and tautological, when compared with the Lombard system of wall decoration. The baldest wall is far better than a surface badly or unnecessarily rusticated, as it often was, in imitation of some Roman example or other, by the Renaissance architects, and as it commonly is, with no such excuse, by modern builders.

In closing this brief and very imperfect elucidation of certain sources of effect in the principal styles of architecture, we must remind our readers that we have noted only the points of difference between Mr. Ruskin and ourselves. The points upon which we heartily coincide with him would have occupied, in their enumeration, far more space than we can afford to devote to them. The 'Seven Lamps' and the 'Stones of Venice' are works abounding in interest and value, for the general reader as well as for architects. The latter will do well to forego, for once, their customary scorn of non-professional criticism, and to remember, that a work is not necessarily worthless and unlearned because much that it teaches has never been taught before; and that it is not necessarily impractical, because it chiefly busies itself about the deep and half-forgotten foundations, which are common to all arts, and are therefore best discovered and discoursed of by a man who is devoted to no one of them in particular.

It is to civil architecture, especially that of Venice, that Mr. Ruskin has given his chief attention and warmest sympathy; and it is, we believe, to civil architecture that criticism ought at present to be chiefly devoted. Ecclesiastical architecture is taking among us its own course. Some persons doubt whether it is on the best path; yet it is now so far gone in it, that criticism has no longer much chance of seriously affecting it. Church builders do at last adhere to certain general principles. We might complain, that for the most part, — like the Pre-Raphaelites we have heard so much of, — they choose to imi-

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tate the buds instead of the blossoms of mediæval Gothic, preferring that which is generally, though with questionable right, called the 'Early English,' and even in some instances retrograding still further into the late Lombard style. But mediæval architecture, of one sort or another, is at present the fixed ecclesiastical mode; and architects of late years are become fervent in the study, not only of ancient examples, but also of the principles by which their designers, consciously or unconsciously, were guided. It would be a great thing for civil architecture if the same unity and zeal could be awakened in its professors; and we confess that we do not share the despondency which Mr. Ruskin seems to feel, and which it is the fashion to express, concerning the prospects of this department of the art. It is quite true that new conditions of feeling and perception, in the people as well as in architects, are indispensable to a revival of the art. These conditions have arisen, in some faint but real degree, in the case of church architecture; but, in spite of some great exceptions, the civil branch of this noble art remains almost as lifeless and insipid as ever. People cannot at once resolve to perceive and feel; and, as the excellent maxim, 'omnis boni principium intellectus cogitabundus,' is one of the truths which are at present fallen into disuse, there exists little faith in the utility of critical efforts to bring the public and architects to feel and perceive. That, however, which has been done by criticism in one case may be done by it in the other. In church architecture, what we have been taught to understand we have come to feel, and through feeling, in some measure, to create anew.

It is the present custom to underrate the value of artistical criticism, as much as in the days of our fathers there was a tendency to overrate it. The word 'inspiration,' as applied to art and the artist, has been subjected to the grossest misuse. Many people would persuade themselves and others, that all true artists have been the wildest of fanatics. If you give Shakspeare or Michel Angelo credit for having known something of what they were about when they produced their works, you are accused of degrading art into handicraft. It is not enough to allow that the modesty and simplicity of the great artist, together with the consciousness of the ease with which he has worked, may generally have prevented him from knowing how excellent and unapproachable his work would appear to others; he must also have been wholly unaware of the laws by which he has worked, if, indeed, it will be admitted by objectors of this class that works of art are produced according to any laws at all. Every thing which is known of art and artists goes to contradict this way of thinking. Most men, if not all,

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who have become for ever famous through art, have been profound and solid thinkers. If they have been 'enthusiastic,' their enthusiasm has grown out of the 'intellectus cogitabundus.' Theirs has been no such lawless and giddy impulse as is vulgarly affirmed, — less, we imagine, with the real desire of honouring artists, than under the mistaken notion that we bring them nearer our own level, by assuming that methods of production, which we can hardly and seldom wholly understand, were equally unintelligible to the artists themselves. We dwell upon this the more positively, because, whatever apparent grounds there may be for maintaining the fanatic theory with respect to artists, whose every work is in some sort unique and unrepeated, it is manifestly absurd when it comes to be applied to the ancient architects. Granting the assumption, that all great poems, paintings, and musical compositions may have been 'psychological curiosities,'— as remarkable as the opium exhalation, 'Kubla Khan,'— it is too much to believe that a hundred allied corporations of Freemasons, simultaneously working in as many diverse parts of the world, were, not only every one of them, unconsciously and plenarily inspired, but that they were all of them so inspired with one and the same idea.

ART. IV.—1. *Fifteenth Report of the Inspectors of Prisons for the Home District.*

2. *Report from the Select Committee on Prison Discipline.* 1850.

3. *Etudes sur les Colonies Agricoles, &c. &c.* Par MM. DE LURIEU et H. ROMAND. Paris: 1851.

4. *Transportation not necessary.* By C. B. ADDERLY, Esq. M.P.

5. *Rapport du Comité du chambre des deputés sur les jeunes Détenus.* Decembre, 1849.

6. *Reformatory Schools.* By MARY CARPENTER. 1851.

7. *Education, as a Means of preventing Destitution.* By W. ELLIS. London: 1851.

8. *The Dwellings of the Poor, and the Means of improving them.* By MONTAGU GORE. London: 1851.

WHAT *shall we do with our Juvenile Delinquents?* is a question often asked, but as yet most unsatisfactorily and variously answered: 'Punish them more effectually,' says one class of philosophers, 'and so deter.' 'Educate them better,' says another class, 'and so prevent.' 'Open houses of refuge and 'asylums,' says a third party, 'and so reform'!

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But prisons multiply and are better regulated; Juvenile Offenders' Acts are passed and boys whipped by the hundred—The Schoolmaster walks abroad enlightening our youth on Geography, History, the Steam Engine and Social Science—Ragged Schools and Refuges increase, and eloquent Chairmen and Treasurers rejoice in speaking of thousands of vagabonds and thieves, enlisted under the banners of the Ragged School Union, and its dependent establishments. And still, in spite of all, the vexing fact of a large amount of juvenile delinquency remains —and the young offender gains ground upon us, the plague of the policeman, the difficulty of the magistrate, a problem to the statesman, and a sorrow to the philanthropist.

That the question,—What shall be done with this class of criminals? presses for a practical reply, a few statistical details will show. It ought not naturally to be the age of crime. But the number of young persons under 17 years of age who were confined in the year 1849, as given in the 15th Report of the Inspector for the Home District, amounted to 17,126; 14,569 being males, and 2557 females. Of these 2257 were convicted at the Sessions or Assizes, and 10,251 were summarily convicted; the remainder being either acquitted or not prosecuted, or left for trial at the end of the year. There were, in fact, 12,508 boys and girls punished for crime in that year. These figures apply to the whole of England. The results of similar inquiry within the Metropolitan-police district (that is, within London and its vicinity, exclusive of 'the city,') are as well calculated to arrest attention. In 1849, the number of young persons *under* 20 *years* of age, convicted summarily or committed for trial, was 8203, of whom 75 were under 10, and 1473 betwen 10 and 15: while in 1850, the number under 20 amounted to 8261, of whom 68 were under 10, and 1785 between 10 and 15,—showing an increase, be it remarked, of 308, or of above one-fifth on the number of the classes below 15 years of age as compared with the results of the year previous.

From 14 to 15,000 boys and youths under 17 years of age are thus brought annually before the tribunals of our country, charged with offences against the law; of whom near *two-fifths* are carrying on their criminal career in the very streets of London. Nor is this all: these figures only give us *the earlier symptoms* of the *disease*, and only *the more immediate and tangible*. The vicious boy is but the father of the vicious and dangerous man. Few who enter this way of death, ever depart from it; and the burglar who disturbs our midnight slumbers so unpleasantly, and the skilful pickpocket who abstracts our purse and watch so provokingly, are but the juvenile offender developed to full growth and stature. And still fur-

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ther, in our mixed and multiform society, no man liveth for himself, or dieth for himself: each individual criminal has a sphere of influence (or rather infection), small perhaps, but certain. Each is the centre of a circle of sympathising and gradually emulous admirers and associates, whose tendencies for the thief's life he fosters, develops, and directs. Reckon but five of such satellites of crime to every juvenile delinquent, and we have a mass of at least 50,000 depraved and vicious lads, professionally living on the plunder and injury of society. Such facts speak for themselves, and may well set us thinking deeply on our social prospects and responsibilities; and difficult as the subject is, and intricate as are the questions of legal interference, of social responsibility and of religious duty which it involves, the state and proper penal treatment of juvenile offenders, are points which must be felt to press imperatively on the attention of our Government and our Legislature.

In asking our readers to discuss with us the features of youthful crime, its causes and remedies, we feel we are not inviting them to an attractive subject. It must be owned, that the first impression which early depravity leaves on the mind is one of repulsion and disgust. It is hard, indeed, to realise a spectacle more sad and shocking than that which the *practised boy-thief* presents: often but a child in years, he is a man in knowingness and profligacy; a pickpocket, pilferer, or utterer of base coin by profession, he enters on and pursues his trade of shame and guilt for the sake of the sensual luxuries and indulgences it brings him, and for the adventure, excitement, and distinction it affords. He is emphatically dead in sin. Speak to him of reformation—of admission to some house of refuge, where in labour and comparative abstinence he may work out his emancipation and recovery—his answer will probably be, 'Thank you, Sir, I can do something *better than that.*' He supposes, and allows perhaps, that he will be transported at last; but in his sight this prospect is distant and uncertain, only,—meanwhile he knows how to enjoy himself and means to do it. We turn from such a picture of premature depravity as from something loathsome.

Yet look a moment over the records of his previous life, and trace what has made this moral deformity what we see it. He was not always the wilful self-condemned outcast from honesty and goodness he is now! It was his lot, perhaps, to be reared from the very dawn of life, if not in the Rookery, perhaps in places as bad, amidst scenes of filth and violence and vice, which dulled every moral sense and debased every thought and feeling. The blow and the curse were his first catechism, cheating and

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lying his earliest lessons. At an age when the children of the wealthy would be carefully tended, and on no account allowed to leave the precincts of the nursery, he was sent out to beg or pilfer, beaten if unskilful or unlucky, rewarded and praised if clever and successful. He had, it may be, brutal and unnatural parents, who traded in their children's depravity, and locked them in the cellar or garret after they had despoiled them of the fruits of their dishonesty and begging; careless whether they lived or died, while they themselves revelled in the gluttony and drunkenness which their children's crimes had purchased. Or he was the child of a first marriage, and became the object of a step-father's ill usage or a step-mother's neglect, and was forced into the streets, an alien from his natural home, to starve or steal. Or he has been from his yet opening childhood an orphan, and has lived for years on his own resources, supported by the few pence per day he could earn by an errand or a crossing eked out by what he stole when opportunity occurred. Living as he has thus done, cared for by none, taught no social duty, instructed in no faith, knowing no moral aim or motive, what can be expected from him, but that which he is and does? what can be looked for in him, but the daring ruffian or sneaking thief, who regards the great questions of vice and virtue, honesty and honour, truth and falsehood, as mere matters of circumstance; who calls his crimes misfortunes, their punishment his ill-luck: who recognises no goodness but what fills his pocket, no evil but that which puts him in the hands of the police?

But has society no share in the condemnation and the guilt of this lost soul? Has the law, which is so prompt and stern in punishing the child, but which leaves unpunished, nay unchallenged, and even civilly unliable, the drunken, vicious, cruel parent, by whom the child was forced into the gulf of crime, nothing to answer for? Are not the authorities who have contentedly allowed such haunts of wickedness and infamy as he was bred in, to continue in the very heart of our great towns, and whose indifference to the physical and moral circumstances of the lower classes of our labouring poor, has fostered these nurseries and schools of crime, part authors and abettors of the boy's depravity? Such questions open a fearful account against society. They compel us to feel that one, whose degradation and corruption are more our doings than his own, has the strongest claims on our compassion, even while he is heavily condemned by what we necessarily call our justice. Nay, they do more; they show us that by enforcing education, decency, and cleanliness of habits, and parental responsibility among our

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lowest poor, much might be done to lessen the amount of juvenile delinquency, and many hundreds saved to usefulness and happiness, who are now left the helpless prey of vice and misery, constituting the most crying scandal to our existing manners, our institutions, and our general humanity, and—by a natural law of retributive justice, far more really just than that under which themselves may suffer,—certain to grow up a curse and peril to the community.

But the young criminals of our cities and large towns are not wholly of this destitute and more pitiable class. In their ranks hundreds can be found who have had the advantage of respectable though poor parents, who have been reared in decent though humble homes; who have been sent to school betimes, and perhaps been put out in some little place, where they might earn their victuals, and which might serve as a stepping-stone to a better situation, or afford them the opportunity to learn some tolerably remunerative occupation. What has led this class to crime? Ask any of their number—the answer you will probably receive will be, 'bad companions, Sir'! Truants from the school, lingerers on their errands, they have become the prey of the sharp and ripened criminals, who, like good missionaries of the devil, are ever watchful and anxious to recruit their ranks: The Scripture maxim, 'evil communication corrupts 'good manners,' is continually verified in this class. The boy has been usually a good deal spoilt at home, his fancies and appetites indulged, his self-government and power of saying No to temptation altogether neglected and unexercised. He is a ready spoil to the spoiler, an easy booty to the artful rogue, who lures him by his love for pastry or amusements, and uses him as the monkey employed the cat, to filch the loaf, the joint, the gown-piece, or the roll of calico, which he points out to him from a distance, as too well known to venture near them himself.

Much has been done of late years, by the classification of criminals, to clear our gaols from the guilt of being schools of crime, in which juvenile delinquents graduated under the tuition of older and more hardened offenders. But there are earlier nurseries of corruption which remain at present unbroken up, and against which comparatively little has been attempted. The very dwellings of the poor are in too many instances preparatory training schools for the gaol. Nobody has better earned in teaching country landlords by example than the Duke of Bedford, the right of impressing on them by words, the obligations imposed on them to provide suitable residences for their cottagers. It is a grave moral question even in the country. What then is it in great towns? The reader will learn in Mr.

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Beemes' 'Rookeries of London,' and in Mr. Montagu Gore's pamphlet on the 'Dwellings of the Poor,' that Saffron Hill and Church Lane, St. Giles's, are not the only haunts where the process of unhumanising is going on, 'where all are taken in, 'who can pay their footing; where the thief and prostitute 'are harboured among those whose only crime is perhaps their 'poverty:' where large families are to be found with only one bedstead between them, — sometimes not even this; where, in the upper room of a single house, let out piecemeal at enormous profits, as many as seventeen juvenile thieves, between the age of six and twelve, are collected and live together. What choice or chance can life propose for those, to whom a brutal receptacle of this kind has been their infancy's or boyhood's home?

Without doubt, however, whether the parents be discreet or foolish, indulgent or neglectful, there is much in the educational position, the school circumstances of this class of children in London and our great towns, which tends to lead them into crime, or at least exposes them to severe temptations; and which may therefore, in some measure, lead us to mingle mercy with censure in our estimate of their deserts, and stir us to devise remedies for the cause of the offence as well as punishment for the offence itself.

We take the following statement of a practical witness (the resident Chaplain of the Philanthropic) from the evidence given to the select Committee of the House of Commons on Prison Discipline last year.

'The great mass of juvenile criminals appear to me to be led into their vices and errors from the want of superintendence and industrial training. The parents have to go to their work, and must be occupied all day long, and these boys are left entirely on the streets. If your National Schools, which are merely open 4 days a week for 5 hours, and 2 days a week for 3 hours, were so arranged that a parent could take his child to the school in the morning and leave him there, with the certainty that he would be protected and looked after, and, to a certain extent, employed during the day, there would be a great check administered to the cause of juvenile crime. But what is the case. Twelve o'clock strikes, the children are all turned into the streets. The school is generally placed in one of the worst neighbourhoods, from the cheapness of the site. At two o'clock they come back to the school of themselves; and at four, or half-past four, are again turned out, at least an hour and a half before their parents can come from their work. With this exposure we cannot wonder that they are contaminated; bad associates, who are ever on the watch, get hold of them and lead them astray; first, merely to play the truant, afterwards to be petty thieves, and at last to be accustomed criminals.'

There is substantial truth in this representation, and truth

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which we cannot but recommend to the consideration of our Clergy, and the managers of our National and British Schools. It is well worth considering whether these might not be so organised as to become a species of day Boarding-Schools for the labouring class, educational *Salles d'Asile*, in which the children of the working man might have the advantage of moral superintendence and control, such as would form good habits, as well as afford mental instruction for the stimulating their intelligence. The cost of the children's dinner might be paid for by the parents, the child either bringing its food with him, or being furnished with a plain wholesome meal in consideration of the parents contributing so much a week; and those who are conversant with the working classes of our towns, will, we believe, be disposed to say, that they would generally avail themselves of such an arrangement, and would be thankful to have their children *kept out of the streets* at the price of a moderate payment for their board. The cost of the additional service and superintendence could not be heavy; there is nothing novel or operose about it; while certainly it might be expected to be among the best practical preventive remedies for the evil we are treating of, as respects that class of juvenile offenders who have decent and industrious relatives, and who fall away *in spite of care and good example at home*, and not for *want of it*.

One powerful agent for the depraving the boyish classes of our population in our towns and cities is to be found in the cheap concerts, shows, and theatres, which are so specially opened and arranged for the attraction and ensnaring of the young. When for three-pence (or as till late for two-pence) a boy can procure some hours of vivid enjoyment from exciting scenery, music and acting, with funny songs, and amusing tricks of magic and dexterity, it must be owned that the temptation to acquire the *pennies* 'rectè si possit, sed quocunque modo,' is a very powerful one. And when our national indifference or our fear of interfering with personal and public liberty, allows these shows and theatres to be scenes of the grossest indecency — training schools of the coarsest and most open vice and filthiness—it is not to be wondered at, that the boy who is led on to haunt them becomes rapidly corrupted and demoralised, and seeks to be the doer of the infamies which have interested him as a spectator. That we may not be thought to exaggerate the case, we would place before our readers the following short testimony of a most competent witness, Mr. Bishop, the agent or 'Minister to the poor' of the Liverpool Domestic Mission.

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'In company with a serjeant of police, in plain clothes, I visited fourteen of these concert saloons one Saturday night between the hours of nine and twelve. I will not attempt to explain in detail what I saw, but altogether it was a series of the most heart-sickening scenes I ever witnessed. In many of the rooms lads from about 13 to 18 years of age formed a considerable number of the audience; and in every instance I marked the presence of abandoned women. In one there were about 150 persons, a third of whom were boys. In another, a young woman, with a rouged face, dressed as a Swiss flower-girl, with a basket of flowers in her hand, was singing, while in a state of intoxication; and the extravagances occasioned by the excitement of the drink were the principal sources of amusement. This was a scene too disgusting, perhaps, to be dangerous; but in the better conducted rooms, where there is more attention to appearances, and a thin gauze of propriety thrown over all the scenes, every thing is calculated to deprave the taste, to intoxicate the senses, and to stimulate the passions.'

A yet plainer testimony is given in the Report of Mr. Clay, the excellent chaplain of Preston Gaol.

'The principal singing room in this town (Preston) is capable of holding from 800 to 1000 persons: one end is fitted up as a stage. The bar, where the liquors are served out, is placed in the middle. The place between the bar and the stage is appropriated to juveniles, or boys and girls from 10 to 14 years of age; of them there were not less than 100—they were by far the noisiest portion of the audience, and many of the boys were drinking and smoking. The lower gallery, which extends round three parts of the room, was occupied by the young of both sexes, from 14 years and upwards. There could not be less than 700 individuals present, and about one-seventh of them females. The pieces performed encourage resistance to parental control, and were full of gross innuendoes, "double entendres," cursing, emphatic swearing, and incitement to illicit passion. Three-fourths of the songs were wanton and immoral, and were accompanied by immodest gestures. The last piece performed was the "Spare Bed," and we gathered from the conversation around that this was looked for with eager expectation. We will not attempt to describe the whole of this abominable piece: suffice it to say, that the part which appeared most pleasing to the audience was when one of the male performers prepared to go to bed. He took off his coat and waistcoat, unbuttoned his braces, and commenced unbuttoning the waistband of his trowsers, casting mock-modest glances around him; finally he took his trowsers off, and got into bed. Tremendous applause followed this act. As the man lay in bed, the clothes were pulled off; he was then pulled out of bed and rolled across the stage. After this he walked up and down the stage; and now the applause reached its climax—loud laughter, shouting, clapping of hands, by both males and females, testified the delight they took in this odious exhibition.'

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Let but our readers consider the character and number of these places, of which there are said to be forty in Liverpool alone, and probably much above a hundred in London and its suburbs, and they will feel that it is indeed a grave consideration how far our laws and legislators must not be held responsible for the results, when such powerful agencies of demoralisation are left unchecked and uncontrolled.

We may here advert to another active element in fostering and developing Juvenile Delinquency,—the multitude, namely, of what are courteously called Marine Store dealers, a class which might more justly be entitled Licensed Receivers of stolen goods. Many of our readers have probably seen in the courts and back streets of our great city, the significant question, in good round hand or Roman capitals, 'Do you want money? 'come to the Black Doll and get it: 2*d.* per lb. for rags and 'tailor's trimmings. 1*d.* per lb. for paper. 6*d.* per lb. for horse-'hair. 2*d.* for kitchen stuff. Something for anything and 'everybody.' But they must be like the poor destitute or tempted lads we have been describing, penniless in pocket and hungry in appetite, and already taught to long for and hanker after the smart and well-lighted room, where indulgence and amusement await them, to fully estimate the awful force of the temptation which such announcements offer. They set the page and the apprentice on stealing their master's books, or tools, or bottles; the errand boy on pilfering the goods he carries home; the destitute hanger on the pavè upon filching the pewter pot, or bit of lead or brass, or the jacket, or the gown-piece, or the pair of boots which offer themselves so temptingly at the stall or shop front as they pass. No doubt, the case of the receivers of stolen property is one very difficult to deal with: no doubt the habitual carelessness of the small retail shopkeepers in exposing their goods so temptingly, particularly small articles of food and clothing, should be checked; but it may fairly be a question whether some system of supervision might not be carried out in reference to these marine store dealers so as to restrict the perfect license with which they now traffic in manifestly stolen property, and to repress the assurance with which they now invite and stimulate dishonesty.*

Such is a rough outline of the circumstances of the juvenile offenders of our towns and cities, and the influences which enlist

* An experienced police magistrate suggests that 'Dealers in 'Marine Stores' should be required to keep a register OF ALL THEIR PURCHASES; and that it should be made unlawful to purchase from any young person, or *after a fixed hour* in the evening, as is the case with the pawnbrokers.

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and confirm them in their career; a career sure to end eventually in banishment, if not earlier cut short by disease, vice, want, and drunkenness.

In mining and agricultural districts, the amount of juvenile delinquency is comparatively small; in the two metropolitan counties, 3609 boys and girls under 17 were imprisoned in 1848 (of which number above 600 of the boys were whipped, under the Juvenile Offenders' Act), being in the ratio of 1 to 694 of the population. In the same year the number of such young offenders imprisoned in the manufacturing counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Warwick, Derby, Leicester, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, was 3295, being one in every 1600 of the population. And the number imprisoned in the counties of Norfolk, Hampshire, Essex, Sussex, Kent, Devonshire, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucestershire, and the East Riding of Yorkshire, being districts with large maritime towns or watering places, was 2584, being 1 in every 1508 of the population; while the number in the five mining counties of Cornwall, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland, was 619, being 1 in 2078 only of their population; and the number in the thirteen agricultural counties of Cambridge, Hereford, Huntingdon, Lincolnshire, Rutland, Salop, Suffolk, Wilts, Oxford, Berks, and Northampton, was 1087, being only 1 in 1947 of the population. A proportion, however, of juvenile delinquency does exist in all, mostly to be traced to the want of superintendence and healthful exertion of the mind in early childhood. The agricultural juvenile offender usually begins his course as a crow boy. The little fellow, whose lungs can expand enough to raise a shout, or whose hands can wield a clapper, is not allowed to idle his time away at school, where he can earn nothing, but is perched on a gate, in a hedge, or a tree, all day long, to frighten away birds, both at seed time and harvest, for which occupation he receives so many halfpence a week. He studies nature, and in due time becomes a wood and turnip stealer, and then a poacher, possibly supplied with a gun and ammunition for night-work by the receiver of the game. We fear, we must say, that the Union Houses have contributed their full share to the amount of juvenile delinquency. To quote the evidence of a witness before cited: 'With regard to 'country boys, we have had a great many cases in the Philan-'thropic School in which the boy seems to have been allowed 'to turn himself out of the workhouse at 14 or 15 years of age; 'because he was a little troublesome, the master has been glad 'to get rid of him; and in a few days or weeks he has been in 'prison. That boy would soon become a finished convict.'

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This evidently refers mainly to orphans or deserted lads, whom the Union House should shelter till the parish authorities can procure them adequate and fit employment; but unhappily our parochial authorities both in town and country have thought too lightly of the responsibilities involved in the guardianship and treatment of the pauper child. Numerous instances could be given in which the juvenile delinquent has owed his initiation into crime to a short-sighted anxiety to save the rates: for economy's sake, the destitute boy has been associated with the adult profligate and idler in the house, or has been hastily apprenticed to an indifferent and unfit master, or has been permitted nay, often urged, to leave the House to look for work without the least prospect of employment. Still oftener does it happen that the young offender is compelled to pursue his career of vagrancy and theft, even when under the influence of recent punishment or awakened shame, he is anxious to turn from it; because the parish officers, to whom the police magistrate refers him for protection, decline to do any thing for him till he 'can 'prove his settlement;' a condition which practically amounts to a sentence of direct rejection, — in fact, to go and steal again.

The recent outrages on the unfortunate Jane Willbred have aroused the attention of the Legislature to the unprotected condition of pauper apprentices *when bound*. We may hope that the present able and enlightened President of the Poor Law Board will ere long be enabled to enforce more attention to the young paupers' *early management* and *moral* and *industrial training*. The Bridgnorth Union School at Quatt shows what can be done, and at how moderate a cost, and with how useful a result. The recent opening of the North Surrey Schools at Penge, for the children of several adjacent Unions, is a hopeful symptom that the example of Bridgnorth is beginning to be appreciated, and that wiser and more practical views upon pauper education are making way among the guardians and parish authorities in other districts. But, looking at the rejection of propositions to introduce industrial and especially agricultural training in several county Unions, it may be doubted whether some further legislative interference will not be required before the true and ultimately the cheaper system will be generally established, and the destitute and pauper child placed under such discipline and instruction as to remove him from the class of Juvenile Delinquents into whose ranks he is now so often driven.

We have, perhaps, said enough of the *causes* and *circumstances* of youthful crime. Let us turn to the more satisfactory side of

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the subject, and consider its Remedies. Now, on this head, it may be held as certain, that do what we will, adopt whatever system we like, whether of penalty or prevention, a certain amount of juvenile crime will always infallibly exist among us. Till, indeed, all parents do their duty, and all parish officers act up to their responsibility, and all laws and regulations bearing on the employment and the treatment of the young are made wholly just, and morally effective, a certain average proportion of thefts and misdemeanours by children will always exist; but it is a different question, whether we shall have such a proportion as 15,000 prisoners in a year under 17 years of age out of our population, or whether we shall have 5000 or 1000. And while it would be the dream of an Utopian to expect that no boys should be found thieves or vagabonds, it must be a common object with all who take interest in the happiness of their fellow creatures, from the man of common humanity to the philosopher and the practical statesman, to reduce their number within the lowest limits the case admits.

That it is our social negligence and the defects of our penal and educational discipline which give so large a number as 11,000 young offenders punished by imprisonment or whipping in one year, and not any inevitable law of nature or population, the far smaller proportion obtaining in France may serve to show. We find from the report of the Special Committee of the National Assembly presented Dec. 1849, that the whole number of children prosecuted before the correctional tribunals throughout the year 1847 (in which year the last general returns were made up) amounted to 10,204, while the number undergoing imprisonment, including those detained by way of paternal correction, at the instance of their relatives, was, in 1849, about 11,400. If it be considered that the law of France sentences juvenile offenders to far longer periods of confinement than is usual in England,—so that in 1849 there were above 2000 juveniles sentenced in France to upwards of twelve months' imprisonment, either as convicts or *détenùs,* a number at least ten times as great as that to which the juveniles under 16 transported or sentenced to above twelve months' imprisonment in England in the same year amounted—the relative proportions of juvenile crime to the population in England and in France respectively must appear very favourable to the latter country. Taking the nearest approximated amounts of the population of the two countries in 1849, it would appear that there were nearly *twice* as many commitments and punishments for offenders under 17 in England as in France,—a circumstance, the explanation of

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which we cannot find in the superior educational or religious advantages of France, and which must probably be referred to the different systems of penal treatment adopted in the two countries. This difference, in a few words, amounts to this—that in England the Juvenile Delinquent is punished over and over again with a whipping and *short imprisonment;* whereas in France the majority of young offenders under 16 years are sentenced to lengthened periods of *educational or correctional detention* (periods varying from three to five, or even ten years, according to the greater youth of the party concerned), as having acted, 'sans 'discernement,' *i. e.* as being too young, and too ill-taught and reared, to be justly held *responsible* for their actions. Thus, out of 3769 young offenders sentenced to imprisonment, *penal* or *educational*, in 1847, 1757 only were 'condamnés' as responsible, and 2012 were 'acquittés,' but ordered to be detained for lengthened periods of reformatory confinement, as not responsible. On this the contrast between the two countries, and their respective penal systems as regards the young, practically hinges. In England, the *boy*, however young, is dealt with on the *same footing* and by the *same rule* as the man. If he is convicted of unlawfully possessing goods, of assaults on the police, of vagrancy, he is handed over to the house of correction for the same term as the adult offender by his side is sentenced to for similar transgressions. He is removed in the same van, and, in many prisons, still works in the same room, and shares substantially the same treatment. In France he is recognised at once as the subject of a different system, as belonging to an exceptional and separate class. His youth, the neglect and ignorance he has been reared in, the force of the bad influences exerted on him, are all taken into account. He is punished and withdrawn from the society which he is injuring; but the whole form and substance of the proceeding shows that its principle is prevention. He is withdrawn to be placed under such training and discipline as may develope the good that lies hid and buried in him, and repress the evil which has so prematurely sprung up and overshadowed it. With us the boy may pass half of each year in a prison, for three or four years running, but uniformly for *short terms;* which make the terrors of the gaol familiar, while they give no chance to the moral agencies, that are at work within it, to exert a reformatory action on him. The boy has snatches of education, short glimpses of what self-control, and order, and decency might do for him; but the scene changes, and the good influence is removed, before a single habit can be formed, or even any deep resolution, or new principle matured. It is

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only *at the end of his career* that he obtains the correctional advantages which the French boy met with at the outset of his course. He is at last *transported*,—that is, in reality, sent to Parkhurst prison, and placed in a school of enlarged instruction and severe discipline for three years, with the prospect of being then transferred to a penal colony under a ticket of leave, if fairly improved and reformed; but by the time he arrives at this happy termination, he has been for many years familiarised with vice and crime, and the sensual enjoyments which they yield. The ultimate consignment to detention and continuous training comes fearfully late. Instead of rescuing an half-initiated novice, on the verge of falling but not yet fallen, his sentence comes in but to struggle with, and, if possible, reform and cure, a long practised, deliberate, and experienced offender; whose moral transformation at that stage is a thing usually to be desired rather than expected.

Of the extent to which the system of repeated short imprisonments is carried in this country, many of our readers have no idea. We could quote instances in our knowledge of boys not yet 13 years old who have been 10 or 12 times inmates of a gaol. But the return laid before the Prison Discipline Committee by Mr. Osborne, the zealous chaplain of Bath gaol, speaks most plainly and emphatically. 55 boys committed to that prison for the first time in 1844 were known to have been re-committed to that or other prisons 206 times, or nearly 4 times each in the course of the 5 following years. At the end of that period 15 of the 55 were transported, 30 were still living a life of crime,—preparing, that is, for the same end; 5 had died. Again, of 283 juveniles, inmates of Bath gaol for thefts, misdemeanours, &c. (excluding tramps), in 6 years, ending 1849, 52 were committed twice, 75 thrice, 9 four times, 12 five times, 19 seven or more times. In the Report of the Inspector of Prisons for the Home District, already quoted, we find that of the whole number, 12,508, stated to have been convicted in the year 1849, 2125 had been convicted previously *once*, 944 *twice*, 484 *thrice*, 761 *four times and upwards*.

Our readers ask, perhaps, why is such a system continued? Why not adopt a method of correction for the younger classes of offenders, which, while it punished, might improve, and so might turn them from the path of vice in time, and lead them to courses happier to themselves and less hurtful to society? To this question the answer lying on the surface, is,—first, because the system has been long established, and our judges, magistrates, and lawyers are not 'given to change;' and, secondly, because every measure contemplating more reforma-

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tory and preventive action, which has been hitherto proposed, has appeared to be so beset with difficulties, that our statesmen have found it easier to reject, than to minutely consider and amend it with a view to its practical adoption.

But on going a little deeper, the two great impediments in the way of a general adoption of reformatory treatment of juveniles, are found to be

1st. Economical objections on the score of the expense that would be incurred.

2nd. Moral objections on the score of the real or apparent inducements which any really reformatory training might offer, in the first place, to juvenile offenders themselves to adopt a criminal career as a means of obtaining livelihood, instruction, and provision; and, next, to their friends and relatives to neglect or pervert them, for the purpose of shifting the burden of their maintenance and education from themselves on the more honest and conscientious part of the community.

These grounds of objection meet us so continually at the very basis of every discussion on the subject, that it will be worth while to carefully consider them.

The first, though to the ears of the taxed and tax-impatient Englishman, it sounds the most serious, is in reality the most easily disposed of. A careful estimate of the expenses incidental to our present system of repeated short convictions, seems to establish the conclusion, that it is fully as expensive to the ratepayer as any more reformatory method, *when adopted generally*, would be. We hesitate, indeed, to adopt the liberal calculations which Mr. Osborne, whose evidence we have already quoted, appended to his statement on the re-convictions of the juvenile offenders in Bath gaol, in which he supposes 5000 to be the number of juveniles annually committed for the first time, and estimates the cost of the present method of treatment at a million of pounds per annum; first, because we doubt whether more than half that number of boys is annually RECRUITED into the criminal ranks; and, secondly, because we think the estimate of expenses incidental to every criminal's career, in the way of prosecutions, costs of trial and punishment, and amount of property destroyed or stolen, at 200*l.* per head, a very large one. But, on the other hand, the Report and calculations of the late lamented Mr. Rushton, on the cases of a number of youths whose career he was able to trace in Liverpool, make it probable that, first and last, the cost of each juvenile offender is not less than 100*l.*, and, taking the reduced number of 2000 as the annual addition to the criminal class of boys, we see reason to believe that the price which the country

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pays for its present system is not less than from *two to three hundred thousand pounds per annum*,—a sum which applied to the maintenance and correctional training of our young criminals, taken in the earlier stages of their career, would certainly more than suffice to feed and educate, and dispose of the hopeful and improvable portion of them in some way useful to the community. This expenditure, so applied, would both greatly lessen the general amount, and therefore the general cost of crime, by arresting its propagation among the younger classes of our population; and would give us in return for our expenditure, not *two thousand convicts* unreformed, or *half reformed*, to be maintained and transported to a penal colony at last, but fourteen or fifteen hundred *decent hopeful citizens*, producers as well as consumers of the fruits of industry: workers and examples of that which is good and useful to their fellow men. Indeed, if all which the inhabitants of our large towns and populous districts pay or lose through the crimes of boys, whom our laws are now content with prosecuting and punishing so ineffectually, could be collected into one bag, and the expense of such juvenile houses of correction, or penal schools, as would be required to place the mass of our youthful offenders under wholesome reformatory discipline for lengthened periods, were to be put into another, we feel confident that the exchange of the former for the latter would be found by the honest housekeeper a profitable bargain. He would gain, not lose, even in a pecuniary point of view, by the reformatory system.

But the other difficulty, *i. e.* that reformatory training, generally followed out, and held up as a distinctive object of pursuit, would act as a premium or attraction to crime, rather than a remedy for it, or a repulsion from it, is not quite so readily dispatched. That it would operate in such a way on the juvenile offender himself, or on boys of his age and class, we do not believe. We have never found any lad anxious to go to Parkhurst, unless, indeed, it be after a long and bitter experience of the pains and penalties of the criminal career, and its vicissitudes of want and wretchedness, and when the solitude of Pentonville was the alternative. And inquiry of the conductors of what reformatory institutions we have, leads to the conclusion that the difficulty they have to struggle with, is not to keep boys out of them, but to persuade and influence them to stay in them when admitted. The discipline and employment of Juvenile Houses of Correctional Training might easily, as they should rightly, be made sufficiently strict and laborious to ensure their not presenting bribes or inducements to any one to qualify for admission into them.

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But the case is different as regards the relatives. There are, probably, many families in the classes from which the majority of our juvenile offenders spring, where the step-father or step-mother, or the uncle or aunt, or even the child's own selfish and unprincipled parent, would gladly lay hold of any means of throwing the burden and responsibility of the boy's maintenance and instruction as much as possible on any but themselves. Even here, however, such experience as Parkhurst and the Reformatory Asylums which we possess, supply, goes to qualify the general inference we might have drawn; and to show that, at least at present, whatever be the advantages held out, if they are to be purchased at the price of entire separation from the boy, and of the loss of his services, there are few of this class of parents who will be affected by the temptation.*

But we would ask those who are so vividly impressed with the notion that a reformatory system of correction will present so dangerous a premium on parental neglect, to consider what a direct premium, not only on the neglect, but on the depravation, of the boy, the present merely penal system of correction offers. This is too little thought of. But let our readers remember that vicious parents have now only to leave their child uncared for and exposed to vile associates, to at once have him maintained for half his boyhood at the public cost in prison; while during the intervals of his imprisonments they can have him with them at home, and can profit by the produce of his thefts, and be partially maintained by the plunder which, during his months of liberty, he is free to gather from the shops or pockets of their neighbours. Let it be considered, also, that such parents have no horror at what our philanthropic writers call 'the prison brand.' To have been in Newgate or Tothill Fields is, in their eyes, no disgrace; and they have the consolation to fall back upon, that the boy will be educated and provided for by the Government at Parkhurst at last. Surely the penal school, and its entire separation of the boy for years, at an earlier and more hopeful stage, can offer no greater bribe than this?

After all, however, the question practically is, — cannot our

* The evidence of the late Mr. Rushton, before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1847, and his letters to the Liverpool Town Council (1850), afford some remarkable illustrations of what we have here advanced. It would be hard to over-estimate the loss which the cause of reformatory treatment for the young offender has sustained in this able magistrate's decease. By his interest in the subject, his accurate records and careful investigations of the numerous cases that came before him, he was well qualified to be its ablest, as well as its most earnest, champion.

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schools for correction of young offenders be so organised as effectually to oppose and neutralise the tendency and inducement to abuse them? To which may be added the supplemental question, whether, as our present checks and precautions seem inadequate to prevent crime, the gain to society, — that is to the tax and rate-paying community, — would not be greater on the whole, in the withdrawal of the child from friends and circumstances certain to eventually make him a criminal and a convict, a burden and a mischief, than the cost which can be incurred by precautionary interference?

Now, it does seem to us, that two or three very effectual checks might be devised to hinder and discourage the parties on whom the child is naturally dependent, from purposely or negligently qualifying him for the penal school. In the first place, let it be a principle, that the child be sent to a school at a distance from the place where his friends live, and his offences have been committed. This virtual transportation would be an immediate discouragement. It is this, we are told, which now checks the inclination of so many to avail themselves of the offered benefits of the Philanthropic.*

In the second place, let a distinctly corrective character be given to the school. This is a point which we think in all respects is a most important one. For the sake of society, for the sake of the juvenile offender himself, there should be no playing with crime; no appearance of trifling with or making light of it. He who doeth wrong, should suffer for that wrong which he has done—such is the divine law; and such is the dictate or supposition of all human *justice*. There is too great a disposition among some classes of philanthropists to overlook this, and to speak of the criminal as if his faults were so wholly the result of unfavourable circumstances, as to make him an object of sympathy and compassion; a person to be comforted rather than corrected, petted rather than punished. Let there be nothing of this. Let the schools for the reception and reformation of delinquent children be, and be felt to be, schools of *correction*. Let them be called so, that there may be no possibility of mistake. Let the internal regulations be strict, the employ-

* The chaplain says, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, 'The chaplains of Norwich and of Stafford 'Castles, and of Knutsford gaol, have repeatedly written to me to 'say, "We should be glad to send the boy; he wants to come, but '"his father will not allow him." I had to send a boy back the 'whole way to Staffordshire because his step-mother interfered, and 'said, "Why should I part with him, to have the boy sent from and '"transported to another place?"'

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ment constant, and as laborious as the child's age will allow of. Out-door occupation, involving exposure to the weather and cold, and leaving a sense of muscular fatigue, is evidently to be preferred. Let the diet be studiously plain and coarse, and appropriate to country labour. Let there be no hot slops (cocoa, soups or gruel), but good household bread, and a full allowance of pork, cheese, and suet-pudding. Let there be no smart-looking attractive dress, but plain rough clothing. Let there be no 'high education,' with 'lectures on chemistry, illustrated 'with experiments,' no formation of bands and glee-singing classes, but only plain, useful and intelligent instruction, such as may place the boy on the fair level of the labouring class.

Any one who has studied the tastes and feelings of the young London thief, and has seen the disgust and discontent with which he turns for many weeks from the food which the honest agricultural labourer is thankful for, and the pleasure with which he enters into the warm school-room, and applies to its sedentary and mental occupations, will appreciate the use of these regulations. Again, let there be no making a show of the school; no benevolent committee-men, expressing their hope that the 'beef is good,' or that 'the boys are not overworked;' no philanthropic ladies asking to be shown the 'interesting 'cases,' and looking with the utmost admiration on the most hardened and guilty lads; no amateurs in crime, calling on the boys who have been 'three times in prison to stand up,' and then 'those four times in prison,' and then those five times, as if the conviction and imprisonment were so many medals of good service, or tokens of honourable danger and endurance. Let it be felt, and studiously avowed and shown, that the school is for cure, not reward. One of discipline, not privilege. All this is perfectly consistent with the presence of the spirit of kindness and religious influence, without which, as the predominating elements of the school system, no reformation, no moral training, could be hoped for. Influence, not force, must be the *moving power;* but influence must operate rather by the master's unwearied patience, by his self-denial, and his efforts to understand and reach the hearts of the children he has to train, than in the license he allows them, the sensual indulgence he affords their appetites, or the false sympathy which he expresses for their transgressions.

With our strong conviction that the school must wear its true aspect, and seem to be what it is designed to be, we can not at all coincide in the proposition of Mr. Adderley's pamphlet, that the juvenile offender should be sent to the common national school, and be mixed up indiscriminately with the children of

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the poor at large. While it is highly undesirable to give the delinquent classes any sort of prominence, or to seem to afford them any peculiar advantages, it must certainly be far worse to make the parish school a lazaretto, and mix together the infected and the healthy: And, if the poor ratepayer, the father of honest children, is likely to think it hard that he should be taxed to provide good discipline and instruction to the neglected offspring of his vicious or unprincipled neighbour, he would (if we mistake not) think it harder still, that his decent and unconvicted child should be placed on the same bench with that neighbour's depraved and vicious son, to be contaminated, corrupted, and introduced to crime in the natural course of his daily education. At the same time the facility with which boys are discharged from our parish schools for trifling faults, and are thus cast into the stream of juvenile delinquency, is far too great; and it is well worthy the attention of school committees or trustees, whether, on the boys' admission they should not require the parents to agree to stricter measures in case of truancy or petty thefts, and punish and repress the fault in the school, instead of turning the delinquent into the streets where the fault must grow, and ere long bear fruit in heavier and less curable offences.

In the third place, let it be a principle that in every case where circumstances will in anywise allow of it, the *friends be charged with some contribution to the child's support in the reformatory school.* We are aware that we here touch on another of the *vexed questions* of juvenile delinquency. It is one on which, however, very little practical evidence has yet been taken. Of the abstract propriety that the parents and legal guardians of the offender should thus contribute towards the maintenance of the child, whom they are bound naturally wholly to support, there can be no doubt; and of the practical possibility of such a system being enforced, and acted on, in a far greater number of cases than is generally supposed, we are fully persuaded. It should of course be optional to the parties concerned, either to have the child sent away, and to contribute to his better training in the government school, or to take better care of him, and keep him out of the police court themselves. In the case of first and second offences of a lighter kind, they might even be allowed to try what they could do; and, after proper warning to them, and a proper chastisement to the offender, he might be restored to their charge, the first and the second time he came before the magistrate. But on the third conviction the option should cease. The child should then be committed for a sufficient period — twelve months or two years — to the school of reform,

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and the magistrate be empowered and required to hold the friends responsible for a certain weekly payment proportioned to their means. In many cases the payment could not be practically enforced; but vigilance on the part of the officer to whom the collection of the payment was entrusted, would secure it in the great number of instances, if a proper machinery were uniformly adopted: the Relieving Officer of each union might be specially charged with this duty. The amount contributed by such means might not perhaps form a very prominent item on the receipt side of the school ledger; but something in aid of its expenses might be obtained, while (and this is of far more consequence) the requirement of the payment, and the steps taken to enforce it, would be a practical protest in favour of the great principle of parental responsibility, and would powerfully check that negligence of family ties and duties which the busy occupations and the crowded population of our large towns necessarily encourage.

We cannot pass from this portion of our subject without strongly recommending to the study of our readers Miss Carpenter's excellent work on 'Reformatory Schools,' which has reached us since the foregoing pages were written. It is the first book in which we have seen the difficult question she treats of adequately handled; the facts to be relied on justly stated; and (most important of all) the objections to be answered fairly acknowledged and intelligently met, if not thoroughly disposed of. The book embraces a wider field than our own remarks have been restricted to; the condition of the 'children of the perishing and dangerous classes,' and the complete educational provision required for them being her main subject. We have confined our view to the smaller, but more defined and tangible class of 'Juvenile Offenders;' believing that it is with these that a *practical beginning* must be made, and that a good system of correctional training, applied to the detected and convicted delinquent, will react most beneficially on the, as yet, unconvicted mass, of which they are now the corrupting examples. Miss Carpenter's chapter on the fundamental principles of Reformatory training, and on the management and mixed results of ragged schools, will repay an attentive and repeated perusal. As she is herself, an earnest and unwearied labourer in the work, she speaks with authority and gives us the results of a trustworthy experience. We cannot but wish that some of the able legal philanthropists whose views she quotes on the difficult and disputed points of enforcing the parents' responsibility, and depriving the depraved and worthless of the natural rights over their children, which they have forfeited by their misconduct,

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would adopt the same practical spirit, and not only tell us that other laws are wanted, but would draw up in appropriate words the clauses of such an Act as would operate effectually for such a purpose. How to define the child's condition and the parents' offence so as to touch the guilty, and yet give no handle for vexatious interference, or malicious injury, is a more serious difficulty, than her chapter of 'objections answered' represents. The analogies of a parent's *madness* or *physical disease* are worth little: what we want is, a practical test which a policeman can apply, and a magistrate decide upon. For ourselves, we see but one effectual way of meeting the difficulty. Let it be obligatory on all parents to send their children to some description of school. Let the schools be regulated on efficient principles, giving superintendence and moral oversight, as well as mere instruction. Then let the child who is found habitually idling and gambling in the streets and alleys, be laid hold of, and his friends or legal guardians summoned to account for his neglected state; and wherever they are proved to be careless of his moral condition or desirous to corrupt it, let a fitting penalty be imposed upon them, and measures taken to prevent the child becoming a plague-spot on society.

Our paper has already exceeded our intended limits, else we had desired to have examined in some detail the means by which the system of detention and corrective education has been followed out in the countries where it has prevailed, and the results which have accompanied it: a few words, however, must suffice for this.* The system has been most widely and systematically acted on in France, and it is satisfactory to its advocates to find that it has not only survived the late internal

* The work of Messrs. De Lurieu and Romand, on les Colonies Agricoles de Mendiants, jeunes détenus, &c., will furnish our readers with a full and intelligent account of the corrective and preventive institutions now existing in Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland. Our space forbids our making the extracts from it which we could wish.

The following remark has been verified in the experience of many of our English institutions: — 'La plupart des colonies agricoles 'commencent ainsi par des folles mises de fonds en acquisition de 'terrain, en constructions et en mobilier; c'est à dire qu'elles depo- 'sent dans les fondements mêmes de l'œuvre un germe de mort ou de 'ruine prochaine.' We trust that this great error will be effectually avoided in any general establishment of schools of correction in this country. It *can* be, if too much be not attempted at once, and if simplicity and practical efficiency be sought for, to the exclusion of mere mechanism and show.

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changes and distractions by which French society has been afflicted, but has been more distinctly recognised and sanctioned by the representatives of the people since the revolution of 1848, than before.

Up to the year 1839, it should be noted the juvenile offender in France was the subject of *detention* without the indispensable additions of corrective *discipline* and *training*. He was committed to the great district prisons for periods varying from five to ten years, and was in fact the subject of a cruel though unintentional injustice, the prison being utterly unable to give the instruction or exert the moral influence which his age and circumstances needed, and to receive which the law sentenced him to detention in it. And while the adult offender suffered an imprisonment of twelve months, or two years, for much heavier crimes, and then left the prison free, to return to social life, the boy remained in the same prison, practically, *a captive* for a far longer period; often for a comparatively trifling delinquency. To this gross defect in the penal system of the country, a remedy was first applied in 1839 by Messrs. Demetz and De Courteilles, the founders of the correctional school of Mettray. Mettray was established for the express purpose of taking the boys thus unjustly, and against the proper aim and purpose of the law, consigned to a long and almost hopeless imprisonment as convicts, and placing them under such effective moral and industrial training, as might reform while it punished, and might prepare for the future while it enforced a penalty for the past.

Mettray will, we trust, be sufficiently known to our readers to render any particular notice of its system unnecessary. The leading ideas of all reformatory agency are thoroughly embodied in it; viz. moral influence and active manual occupation. The peculiarities of the institution are, the attempt to revive a *family* or *domestic feeling* by dividing the boys into *households*, and the introduction of field and garden labour as the chief source of industrial occupation. Of these elements the last may be said to have completely succeeded, and Mettray may justly claim the honour of having shown that out-door work is not incompatible with the discipline and regularity of correctional restraint. Of the other element 'the family system,' considering that there is no female influence — no 'dames' or 'matrons' — that the 'pere' is a young unmarried man; that the meals, the levée, &c., are all done by military rule and signal,—we are disposed to consider that its real advantage lies in the distribution of the boys into smaller and manageable portions, and the greater personal and individual relation it establishes be-

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tween them and their teachers. This is indeed a benefit hardly to be over-estimated. The authors of the Etudes sur les Colonies Agricoles say truly, 'Il est essentiel que le nombre 'des enfants réunis dans une même école rurale ne soit pas plus 'considérable que trente ou quarante afin qu'un seul maître 'suffise à les diriger, à les conduire, à les élever.' The opening of Mettray was soon followed by the establishment of Petit Bourg near Paris, in which children of the destitute and pauper class were received as well as jeunes détenùs. The system of this institution is to associate the boys on the old and common system, training them however, as at Mettray, mainly in agriculture and gardening. On visiting it in 1849 we found about 150 boys mainly of the convict class. At that date schools similar to Mettray had been opened at Rouen, Marseilles, Amiens, &c., the Government paying for the maintenance of the children at the rate of 7*d.* per diem each, in addition to a contribution of 3*l.* per head for clothing. Modifications of the Mettray system had been also introduced into several of the large district prisons, as at Clairvaux, Loos, Gaillon, and Fontrevault, at which latter place a farm of 150 acres was taken into cultivation—70 of the 300 young prisoners confined in the prison being employed on it, with most satisfactory results as to their conduct, and the utility and profit of their labour. On the whole, so great have been found to be the advantages of correctional training as thus associated with detention in France, that in 1850 the Assembly agreed to the recommendation of the Committee from whose report we have already quoted, and decreed the national adoption of the system, on a scale large enough to embrace the whole mass of Juvenile Delinquency which has to be dealt with. The Projet du Loi agreed to by them on this subject enacts, 1st. That in any preliminary stage of imprisonment the juveniles shall be wholly separated from the adults. 2ndly. All juvenile offenders sentenced to imprisonment for periods between six months and two years, and all such as are sentenced to detention as having acted sans discernement, shall be placed in *colonies penitentiares*, there to be brought up under strict rules of discipline, and employed in husbandry and its associated employments. 3rdly. That private associations shall be encouraged to form these colonies penitentiares, the State assisting and co-operating as at Mettray, and that if an adequate number are not established in two years, the Government shall interpose, and found as many as are needed at the national cost. 4thly. That *penal* colonies shall be established in Algeria for young offenders sentenced to more than two years' imprisonment, and for those who, after

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being admitted into the reformatory school, prove themselves unworthy of its advantages. Mons. Demetz informs us that the number of reformatory institutions, now in France in execution of this law, is forty-two, containing near three thousand children.

Such is the state of the question of Juvenile Delinquency in France. Within the last two years a great establishment for the corrective training of juvenile offenders has been formed in Belgium, at Rhusyllede near Ghent. This institution is principally for children convicted of vagrancy and begging, and is remarkable as being founded by the Government alone, without the aid of private benevolence. An extensive and disused sugar refinery, with above 300 acres of good average land attached, was purchased for about 6500*l.* The buildings of the manufactory, with some necessary alterations, will afford accommodation for 500 boys; 120 are already admitted. The requisite farm buildings, &c. are in progress. A school for 200 girls, and another for the more infantine portion of the vagrant and destitute classes, are to be erected in connexion with it, but at some miles distance.

We cannot but regret that the old collective method of discipline and management is to be resorted to at Rhusyllede, the whole mass of boys being associated, and their dormitories (four in number) being fitted up to contain 125 beds in each. When large numbers of lads are thus brought together, there may be good discipline, and, with very competent teachers, good instruction; — but moral and religious influence cannot be looked for. That the boys are to be mainly brought up to husbandry and gardening is an important alleviation of the evil; these occupations naturally scattering and dividing them; but we cannot but think the *immediate economical* gain of the collective method would have been much more than compensated for by the *ultimate moral* gain of the family or distributive system. The remarks, however, of Messrs. De Lurieu and Romand, that the Belgian boys are 'plus faciles à manier, moins bruyants, 'moins turbulents,' than French lads; that their dispositions are 'aussi calmes et aussi soumis' as to require only one officer for sixty boys, may explain how Mons. Ducpetiaux has felt justified in abandoning, on this point, the Mettray model.

On other points, Rhusyllede affords a very useful pattern for our study. The boys have from two to three hours' instruction, their mental training being limited to reading, writing, arithmetic, mental calculation, with some history and geography, and as much agricultural information as can be imparted. Music and gymnastics form part of their recreations.

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One feature of its system we should be disposed to introduce into our English schools of correction, viz. that of a specially correctional ward, in which the boy may pass any term of preliminary separation which his case or character may make advisable. In this respect, Rhusyllede appears to have taken a hint from Parkhurst, whose probationary ward has always seemed to us one of its most useful portions.* We should desire to see this feature introduced into our juvenile schools of correction in England. A strictly correctional ward or division, into which each new inmate should be received, and in which the more confirmed and ill-disposed should be retained for a sufficient period, to allow of reformatory influence being fully brought to bear on them, would be very advantageous. It should be attached to each school, under the same general superintendence, but with special regulations as to the diet, labour, silence, and separation of its inmates.

The agricultural colonies in Switzerland were in 1849 thirty-two in number, chiefly founded by Wehrli. In these, however, as in many of the similar institutions, now opened in France, orphans and enfans trouvés are mingled with the vagrant and the beggar. None of them contain more than forty, and most only thirty children.†

It is strong evidence in favour of the reformatory system for young offenders, that our transatlantic brethren have taken it up. The Report of the Prison Discipline Society for 1850 shows that schools of reform, such as our remarks have contemplated, are now being generally founded, at the charge of the different local governments, for the proper training and correction of the juvenile offenders of the United States, and these too, generally on the principle of *agricultural* occupation as the main source of employment. Thus Maine, Massachusets, Connecticut, New York, have each of them *farm schools;* while houses of refuge, affording more sedentary employments

* We cannot think that Miss Carpenter has done full justice to Parkhurst prison as now constituted. The last two years have seen very important improvements in its system. There is more industry and labour, less of the pedantry of discipline, and a more practical style of school instruction.

† It should be added, that an institution with similar objects is being formed at Rysselt, near Zutphen, in Holland, where, mainly by the contributions of some benevolent individuals, 130 acres of land have been purchased, and the requisite buildings put in course of erection. It is to be called 'The Dutch Mettray.' The children will be divided into families of twelve only, in imitation of M. Wichern's admirable Rauhe Haus at Hamburg.

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to their young inmates, are found in Rhode Island, at Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, &c. The juvenile delinquent, we should remark, is usually committed for detention in these schools, till the expiration of his minority; the trustees of the school having discretion to apprentice the boy out at such times as they shall think fit, and having, both before and after the apprenticeship, the legal powers of parents and guardians. At Westborough, Massachusets; out of 334 admitted, 247 were sentenced till of age; 5 till 20; 1 for 10 years; 2 for 8; 5 for 6 years, &c. The offences for which these boys are thus placed under reformatory discipline in America are worthy of remark. At Westborough there were committed for larceny, 119; *stubbornness*, 110; idle and disorderly conduct, 20; vagrancy, 23; shop breaking and stealing, 17; house breaking, 4; pilfering, 5; having obscene books for circulation, 2; common drunkards, 2, &c. It is added that of the whole number, 66 were foreigners and 268 born in the United States, but of the last, 96 were of Irish, 3 of English, and 1 of German parents. It will be admitted that the American public know the value of the dollar, and are not likely to throw away their resources on visionary and unproductive schemes of mere vague benevolence. The circumstance, therefore, that they are thus adopting the detentional and corrective method of treating juvenile offenders must be allowed to be a strong recommendation in its favour to the practical economist.

We cannot but hope that the day is not far distant when the same principle will be brought into practical operation in our own country, and the School of Correction be looked upon as a necessary provision for the lighter and more numerous classes of juvenile delinquencies, as Parkhurst is in cases of a heavier and rarer description. To these, gradually and quietly introduced, simply organised, and strictly regulated, we principally look for the mitigation of the serious mischiefs which youthful crime is entailing upon society; and to the establishment of these we would invite the co-operation equally of the philanthropist and the statesman, (if we must still distinguish between the two,) — believing that, aided by such checks upon the parents and the parish as we have spoken of, a general and consistent system of corrective and reformatory discipline would rescue thousands of children from destruction, would relieve the community from a heavy and wasteful expense, and would make the due execution of our penal laws more effective and more just.

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ART. V.— *Correspondance entre Le Comte de Mirabeau et Le Comte De La Marck, pendant les années* 1789, 1790 *et* 1791. Recueillie, mise en ordre, et publiée, par M. AD. De BACOURT, Ancien Ambassadeur de France près la Cour de Sardaigne.

THE Revolution in France of 1848 has revived our interest in the causes and consequences of the greater Revolution of 1789, and in the conduct and character of the persons who took prominent parts in the transactions of that most eventful period of modern history.

There are undoubtedly great differences in the Revolutions of 1789 and 1848, but they are by no means destitute of resemblance. The chief point of similitude is, that at both periods the political and social organisation of France was broken up into its component elements; in the Revolution of 1789, perhaps with inevitable precipitancy, in that of 1848, in a spirit of unnecessary change, and with reckless conceit. On both occasions the Monarchical form of government was overthrown, after a desperate struggle in 1789, and without resistance in 1848. In truth the old and corrupt monarchy which fell with Louis XVI. had more blood in its veins, and died harder than the recently embodied royalty of Louis Philippe. The foundations of the former had been deeply laid in the traditions and habits, if not in the affections, of the people; while the latter had but a slight hold on the surface, and yielded to the first puff of the revolutionary tempest.

So many political problems had been solved between 1789 and 1848, and so many results had been obtained favourable to the best interests of society, and to the rights of the people, that at the latter period, there was little more to do in the way of organic improvement, than to extend the electoral franchise, so as to make the elected body a real representation of the French people. A reform of Parliament was required, and not a change in the form of the government itself. Louis Philippe, by obstinately resisting the first, was the principal agent in bringing about the latter. It cannot be said that he was ill-advised, for, though his Ministers agreed with him, he was his own counsellor; he had not, like Louis XVI., a family to influence him, or courtiers to mislead him; he himself was convinced that the French people possessed as much liberty and political power as could be safely entrusted to them, and he would not even entertain the question of further extension. In this respect Louis XVI. appears to comparative advantage:

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he felt that great administrative changes were required, and he was ready, *salvâ regiâ dignitate*, to make them. His task, even if he had been honestly and respectfully supported by the National Assembly, and well counselled by his Ministers, would have been most difficult; nor was that of the National Assembly itself less so. Master spirits were required at once on the throne and in the Assembly. The reigning Bourbon was altogether unfitted for the exigencies of the occasion. A master spirit did appear in the Assembly, but under such unfavourable circumstances, and for so short a time, that the benefits to have been derived from the commanding influence of a man, uniting in himself the opposite qualifications of a tribune of the people, and of a minister of the Sovereign, remain the object of mere speculation, and do not belong to the records of history.—That man was Mirabeau.

Mirabeau's youthful immoralities had exceeded the license permitted to his age and station, so that, the first time he appeared in the hall of the States-General he was received with murmurs of disapprobation. Nor was this surprising; he stood there a convicted adulterer, and a betrayer of official confidence.* He is reported to have met this reception with a smile of disdain; feeling, as he must have done, an irresistible conviction, that his success in the career just opened to him would soon cause the vices of his private life to be overlooked. We may also add a belief that the consciousness of the public good, which he felt himself capable of achieving, gave him an honourable confidence in his power of self-redemption.

The great question was immediately brought under discussion—'Were the Etats Généraux to deliberate in one body 'or separately?' The Tiers Etat contended for the first, while the orders of the Nobility and of the Clergy claimed the right of separate deliberation for each of the three Orders. Mirabeau, though a member of the Tiers Etat, was far from at once adopting their pretensions; and he applied, through Malonet, who was personally acquainted with some of the ministers, for an interview with Monsieur Necker. That interview took place, and we have the authority of Malonet, in his Memoirs, for the fact, that Mirabeau, after explaining his views regarding a constitutional monarchy, pressed upon Necker the importance

* We allude to his adulterous connexion with Madame Monnier (Sophia Ruffey), and to the sale by him to a bookseller of the manuscript of the 'Secret History of the Court of Berlin,' which was in fact a publication of his official despatches to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, during his secret mission at Berlin.

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of the Government overcoming the resistance of the orders of Nobility and Clergy to a union with the Tiers Etat, in order to avoid the evils which would inevitably follow from its continuance. Necker was cold and disdainful, and made no reply to the suggestion. Mirabeau left the minister in great irritation, and is reported to have said, 'Je ne reviendrai plus, mais il 'aura de mes nouvelles.' Malonet admits that from the opening of the Etats Généraux Mirabeau evinced a fixed determination to support the Royal authority, provided it were founded on constitutional principles; but from the first, also, he had a double character to sustain—he endeavoured to be at the same time the supporter of order and kingly government, as well as the eloquent tribune of the people, whose force rested on his personal popularity, and on that only.

Mirabeau was a party with Sieyes and others in persuading the Tiers Etat to assume the title of the National Assembly, and to give to its members that of Representatives of the French People—titles which were resumed in the Constitution of 1848. The occurrences at the meeting of the National Assembly held in the Tennis Court, when the usual hall of their sittings had been shut up, under pretence of repairs, are well known to our readers; and it may be truly said that, with the language of Mirabeau to the Marquis de Brézé, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, who had called upon the Three Orders to separate, in conformity with the commands of the King, given at the Royal Seance of the 23d June, 1789, the Revolution began, and was at once completed. We believe the following to be the most correct record of what Mirabeau said on that ever memorable occasion:—'Oui, Monsieur, nous avons entendu les intentions 'qu'on a suggerées au Roi: et vous qui ne sauriez être son 'Organe auprès de l'Assemblée Nationale; vous, qui n'avez ici 'ni place, ni voix, ni droit de parler; allez dire à votre 'Maître qui nous sommes ici par la volonté du peuple, et que 'nous n'en sortirons que par la force des bayonnettes.' No words can convey a more energetic and dignified assertion of the independence of the representative body, and they at once annihilated the pageants of absolute monarchy.

Here then begins that Constituent Assembly which in its origin and functions was in some measure the prototype to that of 1848. Although the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly in 1791 had little duration, the reputation of the Assembly itself, far from diminishing, has rather increased with the progress of time. Much of the framework of the present organisation of France was then prepared, and the principles of its internal administration were definitively laid down. We cannot but admire the great capacity and various talents dis-

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played by the Members of that Assembly, brought more prominently forward by the contrasts of their political opinions. Mirabeau shone with greater brightness than any other individual, but he did not eclipse his distinguished colleagues. Barnave, Maury, Cazales were powerful rivals in eloquence, and the political metaphysician Sieyes scarcely yielded to Mirabeau in sagacious anticipations and energetic decision at critical moments.

The Members of the Committee appointed to prepare the Project of the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly were Talleyrand, Sieyes, Monnier, Chapelier, Lally Tolendal, Clermont Tonnerre, Champion de Cicé (Archbishop of Toulouse), and Bergasse. Let our readers compare these names with those of the Committee that framed the Constitution of 1848; Cormenin, Marrast, La Mennais, Vivien, Tocqueville, Dufaure, Martin (de Strasburg), Woirhaye, Coquerel, Corbon, Thouret de l'Allier, Gustave de Beaumont, Dupin, Vaulabelle, O. Barrot, Pagès de l'Arriège, Dornès, Considérant. From these two Committees emanated the Constitutions of 1791 and 1848, and the Members are respectively responsible for their works. It is painful to see the names of men so eminent in the present day, attached to the concoction of that of 1848, which, before the ink was dry upon the Constitutional Act, some of them declared to be contradictory in its provisions, unsuited to the people, and impracticable in execution.

The papers which form the subject of the present Article, collected, arranged, and edited by Monsieur Bacourt with great care and impartiality, are divided into three parts. The first part from page 4. to page 173. of the first volume consists of notices by the Comte de la Marck himself on the principal personages of the Court of Louis XVI., and of a narrative compiled from other less complete notes left by him, giving a detailed account of his intercourse with Mirabeau, and explanatory of the correspondence. To this narrative the editor has added some very useful notes of his own. We are inclined to think that readers in general will consider this the most interesting part of the work. The second part contains the correspondence with Mirabeau from the 28th of December 1789 till the 24th of March 1791; he died on the 2nd of April of that year. This correspondence occupies a portion of the first volume, the whole of the second, and the first 113 pages of the third volume. In the last portion of the third volume the reader will find several letters from the Comte de la Marck to the Comte Mercy d'Argenteau and to other persons, together with a few notes drawn up by Monsieur Pellenc, Mirabeau's private secretary, after the death of Mirabeau.

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The sketches of character and observations contained in the original notes of the Comte de la Marck are full of interest; and we regret that our limits restrict us to a few extracts, and to an abridgment of the narrative. We particularly recommend to our readers the Comte de la Marck's remarks on the relations of Marie Antoinette with the Duchesse de Polignac, and on the leading persons admitted to her intimate society.

The Comte de la Marck, describing Marie Antoinette, says:

'I will endeavour to bring together some notices of various circumstances, in which I was personally placed in a situation to become acquainted with the Queen, and to appreciate her character. She had, above all, great goodness of heart, and a strong inclination to oblige those who sought her good offices, and too often this kindness of disposition was imposed upon. Marie Antoinette did not possess much reach of mind, but she readily perceived and comprehended what was brought before her. The gaiety of her character gave her an inclination to jest, which she sometimes carried to the length of ridicule. This was a fault in a person placed in her station, and those around her were apt to encourage her in it. I can, without hesitation, assert that the Queen was not in the habit of exerting her influence with the King in the choice of his ministers: the only exception was the nomination of the Marquis de Segur to the Ministry of War. I will even go farther, and say, that the Queen, so far from having any taste or desire to meddle in public affairs, had a positive repugnance for doing so, probably arising from the usual levity of the female character.'

The Comte de la Marck supports this assertion by citing various instances in which measures were adopted without her knowledge in opposition to her opinions and wishes. At the same time, the irresolution of the King in the midst of the dangers with which they were surrounded, forced the Queen forward, in order to supply the deficiencies of her royal husband.

The Comte de la Marck saw much of La Fayette before the latter embarked in the war of American Independence, and he describes him as an awkward imitator in fashionable life of his brother-in-law, the Vicomte de Noailles. This spirit of imitation suggested to La Fayette the desire to join the American insurgents, which the Vicomte de Noailles had already asked permission to do. Monsieur Bacourt, the editor of the correspondence, gives an extract from the memoirs of La Fayette, in which the latter assigns much higher motives for his joining the American cause. There is nothing, however, contradictory in the two statements. Imitation may have first suggested the idea to La Fayette's mind, and the determination once taken, he may have worked himself up into enthusiasm.

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Speaking of the Duke of Orleans (p. 81.), the Comte says:—

'Equity and impartiality compel me, in finishing this imperfect sketch of the character of the Duke of Orleans, not to pass over in silence the good qualities which I have observed in him. He was most scrupulous in performing his promises, and he considered himself irrevocably engaged even by a word hastily uttered; he was extremely shy, but this is a fault generally connected with goodness of heart. The Duke of Orleans never so far overcame this timidity as to be able to speak in public. When at one of the sittings of the Parliament he had to read a paper containing a few remarks in opposition to the commands just delivered by the King, he stammered and was nearly inaudible. On a still more important occasion, when he had undertaken to read a short address, urging the majority of the Noblesse to join the Tiers Etat, he fainted, and the windows were thrown open to revive him.'

The introduction of the Comte de la Marck to Mirabeau was effected at the desire of the Comte, through Monsieur Senac de Meilhan, ex-Intendant of the province of Hainault; and the occasion was a dinner at the house of the Prince de Poix, Governor of Versailles. The party consisted, besides, of the Comte and Comtesse de Tessé, Monsieur de Thun, and the Vicomte de Noailles, who had all expressed a wish to become acquainted with Mirabeau. The following are the Comte de la Marck's first impressions of his future intimate friend. (P. 81.)

'He was tall, squarely and heavily built; his head, large beyond the usual proportions, was further increased by a large quantity of hair, curled and powdered; he wore a plain coat, with buttons of enormous dimensions of coloured stones; his whole dress was an exaggeration of the fashion, and very unlike that of the Court. His features were disfigured by the small-pox, he had a downward look, but his eyes were full of fire. Meaning to be polite, he exaggerated his salutations, and his first words were absurd compliments sufficiently vulgar. In short, he had neither the manners nor the language of the society in which he then happened to be; and although by his birth he was equal in rank to his hosts, it was quite evident he was entirely deficient in the ease of manners that belongs to good society. It was not till Monsieur de Meilhan turned the conversation to general politics and administration, that every thing ridiculous and vulgarly affected in Mirabeau's manner and conversation disappeared. All then remarked the abundance and clearness of his ideas, and he enchanted his hearers by his brilliant and energetic manner of expressing them.'

The Comte de la Marck relates the following anecdote in connexion with this dinner:—'The Prince de Poix, who read but 'little, and was not at all *au fait* of public affairs, having said,

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'on Monsieur Necker's name being mentioned, "*Ah! there,*
'"*indeed, is a man!*" Mirabeau, surprised by this burst of
'eulogy, drew back a few steps, and, bowing with great gravity
'to the Prince, replied, "Yes, he is a great player at cup and
'"ball."'

The result of this first meeting was a mutual expression of a wish, by the Comte de la Marck and Mirabeau, to continue the acquaintance. The Duke of Orleans, on finding that the Comte de la Marck was in habits of intercourse with Mirabeau, intimated a desire to become acquainted with him, and they met at dinner at the Comte's. Mirabeau was not pleased with the Duke, who, he remarked, did not inspire him with any confidence.

The Comte de la Marck being elected a Deputy of the Noblesse for the Bailliage of Quesnoy, in which the estate of Raismes, which he possessed in right of his wife, was situated, was present at the opening of the Etats Généraux; and he and Mirabeau met in the Assembly three days after the union of the Three Orders. The Comte de la Marck had adhered to the measures of the majority of the Order to which he belonged. Mirabeau went up to him, and said, 'Ne recon-
'naissez vous plus vos anciens amis; vous ne m'avez encore
'rien dit?' The Comte proposed their dining together, which was accepted by Mirabeau. On that occasion Mirabeau said, 'You are no doubt dissatisfied with me.' 'And with many
'others,' was the reply. 'If that be so, you ought to be dis-
'contented with the inhabitants of the Chateau. — *Le vaisseau*
'*de l'état est battu par la plus violente tempête, et il n'y a per-*
'*sonne à la barre.*' These words are remarkable, for they contain the formula of all Mirabeau's subsequent communications with the Court and the Ministers. Mirabeau felt even at that early period that he was wanted at the helm. We would willingly transcribe the whole of this conversation between the Comte de la Marck, for in it Mirabeau briefly but completely developed his views respecting the future government of France. 'The fate of France,' he said, 'was decided.
'The words Liberty and Taxes voted by the people, had been
'uttered throughout the kingdom, and there is no issue out of
'the difficulty, but by a Constitution, more or less similar to
'that of England: the day on which the Ministers of the King
'will agree to discuss the state of affairs with me, they will
'find me devoted to the Royal cause, and to that of Constitu-
'tional Monarchy.' This sentiment was at the bottom of all his plans and opinions until the day of his death. The conversation took place at the end of the month of June 1789.

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The Comte de la Marck, in his intimate intercourse with Mirabeau, became convinced that it would not be difficult to secure his parliamentary support of the royal cause, as his principles were sincerely monarchical. The Comte opened himself on the subject to Monsieur de Cilé, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and Keeper of the Seals; the latter was ready to adopt the Count's views, but declared that Monsieur Necker could never consent to any such proposition. The violent language too often held by Mirabeau in the Assembly, and in the Revolutionary Societies, drew from the Comte de la Marck a very strong remonstrance, which was well and patiently received; but Mirabeau said in his defence that 'it was impossible for him 'to act otherwise, without risking the loss of his popularity, 'which was his strength.' 'The armies,' said he, 'are in face 'of each other, negotiation or conflict must take place. The 'Government will adopt neither, and is playing a very danger-'ous game.'

Droz, in his History of the Reign of Louis XVI., asserts that Mirabeau, about this time, received a sum of 300,000 francs through Le Clos, from the Duke of Orleans, to purchase his services in the Assembly. This accusation, so often brought against Mirabeau, is utterly denied by the Comte de la Marck, who truly says, that it was very unlikely that, if Mirabeau had just received so large a sum from the Duke of Orleans, he should have applied to him for a loan of 50 louis, which he did the same month. Even Droz admits that Mirabeau would not have taken money on condition of acting contrary to his principles; and La Marck emphatically says, 'Non, jamais Mirabeau 'ne sacrifia ses principes à ses intérêts pécuniaires.' Mirabeau's own expression regarding the Duke of Orleans was, 'On pré-'tend que je suis de son parti; je ne voudrais pas de lui pour 'mon valet.' However, Mirabeau's language to the Comte de Narbonne, recorded by Droz, might lead to a less favourable conclusion. 'Un homme comme moi peut recevoir cent mille 'écus, mais on n'a pas un homme comme moi pour cent mille 'écus.' A distinction almost as dangerous as that attributed to Bacon, between selling justice, but not injustice.

The Comte de la Marck, anxious to explain to the Queen the reasons of his intimacy with Mirabeau, employed the Comtesse d'Ossun, the Dame d'Atours (p. 99.) to convey to Her Majesty that his object was to moderate Mirabeau's revolutionary outbreaks, and to make him useful to the King, in concert with the Ministers. The Queen granted the Comte an audience, at which, while she admitted his good intentions, she added, 'Nous 'ne serons jamais assez malheureux, je pense, pour être reduits

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'à la pénible extremité de recourir à Mirabeau.' The Queen had afterwards recourse to the services of Mirabeau, but the reluctance with which she did so, prevented her from ever giving him her entire confidence. The Comte was much disappointed at this failure, for daily intercourse had increased his own confidence in him, and had brought conviction to his mind that the formidable tribune possessed estimable qualities of head and heart. Mirabeau on one occasion, full of repentance for the past, exclaimed, in a tone of deep affliction, 'Ah! que l'immo-'ralité de ma jeunesse fait de tort à la chose publique!' Memorable words, containing a practical lesson to public men, that the highest talents will be deprived of their natural influence by reckless disregard of morality.

The sagacity of Mirabeau led him to anticipate some catastrophe, such as took place on the 5th and 6th October; for some days before he said to La Marck, 'Tout est perdu! le Roi et 'la Reine y périront, et vous le verrez; *la populace battra leur 'cadavres.*' The events of the 5th and 6th October were the beginning of the accomplishment of this terrific prophecy. The Comte gives a short account of the occurrences of the 5th and 6th October, of which he was an eye-witness, not very favourable to Monsieur La Fayette, and quite exculpating Mirabeau from having any connexion with the movement of the populace of Paris upon Versailles.

The day after the King was dragged, as Comte de la Marck very justly expresses it, to the Tuileries, Mirabeau urged him to press upon the King and Queen the necessity of leaving Paris; otherwise that 'they and France were lost.' He further asked the Count, if he were in a position to give their Majesties an assurance that they might rely upon him. A few days afterwards Mirabeau placed in the Count's hand a memoir on the subject, dated the 5th of October, 1789. This memoir is found in the 'Correspondance.' Mirabeau, while he recommended the King and Royal Family to quit Paris and to go to Normandy, deprecated any intention of leaving France, which he characterised as an irreparable act of imprudence. The King's total want of energy prevented the adoption of this plan, which, if carried out at that time with all the concomitant measures recommended by Mirabeau, might perhaps have arrested the progress of the Revolution.

Mirabeau had personally a very low opinion of La Fayette's abilities, and great distrust of his political conduct; still he felt the importance to the royal cause of their acting together, and made advances to La Fayette for that purpose. They were unsuccessful; for Monsieur La Fayette, neither then nor at any

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period of his political life, had quite made up his mind as to what was best to be done for the public interest, or indeed for his own. Whereas Mirabeau was decision personified. He sought the establishment of a Limited Monarchy for France, and the position of Prime Minister for himself. La Fayette had probably at this time some vague notion of a Monarchy with Republican institutions, of which he meant himself to be the Protector; but he never dreamt of giving to the Sovereign the degree of independent authority which is absolutely necessary for the efficiency of the Executive Power. This vague and contradictory notion of a Republican Monarchy seemed about to become a reality in 1830, but was dissipated by the dexterity and determination of Louis Philippe. La Fayette had not changed — he still had more vanity than ambition, but had not perspicacity nor resolution sufficient to save his vanity from mystification, nor to work out for himself the place which would have satisfied his ambition. His probity obtained for him the confidence of Louis XVI.; but he was an impracticable counsellor for a King; on the contrary, Mirabeau had no object of personal ambition which was not compatible with the vigorous exercise of the royal authority within constitutional limits; indeed his personal success depended upon that very condition. In this view of the comparative utility of the two men to the royal cause, the immorality and pecuniary embarrassments of Mirabeau were a very subordinate consideration; and yet with Louis XVI. they outweighed all others.

If Mirabeau held La Fayette cheap as a statesman, La Fayette did not set a very high value on the parliamentary services of Mirabeau; for he rather insidiously proposed to him a sum of 50,000 francs from the king's civil list (of which he disposed), and an embassy that might eventually lead to a ministry. Mirabeau rejected these offers, feeling himself to be the only man who could save the entire political fabric from falling to pieces. When Necker retired from the Ministry, if it had not been for the decree of the 7th November, 1789, which excluded the King's Ministers from seats in the Assembly, Mirabeau might possibly have been placed in a position which would have enabled him, as Minister, to make head against the revolutionary storm; but that fatal decree of exclusion disqualified him for all public authority in the direction of affairs, and limited his services to private counsels, which, however, were only given to be neglected.

The Comte de la Marck left Paris on the 15th of December, 1789, and did not return till the 15th of March, 1790. During his absence from Paris he corresponded with Mirabeau, and

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was so dissatisfied with the course taken by him in the Assembly — violent, and very contrary to the opinions expressed by him in private, that their intimate communications, at least on political affairs, would probably have ceased, if the Comte de Mercy, the Austrian ambassador, had not, at the command of the King and Queen, given to the intercourse with Mirabeau a more positive character than it had hitherto possessed. An interview took place between Mirabeau and the Comte de Mercy, at which Mirabeau again urged the necessity of the King quitting Paris, but not the kingdom. They parted well satisfied with each other: the Comte de Mercy was convinced that Mirabeau was able to render most important services to the cause of Royalty, and thought that no further time ought to be lost in securing them.

The reluctance of their Majesties to come into direct intercourse with a man of so bad a private character, and who had done so much in the first instance to bring on the Revolution, is apparent throughout, and it was clear that although employed, he was not trusted. The King was ashamed of the intercourse, and enjoined the strictest secrecy on the subject. Meantime, he paid Mirabeau's debts, amounting to 208,000 francs; and a million of francs in bank notes were placed in the Comte de la Marck's hands to be given to Mirabeau at the end of the session, if the King was satisfied with his services. He was to receive besides a monthly allowance of 6000 francs. The bank notes were returned by the Comte to the King after the death of Mirabeau.

On the 3rd of July, 1790, the Queen, at the suggestion of the Comte de Mercy, admitted Mirabeau to a personal conference at the Palace of St. Cloud, where the Court then was. The Queen, as she told the Comte de la Marck a few days after this interview, became satisfied of the sincere attachment of Mirabeau to the Monarchy and to the persons of their Majesties. Mirabeau, as might have been expected from the feelings or prejudices of his caste, in which he largely participated, was charmed with the personal grace and affable manners of Marie Antoinette. His solicitude to repair the injuries that he had done was increased, and his expression to the Comte de la Marck was, 'rien ne m'arrêtera: je périrai plutôt que de manquer à mes 'principes.' (P. 190.) The Comte de la Marck tells us that he believed the King and Queen had as much confidence in himself, *as it was possible* for them to have in any one, but that in truth they gave their confidence to no one. A most unfortunate withholding, for it produced uncertainty and vacillation.

The Comte de Mercy was at this time called to other duties

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by the Emperor Joseph, and the Comte de La Marck himself had, in September, 1790, intended to give up his seat in the Assembly, and to leave Paris, but was induced by the Comte de Mercy to abandon the intention, and to enter into correspondence with him during his temporary absence. As the King could not be persuaded to change his Ministers, and as it was indispensable to make some one of them privy to the intercourse between Mirabeau and the Court, the Comte de Montmorin was, on the advice of the Comte de Mercy, selected for the purpose, and from henceforth took part in the confidential communications between the parties.

Mirabeau, encouraged by the direct coalition between him and the Comte de Montmorin, the only one of the last Ministry who had remained in office, drew up a Memoir, which is found in the Correspondence under the date of the 23d December, 1790, entitled, 'View of the State of France, and of the Means 'of reconciling Public Liberty with the Royal Authority.' This Memoir was given by the Comte de la Marck to the Queen, who was much struck with it, and especially with that part which pointed out the personal danger of the Royal Family: not so the King, who, whether, as the Comte says, from resignation even to such a fate as that of Charles the First, or from apathy, could not be roused to any vigorous resolution by the first perusal of the Memoir.

Mirabeau's parliamentary career now drew to a close. We will not attempt to abridge the account of his last illness and death, but refer our readers to the work itself for the interesting details. His bodily sufferings, which he bore with fortitude, were very great, and he expired in the arms of the Comte, at half-past eight o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of April, 1791. The Comte thus concludes the account of the last hours of Mirabeau: 'I have already said, one must have known him in 'intimacy to do justice to his great and noble qualities, and to 'understand how great was his power of attraction. Notwithstanding the differences of character which existed between us, 'I know not how to express the irresistible charm which drew 'me towards him — it was a charm which he exercised on all 'who knew him intimately. Those who were united to him by 'ties of affection, cherished the most tender recollection of him.'

Three days before his death, and when there was no hope of his recovering, he himself proposed to La Marck to take charge of his papers, in which, he said, there was much to compromise different individuals, and to enable ill-disposed persons to mislead public opinion; he at the same time called upon the Comte to promise that they should be, at a fitting time, pub-

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lished in vindication of his memory. The Comte readily gave the promise required; and, assisted by Monsieur Pellenc, Mirabeau's private secretary, after destroying, in a very hurried manner, some papers which the Comte admits were of importance, made a selection which forms the correspondence which is now before us.

The Comte de la Marck says, that Mirabeau, although possessed of great quickness of perception, vigour of thought, and felicity of expression in conversation, and in the tribune, was very slow in written composition, that he found great difficulty in expressing his ideas, and that he added and erased so much, as to render his manuscripts illegible. This was undoubtedly the reason that he so constantly employed others, and particularly Dumont and Pellenc to prepare notes, and even complete memoirs, which formed the substance of his more elaborate speeches; but these documents were comparatively inanimate bodies, until vivified and set in motion by the eloquent genius of Mirabeau. La Marck enumerates most of the persons thus employed by him.

Within a fortnight of the death of Mirabeau, the King, after having been prevented by the populace from going to St. Cloud, and being thereby literally confined to the Tuileries, determined to escape from Paris, in execution of a plan framed by Monsieur de Breteuil; Montmedy was the place to which the King and Royal Family were to have gone, but they were stopped at Varennes, and brought back to Paris. The Comte de La Marck saw the King and Queen frequently after their return, and rendered to them such trifling services as were in his power. After the acceptance of the Constitution by the King, in September, 1791, and the termination of the cabals of the Constitutional Assembly, the Comte thought the time had come when he might with propriety quit France; and accordingly he left Paris in the beginning of October, 1791. On going away, he made arrangements to continue his correspondence, whenever practicable, with the Comte de Montmorin, and he received several letters from him, published in the 'Correspondence.' The letters, from precaution, were forwarded in the hand-writing of the Comte de Montmorin's daughter, the Comtesse de Beaumont, to whom the secret of the correspondence was entrusted.

Before we enter upon an examination of the correspondence of Mirabeau with the Comte de La Marck, we must call the reader's attention to the letter of Marie Antoinette to Comte de Mercy, dated August 16. 1791, and republished in a note by M. de Bacourt, from the 'Retrospective Review.'

The unfortunate Queen began this remarkable letter on the

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16th of August, but did not finish it till the 26th. The principal topics are, the acceptance of the Constitution by the King, the conduct of the emigrant Princes and Nobles, and the intervention of Foreign Powers in restoring the King's legitimate authority.

The Queen expresses her conviction that the King had no alternative, in accepting the Constitution which was about to be presented. Her Majesty had the same opinion of the Constitution of 1791 as the majority of those who voted for it, had of that of 1848. She thought it so full of defects and contradictions, that it could not work, and must necessarily fall under the general reprobation of the people. The King, she writes, should, in accepting it, refer to his declaration of the 29th of June, and maintain his opinion as to the impossibility of governing well with such a Constitution. When once accepted, the King should rigidly adhere to it, because his so doing would accelerate the expression of universal disgust. He ought 'marcher in quelque sorte toujours la loi à la main.' Is not this counsel well adapted, *mutatis mutandis*, to the position of the present executive power in France towards the Constitution of 1848? She adds that, to succeed in this line of conduct, a ministry must be formed, composed of able and devoted men, ready to be disowned by the courtiers and aristocrats, who, however indignant, could never, at least by their own exertions, recover the position which they had lost.

The Queen, in the first part of her letter, utterly rejects the advice of the Princes to refuse acceptance of the Constitution, and to rely entirely upon the assistance of Foreign Powers. She criticises the conduct of each of those Powers, points out the indifference of the Emperor; the insidious policy of England, directed to the encouragement of all parties for the purpose of weakening all; and the steady selfishness of Prussia. Even union among these Powers would come too late to save the King from the immediate danger of refusing his acceptance. Still she thinks that much good might be done by a manifesto from all the coalesced Powers, as it might induce the leaders of parties in the Assembly to come into terms of accommodation. Great dissatisfaction is expressed at the conduct of the Princes, and of Monsieur Calonne, their principal adviser; and great bitterness at the report that the Allied Powers entertain a notion of acknowledging Monsieur regent of the kingdom, and the Comte d'Artois lieutenant-general. She treats the project as absurd, and ascribes the notion of it 'à quelque 'tête Française.' This was her opinion on public affairs, but she 'doubted whether it would be followed, for the Comte knew

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'the character of the person (meaning the King) with whom 'she had to deal, who, even at the moment when she might 'have supposed him to be convinced, would be changed by a 'single word or a single argument, without her being able to 'perceive that the alteration had taken place. This was the 'reason why many useful things could not be undertaken.' Marie Antoinette concludes this part by saying, that the Count may be assured that although 'she may be compelled to 'yield to circumstances, she will never consent to any act that 'is unworthy of her, *c'est dans le malheur qu'on sent d'avantage 'ce qu'on est.*' A sentiment well befitting the daughter of Maria Theresa.

In the last postscript to this letter the Queen gives up all expectation of personal freedom, under the continued degradation of the royal authority by the National Assembly, and owns that no resource was left, but to lull the enemies of royalty into a false security by feigned submission; with this feeling she has no hope now but from the assistance of Foreign Powers. The letter ends by an entreaty to the Emperor that he would put himself at the head of the coalition, and bring the united forces to their help. On him alone, she says, depended the happiness and the very existence of the King, of herself, of her children. She insists, that in giving this indispensable aid, the French Princes, and all the emigrant French, but especially the former, should be kept in the background, and not be allowed to show themselves.

We have devoted some space to the contents of this letter, as it may not be known to the generality of our readers, and because we ourselves think that it far exceeds in interest any letter in the 'Mirabeau and La Marck Correspondance.' On reading it, it is difficult not to come to the conclusion that if Marie Antoinette had been sovereign, either royalty would not have perished in her hands, or she would have died in the field, and not on the scaffold. Too much compassion cannot be bestowed on Louis XVI., but that compassion is not free from reproach; for his irresolution at critical moments actually accelerated, if it did not produce, that political and social convulsion, in which the throne, the altar, and the whole frame of civilised society in France, became one common ruin.

The first letter in the series is one from Mirabeau dated 28th December, 1788, to the Comte de Montmorin, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, and is remarkable as containing the first expression of Mirabeau's scheme for meeting the political and financial difficulties of the time, by establishing a constitution which might preserve the country from the 'plots of

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'the aristocracy, the excesses of the democracy, and the complete 'anarchy in which the royal authority itself, by aiming at being 'absolute, was placed.'

The publication of the 'Secret History of the Court of 'Berlin' had evidently taken place in the interval between this letter and one from Monsieur de Montmorin, dated 26th Feb., 1789. The minister's letter was cold and guarded, as might well be expected, after such an occurrence. Mirabeau's answer is more remarkable for shameless audacity than for ingenuity. We must confess our surprise that the editor, in a note upon these letters, should attempt to excuse Mirabeau for the breach of trust committed by him in publishing the work in question; Mirabeau's story to Talleyrand, that the wife of a bookseller, who was his mistress, had abstracted the manuscript, and sold it to pay her husband's debts, did not satisfy the then Bishop of Autun, nor does it us; for even if the story be true, the breach of trust receives no palliation.

The correspondence between the Comte de La Marck and Mirabeau begins with a very short note full of friendship and confidence, and proposing an interview. From the expression 'ils ne font rien et viennent ici ce soir,' it is evident that the Comte was already in communication with a knot of persons enjoying the confidence of the King, and employed in forming a party in the National Assembly, sufficiently numerous to control the extreme Democrats. Talon, the Procureur du Chatelet, and Monsieur Semonville, were two of the most active agents in this project. Mirabeau, who had played so much the part of an extreme democrat at the opening of the Etâts Généraux, was not taken into their counsels at first; but the Comte brought Talon and him into communication in the month of October, 1789. La Fayette, notwithstanding the events of the 5th and 6th of October, seems at this time to have possessed much of the King's confidence; and, in fact, the clique pretended to do nothing without consulting him. He and Mirabeau were therefore necessarily brought to concert measures together; and La Fayette, as representing the wishes of the King, discussed with Mirabeau himself, and with the Comte de La Marck, the pecuniary assistance and official position which were to be the recompense of Mirabeau's exertions. The correspondence during the month of October is chiefly directed to this point; we must, however, except the memoir drawn up by Mirabeau, and put into the hands of Monsieur, the brother of the King, by La Marck.

This memorandum, dated the 15th of October, recommended (p. 364.) that the King should with all publicity leave Paris,

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where he was no longer a free agent, and fix himself at Rouen, and that he should call upon the Assembly to accompany him. Mirabeau discusses at some length the question of the time when this part of the plan should be carried into execution, and he decides that it should be so without delay. He recommends that successive proclamations should be issued by the King, explaining to the people their real interests, and that arrangements should be come to with the public creditors through agents duly appointed by them. There is nothing in this memoir, except the departure of the King from Paris, which is of importance; that measure was however capital, for upon it rested the personal freedom of the King, and the independent action of the executive authority.

The negotiation with La Fayette for pecuniary assistance and official employment came to nothing, and there is a letter from Mirabeau to La Fayette, dated 1st December, 1789, full of reproach and bitterness which, for the time at least, broke off all intimacy. (P. 433.) In this letter Mirabeau does not hesitate to tell La Fayette, 'that the intellectual giddiness produced 'by his position, and the indecision of his character, made him 'blind to the impossibility of maintaining a state of things, 'that nothing but success could justify. How often have I told 'you, while doing ample justice to your good qualities, that your 'liking for inferior men, and your miserable weakness for your 'own fancies, would destroy the noblest prospect, compromise 'yourself, and the public interests also."

La Fayette had, we conclude, affronted Mirabeau, by attending to some scandalous reports which were in circulation about him: whatever these were, Mirabeau treats them with contempt, and even presses La Fayette to be more explicit. He avows that he has many debts, though not in the aggregate of a large amount,—'I have many debts, and this is the best 'answer that circumstances can make to the gossip of slanderers; 'but there is not an action of my life, even among my errors, 'which I cannot justify in a manner to make my enemies die 'of shame, if they had any.' Mirabeau had certainly a very loose notion of moral accountability.—The conclusion of this letter is sufficiently menacing. 'Believe me, Monsieur le Mar- 'quis, that I am not to be staid by this behaviour. My race is 'not run, for I am rather bored than tired, I am rather discou- 'raged than hurt, and if the means of moving are refused me, I 'will answer by going on.'

In this page (p. 427.) commences a letter from the Marquise de Saillant, Mirabeau's sister, to his wife the Comtesse de Mirabeau, who seems to have written to the Marquise a letter ex-

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pressing great anxiety on the subject of Mirabeau's political conduct and intentions. The Marquise gives in her letter Mirabeau's reply to his wife's inquiries on these points. As this letter contains Mirabeau's statement of his feelings and views, written in all the freedom of family intercourse, more complete credit may be given to the truth of its language, than even to the correspondence with La Marck; and certainly there is no discrepancy to be traced between the one and the other.

'The Comtesse de Mirabeau errs in supposing him ambitious in the vulgar acceptation of the term. He does not covet office, decorations, or dignities; but he has tried to prepare, to accelerate, and to establish a great revolution in human affairs, for the benefit of mankind. I have, assisted by the spirit of the age and unhoped-for circumstances, succeeded up to a certain point, indeed more than an ordinary mortal could have expected, against whom his own faults and those of others had raised so many obstacles.

'The ignorance and the perfidy of the Government, and the unskilfulness of the party hostile to the Revolution on the other hand, have pushed me more than once further than I intended, but I have never deserted my principle, which is to return to, or to remain in, the *Juste Milieu*. What remains to be done? To give life to the Executive Power, to regenerate the Royal authority, and to reconcile it with national liberty — but all this cannot be done without a new Ministry, and the enterprise is sufficiently noble and dignified to make me wish to belong to it.

'No good ministry can be formed while the King's ministers are excluded from the legislature — the decree on that subject must be reversed, or the Revolution (we presume from Absolute to Constitutional Monarchy) can never be consolidated.

'This fact will be acknowledged when the reign of the Charlatan (Necker) is at an end. Madame de Mirabeau is right in attributing the check I met with on this point to him. I am more sorry for the public than for myself, for I have long said, *Malheur, malheur*, aux peuples reconnaissants.'

The Marquise de Saillant concludes her letter to her sister-in-law, with a judicious and touching appeal to the latter, on the possibility of a reconciliation with her husband. The editor remarks, that this letter, of which a minute in the hand-writing of Mirabeau exists among the papers, was written undoubtedly at his instigation; and if so, it is much to his credit, and places him in a new and favourable point of view.

Mirabeau's correspondence with La Marck, which occupies the concluding pages of the first volume, referred generally to the commencing difficulties of the situation of public affairs, caused by the incapacity of Necker, the pretensions and irresolution of La Fayette, the weakness of the Court, and the growing violence of the Democrats. Mirabeau at this time entertained

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the project of placing the direction of affairs in the hands of Monsieur, the King's brother; a project, however, which received little countenance from the Queen, and probably even less from the King, for both were jealous of the comparative popularity of Monsieur, soon fell to the ground. These letters are full of spirited sarcasm, and are the most amusing in the collection.

In the letter dated 23d of December, 1789, is this passage (p. 436.), — 'The atmosphere of the country is still the same; 'the mephitic influence of indecision and weakness, of envy 'and bad faith, corrupt, defile, and dissolve everything; at the 'Luxembourg (where Monsieur lived) they are afraid of being 'afraid; at the Tuileries the King is accustomed to every thing, 'except the *inconvenience of his residence;* the Queen remains 'within her retrenchment, "je ne me mèle de rien!" — the 'General (La Fayette) is the luckiest and most immoveable 'player at hazard in the world.'

On the 4th of January, 1790 (p. 447.), he writes: '"Les '"cartes sont tellement melées dans ce tripot," that it is very 'difficult for the most skilful player to make a good hit. This 'empire still sustains itself by its mass, but there is no move-'ment in it; and although the natural principles of life may be 'good, without possessing all the energy supposed, it will die 'from decomposition, if not put, by some means or other, into 'motion.'

The following passage is curious as a speculation: 'You view 'the Belgians as a Belgian. As for me,—who am convinced that 'no great empire can be well governed but by a division into 'small confederating states, and that ours will either be dissolved 'or so administered,—I feel assured that if our Government be-'comes wise, and our Constitution be matured, all the popu-'lations of the banks of the Rhine, beginning with your pro-'vinces, will range themselves under it, and then we shall at 'last see how far the conquests of liberty, and human reason 'can proceed.'

Mirabeau in this letter (p. 486.), continuing the vein of sarcasm on men and things, says, 'La Fayette treats us with little 'evolutions, and Montmorin with little intrigues. St. Priest 'has more serious intentions, while the Tuileries and the Lux-'embourg alternately surpass each other in cowardice, careless-'ness, and versatility.'

In his last letter of this series, he says, 'Monsieur La Fayette 'conspires in favour of royalty from gallantry. Our virtuosos 'do the same from corruption, while our democrats assist royalty, 'by their internal divisions and the miserable trickeries of their

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'personal interests.' Mirabeau—although, with the exception of the attempt to make Monsieur minister, he did not, during Comte de La Marck's absence from Paris, take any part in ministerial measures or arrangements—was very active, even to the injury of his health, in the Assembly; and, in the discussions on the internal organisation of the country, and on the various revolutionary outbreaks and resistance to the decrees of the Assembly which occurred in different parts of France, he made some of his best speeches.

No notice is taken in the 'Correspondance' of Mirabeau's brilliant and successful exertions in the Assembly on the 22d of May, in combating the attempts of the Lameths, of Duport, and Barnave to place the right of declaring war and making peace exclusively in the Assembly. He obtained this success, too, at the moment when a pamphlet was hawked about the streets of Paris, entitled the 'Grande Trahison du Comte Mirabeau.' Barnave entered on this occasion the lists with Mirabeau, and was fairly beaten: La Fayette supporting Mirabeau, but apparently without any previous concert.

The first note addressed by Mirabeau to the Court, or rather to the Queen, as appears from his alluding to the daughter of Maria Theresa as his august auxiliary, is dated on the 1st of June, 1790, and relates entirely to the absolute necessity of reducing the influence of Monsieur La Fayette, with whom, however, Mirabeau had not ceased to communicate; for he says on the 4th of June (p. 34.), 'I yesterday saw the man of in-'decision.' He in this letter strongly remonstrates against any clandestine escape of the King (of which a project was then entertained), 'un Roi ne s'en va qu'en plein jour, quand c'est 'pour être Roi.'

The second note of Mirabeau,—nominally addressed to the Court, but, like the first, really to the Queen,—again reverts to La Fayette; but instead of seeking altogether to remove him, he recommends that the Queen should see La Fayette, and insist upon his publicly uniting himself with Mirabeau, and acting in entire concert. 'All must be arranged by the Queen. 'Le Roi n'a qu'un homme, c'est sa femme. . . . The time will 'come, and that soon, when we must try what a woman and 'child can do on horseback; with her it is a family act.' Mirabeau proposes that he should take the direction of the press, including pamphlets and newspapers, conduct all the correspondence, and exercise an influence over all appointments.

Mirabeau's great object at this time was to be elected President of the Assembly, as the Festival of the Federation of all the National Guards of France was to take place on the 14th of

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July. The King and Queen endeavoured to persuade La Fayette to support his nomination. The Queen was indiscreet in her language, pressing Mirabeau upon La Fayette, so much so, as not to conceal her preference of the former. In fact, she could not conceal her dislike of La Fayette, 'whom,' Droz says, 'she always looked upon as the King's jailor.' It is not surprising that such indiscreet urgency failed; and by La Fayette's assistance, the Marquis de Bonnai, a man generally esteemed by all parties, was chosen president. The fifth note of Mirabeau is full of invective against Monsieur Talon, then Lieutenant Civil au Chatelet, and deprecating his appointment to the office of Privy Seal to the King, and to the direction of the Civil List attached to the office.* He describes him as altogether deficient in talent, and though wealthy, avaricious to the highest degree,—'A man,' he says, 'who has Senef as his treasurer, 'Semonville as his wit, Saint Foix as his counsel, La Fayette 'as his patron, the Affair Favras as his masterpiece, Brinville 'as his satellite, and Boucher d'Argis as his instrument.' Such personal attacks were not calculated to increase either the esteem or confidence of the Court, for the individuals named were all persons more or less trusted, as well as Mirabeau, if not by the Queen, yet certainly by the King.

Mirabeau, in his seventh note, gives very good advice on the manner in which the King should receive the Duke of Orleans on his return from England, which he recommends to be courteous and cordial. The eighth note is dated the 3d of July, which was the day on which the interview between the Queen and Mirabeau took place at St. Cloud, at eight o'clock in the morning. Mirabeau, in this note, compares the state of the royal authority under the ancient regime and under the actual one. He considers it highly advantageous to be without parliaments, without pays d'état (or provinces with representative assemblies), and generally without privileged bodies. The notion of having only one class, would have pleased Richelieu.

Our readers will with ourselves regret, that neither the Comte de La Marck nor Mirabeau give any details of the interview of

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* Mons. Talon left Paris after the 10th of August, and returned in 1801, was imprisoned for a short time during the Consulate in the Chateau d'If, and afterwards disappeared altogether from public life.

Monsieur Semonville was employed in the diplomatic service: he was arrested by the Austrian Government, and exchanged in 1795 against Madame the daughter of Louis XVI. He became Referendaire of the House of Peers, from which office he retired in 1834.

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the latter with the Queen. The editor, to supply the deficiency gives an extract from the 'Memoirs of Madame de Campan,' who had the little she relates of the interview from the Queen herself. The Queen, on approaching Mirabeau, said to him:—'With an ordinary enemy, and with a man who had sworn to 'destroy the Monarchy without appreciating its usefulness to a 'great nation, I feel that I should be now taking a most im-'prudent step, but I know that I am speaking to a Mirabeau.' This language was very adroit, for Mirabeau was essentially an aristocrat, and would have been mortified by being treated as one of the tiers-états. He wielded democracy as a club, but the weapon of his choice was the sword of the gentleman. According to Madame de Campan, Mirabeau left the Queen, saying, 'La Monarchie est sauvée.' In another account we learn that Mirabeau solicited the honour of kissing the Queen's hand, observing, that Maria Theresa, whenever she honoured a subject with an audience, gave him her hand to kiss.

Mirabeau writes, on the 17th July, to the Court, recommending the King and royal family to go to Fontainbleau, and suggests all the details of military escort on the route, and of the composition of the Guard of Honour during the residence there. He recommends that the utmost publicity should be given to the King's intention by a message from the King to the Assembly, and that La Fayette's support should be insisted upon. The journey to Fontainbleau, thus strongly recommended by Mirabeau, and which must have greatly improved the personal position of the royal family, never took place. The fifteenth note to the Court is a short and masterly sketch of the points of foreign policy that demanded the special attention of the French Government. Of this sketch, short as it is, England occupied the principal portion. Mirabeau, however willing to adopt the framework of the British constitution for France, partook largely of the vulgar suspicions of the English Government entertained by his countrymen.

Two notes are devoted to a better organisation of the Swiss regiments in the French service. We pass to the eighteenth note, and to a remarkable passage in it, evidently blaming the undue confidence which Mirabeau more than suspected was still given to La Fayette, and expressing his own increased discouragement. He dwells particularly upon engaging in a foreign war (arising out of the alliance with Spain) at a moment when the state of affairs at home required undivided attention: he ends this note thus:—'I will wait till a clap of thunder breaks 'the lethargy which I cannot but deplore. In a conference 'easily concocted, many things upon which I am neither guessed

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'at nor understood, might be explained.' That conference was never granted.

In the twenty-first note (p. 149.), Mirabeau discusses the financial embarrassments of the Government, he treats the measures of Necker as wholly inadequate to the crisis, and comes to the conclusion that an issue of paper on the security of the property of the clergy is the only means of preventing national bankruptcy. The following passage is worth notice:—'It is 'impossible to entertain too much apprehension of a bankruptcy '—the most vigorous despotism could hardly stand the shock, 'but despotism is for ever ended in France. The Revolution 'may miscarry, the Constitution may be overthrown, and royalty 'torn into tatters by anarchy,—but the nation will never retro-'grade to despotism.' Mirabeau's sagacity here was at fault, for he did not take into account what might be achieved by a successful general when the country had become weary with the successive phases of anarchy. In our day the eventualities propounded by Mirabeau have occurred, and the question is still to be solved—'Will France again retrograde to despotism? or 'will the absence of a successful general prevent it?'

In Mirabeau's opinion Necker would never be able or willing to execute the measures of regulating the issue of the assignats, and he therefore recommends his friend Clavière (who was, in fact, the author of the scheme) for the direction of this particular operation. There is a passage in Necker's work on his own administration, which shows that he was quite aware of the immediate convenience of a large issue of paper money, for he says, at its 142nd page: 'If the question of morality be ex-'cluded from an examination of the two great measures of the 'National Assembly, the seizure of Church property, and the 'payment of the debts of the State on the security of the sale-'able value of certain landed property, it is not to be denied 'that the combination of the two is the greatest and most rapid 'financial operation that can be imagined.' Necker, in forming his financial measures, thought of that day of reckoning, which must come sooner or later, while Mirabeau sought to get over the present difficulties, which so much impeded the political organisation of the Government. Necker retired from the ministry soon after the debate on the large issue of assignats.

The press was, in Mirabeau's opinion (p. 162.), the only resource left to the Government for influencing public opinion, and he proposes, in the twenty-third note, the getting up a cheap newspaper for the purpose. He remarks, 'that public opinion 'is not always the result of the general enlightenment of a

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'nation. Some men anticipate this opinion, their contempo-'raries follow them, and hence it happens that the multitude 'blindly adopts errors as truths. At the epoch of a great 'revolution public opinion is formed suddenly, and almost acci-'dentally. The more universal it is, the less it is enlightened, 'and it becomes the more dangerous because it assumes the 'character of the general will, and of the law.' Is not the justice of these observations confirmed by the Revolution of February, 1848, and the instantaneous establishment in France of a Democratic Republic?

We find in Mirabeau's twenty-ninth note (p. 209.) to the Court two passages so applicable to the present state of affairs in France, that we think them well worth extracting. 'What-'ever be done, the charges of the new will be greater than those 'on the ancient regime, and on the whole, the people will judge 'the Revolution by this fact only; Will more or less money be 'taken from the pocket? Will there be more work? and, Will 'that work be better paid?' Again, 'We must act, not to 'excite opposition against bad laws, inevitable and necessary 'evils, but to direct opinion to an useful end, and that end is 'the legal and not violent reformation of the vices of the Con-'stitution, whether in this Assembly, if the general discontent 'breaks out before it is replaced, or in a Second Legislature, 'by showing the necessity of assigning to it a constituent and 'ratifying authority.'

The Comte de La Marck had an interview with the Queen on the 9th of October, and his note of the 10th to Mirabeau gives the following brief account of the result (p. 221.): 'The 'Queen then gave assurances that she would communicate with 'La Fayette as if the ostensible concert still existed. The 'importance of spreading correct information in the provinces 'was felt; the means of doing this would be supplied, and the 'persons to be employed should be pointed out. He (the King) 'attached but little importance to the alliance with Spain.' Probably the King's indifference arose from the family compact being the act of Choiseul, for whom he had an hereditary aversion.

Mirabeau was again disappointed in the presidential election (p. 225.). Merlin was chosen; and he says the act threw more ridicule upon the Assembly than upon him. In his thirtieth note Mirabeau, answering questions propounded to him by La Marck, lays down the fundamental principles of the Constitution in these terms:—'Hereditary royalty in the 'Bourbon dynasty. A Legislature periodically elected and 'permanent, limited in its functions to framing laws. Unity

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'and very extensive power in the supreme Executive; autho-
'rity over all matters belonging to the internal administra-
'tion, to the giving effect to the law, and the command of
'the armed force. Taxation to be vested exclusively in the
'legislative body; a new division of the kingdom; justice free
'of charge; liberty of the press; responsibility of ministers;
'sale of church property; the re-establishment of a civil list;
'no distinction of orders; no privileges or pecuniary exemptions;
'no feodality; no parliaments; no nobility or clergy as separate
'bodies; no pays d'états; no provincial bodies. These are
'what I understand to be the fundamental principles of the
'Constitution. They only limit the royal power to strengthen
'it, and are perfectly reconcilable with monarchical govern-
'ments.' Mirabeau may have been, as La Fayette says, sold to the Court, but he certainly might have avowed such principles as these in the tribune of the Assembly.

Mirabeau recommended the Court to send literary men as agents into the provinces; and he says of them, that they are 'a class of citizens independent in character, but wise and saga-
'cious from a long study of men and things.' He proposes a salary of 1000 livres a month for each agent; an outlay of 8000 livres for works directed to the guidance of public opinion; he takes 100,000 livres as the total of the expenditure for four or five years: the patronage of this service would necessarily have fallen into Mirabeau's hands. We apprehend that the commissaires sent after February, 1848, into the departments by the Provisional Government, did not perform their work as cheaply; and certainly not in the same principles or spirit.

The report of the diplomatic committee on the meeting of the squadron at Brest, contained the project of a decree requiring that the national colour, the tricolor, should be used on board ships of the royal navy instead of the white flag, and insisted upon the dismissal of the Ministers; it led to a very violent debate. Monsieur de Montmorin was, on an amendment, excepted from the vote. Mirabeau did not speak on the subject of the Ministers, but he made (probably under feelings of great vexation at the intervention of Bergasse in the confidential communications with the Court) a very violent speech on that part of the decree relating to the tricolor flag, and he proposed as an addition that the sailors should, instead of 'Vive
'le roi!' cry 'Vive la nation! vive le roi! vive la loi!' He also accused the Côté Droit of being counter-revolutionists.*

* It was on this occasion that he used the expression 'La Cocarde
'Tricolore fera le tour de l'Europe.'

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Such language gave great offence to the Court, and drew upon Mirabeau a strong remonstrance from La Marck. Mirabeau's answer (p. 251.) must have been written under feelings of great irritation, for he persists in the same tone of violence which had marked his speech, and is quite Jacobinical in his menaces. The only words of apology, or rather moderation, are these: 'Je suis 'l'homme du retablissement de l'ordre, et non de l'ancien ordre.' The Archbishop of Toulouse was in utter dismay on the perusal of this note. In writing to La Marck, he says, 'I 'return to you Comte Mirabeau's note, which I must own 'inspires me with horror.'

In the thirty-fourth note to the Court, Mirabeau endeavours to excuse his not speaking on the dismissal of the Ministers, by saying that he did not choose to support the motion for a partial dismissal, when the minister excepted, Comte de Montmorin, was especially commended as the friend of Monsieur La Fayette, — a cogent reason for dismissing, and not for retaining him. Mirabeau, with his accustomed assurance, treats very lightly the question of the flag. 'They will undoubtedly reproach me 'with having preferred the tricolor to the white flag, which 'their party wishes to maintain.' He is altogether silent on the most offensive part of his speech — the change in the rallying cry of the sailors. This note is mere evasion, and could not have lessened the just displeasure of the Court.

The thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth notes show that Mirabeau felt he had gone too far (pp. 257. and 262.), and he clothes his excuses in more submissive and palatable language. At the conclusion of the latter note, he says, 'My zeal was never so pure, my devo- 'tion more unbounded, my desire of being useful more con- 'stant, I might say more obstinate. It is not for myself, but 'for the success of the great object in view, that I court con- 'fidence, and those who may deprive me of it shall not tear 'from my heart, neither my gratitude, nor the oath I have taken 'to defend the royal authority, even if I combat alone, and fall 'in this noble struggle. I shall have Europe as a witness, and 'posterity as a judge.' These expressions, extravagant as they are, coming from Mirabeau were sincere. He was really anxious for the maintenance of the monarchy, and he had enthusiasm and courage sufficient to make every personal sacrifice, even that of life itself, in defending it. Had he not been somewhat lowered in his own estimation by being an unavowed and secretly paid adviser, he would probably have been less irritable and inconsistent.

The dissatisfaction produced at Court by Mirabeau's outbreak in the Assembly on the 19th did not last long, for on the 27th

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Comte de La Marck writes to him that the Queen had no other reason for not seeing him but the fear of being compromised by it; circumstances had rendered her more manageable on the point, and if he persisted in thinking that minor objections should give way, it would be possible to obtain her consent to an interview.

The two letters from Comte de La Marck to Comte de Mercy d'Argenteau (pp. 281 to 289.) contain a summary of recent occurrences at Paris, and reflections thereon full of impartiality and good sense. The most interesting passages contain his opinion of Mirabeau. In the first letter he says, 'For this 'man is by turns very great and very weak,—he may be very 'useful and also very hurtful; in a word, he is often far above 'and far below other men.' And in the second, 'What a being 'that man is,—always on the verge of running wild or of being 'discouraged: by turns imprudent from excess of confidence or 'enervated from distrust. It is very difficult to guide him in 'affairs which require perseverance and prudence.' La Marck might well say that he had great difficulty in managing him.

From the time that the decree of the Assembly had excluded the King's ministers from the Assembly, and deprived Mirabeau of the great object of his ambition, all his recommendations to the Court tended to the establishment of confidential agents throughout the provinces, who should be named and directed by himself, independent of the nominal ministry. In the thirty-ninth note he goes a step further, and at the moment of forming a new ministry, he suggests that there should be attached to each minister a man of superior talents, who, without the title, would be the real head and moving power in the preparation and execution of all important measures. Mirabeau, as he had done before respecting the provincial agents, professes to be acquainted with men fit for these duties, or in other words, he is ready with agents of his nomination, who should be the real ministers.

It must be painful to those who feel an interest in the reputation of La Fayette to read the following passage in La Marck's letter to the Comte Mercy. 'He (La Fayette) had a few days 'since a long conference with the Queen: in it he employed the 'most odious language to alarm her; and he went so far as to 'say, that in order to obtain a divorce, she would be prosecuted 'for adultery. The Queen answered with the dignity, the 'courage, and the firmness of which you know her to be possessed. 'But one is filled with indignation in thinking of such behaviour 'from such a man as Monsieur La Fayette.' The statement of what passed at the conference must have come from the Queen

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herself, and one really cannot see any sufficient reason for misrepresentation on her part.

The correspondence from the 9th to the 22d of November is occupied with the alleged appearance of Madame La Motte at Paris, the Pillage of the Hôtel de Castries by the Parisian mob in revenge for the Marquis de Castries having wounded Charles La Motte in a duel, and the application from the inhabitants of Avignon to be annexed to the French territory. Mirabeau is most vehement in the expression of his determination to defend the Queen against the base attempts of her enemies to injure her, by reviving the affair of the diamond necklace. Assuming the report of the appearance of Madame La Motte at Paris to be true (which he believed it to be), he suggests that the Garde de Sceaux should take the ordinary course of having her arrested, as having escaped from the house of correction, where she had been confined by a sentence of the Parliament. Mirabeau suspected that the Duke of Orleans had caused Madame La Motte to be brought to Paris for the purpose of injuring the Queen in public opinion, and that La Fayette was not indisposed to use the occurrence for his own purposes. The Comte de La Marck did not share Mirabeau's suspicions respecting the Duke of Orleans. Mirabeau's zeal on this occasion, as might be expected, was very gratifying to the Queen, and increased her confidence in him. Droz, who is in general observing and accurate, does not mention Madame La Motte's appearance in Paris, and certainly the supposed intrigue had no tangible result.

The language held by Mirabeau in the debate on the pillage of the Hôtel of the Marquis de Castries, and the duel with La Motte, was that of a violent Jacobin, approving, or at least not condemning the conduct of the mob. We learn from the letter of the Archbishop of Toulouse to Comte de La Marck, that the impression produced at Court was most unfavourable to Mirabeau; and that his speech on the 13th of October was regarded as 'an outbreak' from 'a tribune of the people,' who sought to justify its atrocities and to excite popular fury against those who notoriously were the friends of the King and of the monarchy.

Pethion de Villeneuve made a report to the Assembly in the name of the Avignon Committee, recommending compliance with the application of the inhabitants for annexation to France. Mirabeau succeeded in carrying the following amendment:— 'The National Assembly, after having heard the report of the 'diplomatic committee, postpones the consideration of the 'application of the people of Avignon, and decrees that the 'King shall be requested to send a body of troops to Avignon,

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'to protect, under his orders, the French establishments, and to 'maintain, in concert with the municipal officers, the public 'tranquillity;' thus substituting temporary occupation for permanent annexation: the latter was decreed on the 14th September, 1791, some months after Mirabeau's death. La Marck was not satisfied with Mirabeau's amendment; but as some days afterwards the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Pope's Nuncio most pressingly urged upon the diplomatic committee the sending French troops to Avignon, Mirabeau, in communicating this fact to La Marck, was enabled to write, 'Comment 'vous êtes justes, vous autres! En verité vous deviez vous 'accorder.' This is the only instance in which he was right when he differed from his prudent friend, and we allude to it on that account.

Mirabeau was not more dissatisfied with the conduct of the Court than was the Comte de La Marck, who writes to Comte Mercy on the 24th of November, that 'the torpor of the Court 'seems to increase daily. The Ministry has been renewed with-'out the Queen having brought into it any one person devoted 'to herself. However great my zeal, the relations that I have 'established can lead to nothing, if they remain as they are 'now; for it is useless to give good advice, if no means exist 'for carrying it into effect.'

The manner in which La Marck, as well as Mirabeau, speak on all occasions of the Queen, shows that their sole reliance was upon her, and that the King was, unaided by her superior energy, unconsciously a mere tool in the hands of La Fayette.

The Comte de Montmorin, in the early part of December, made great advances to Mirabeau, and proposed a coalition. This proposal produced the forty-fifth note to the Court, dated the 4th of December, in which, while he gives his opinion that advantage might arise from the measure, he hesitates to accept the interview proposed by the Minister, because Talon and Duquesnoy were cognisant of the plan, and they were distrusted by Mirabeau as adherents of La Fayette. It is to be recollected that the Comte de Montmorin himself had been distasteful to Mirabeau from the same cause. Mirabeau, as far as appears from the Correspondence, did not wait for instructions from the Court, but had an interview with Montmorin. Nothing could be more unreserved than his explanations to Mirabeau. He, as the most important point, disclaimed at once all connexion with Mons. La Fayette, of whom he says, that 'he (La Fayette) 'has no other ambition than that of being praised; and as to 'power, he rather seeks the appearance of it than the reality; 'and as to constancy in friendship, he only loves himself, and

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'that only for himself.' He described the influence of La Fayette over the Court, as caused by fear. He (Montmorin) and his colleagues were all tired of La Fayette's interference; for 'the pretension to be a prime minister, independent of the 'Ministry, and prime minister without functions, destroys the 'royal authority, and it is that authority which requires to be 'established.'

Montmorin asserted that La Fayette was bound to the Lameths and Duport (leaders of the Democratic party) by written engagements, and that he had been at certain times their accomplice. All La Fayette's other adherents had been gained by the Minister; and in the dilapidated state of his fortune, unless funds were supplied by the Court, he could not even retain an aide-de-camp. The course to take, was to leave him in the command of the National Guards till a loyal and trustworthy successor could be selected.

The Comte passed from this capital point, as regarded the intended coalition, to the comparative advantages of his own position, in not being suspected by the Assembly, nor by the different parties therein, nor by the public, and therefore he was in a situation to be an useful intermediate agent between the King and the nation. Montmorin complained, that, nevertheless, the persons about the Queen had always prevented him from enjoying her confidence, and consequently he had never possessed that of the King. The Comte de Mercy had given hopes of a favourable change towards him, and by his advice he had seen the Queen, and assured her of his devotion to her Majesty and to the King; and that the Queen had replied, 'She 'had no doubt of his attachment to the King, to whom he was 'under the greatest obligations.' Comte de Montmorin told Mirabeau that he had seen Barnave and Menou, but as they had always come together, he had not been able to open himself to Barnave. He said he was sure of the Bishop of Autun, of Chapelier, and of Thouret. His object in all these statements was, through Mirabeau (of whose communications with the Court he was aware), to gain the confidence of the Queen, and thereby to fix himself as prime minister. The decree of the Assembly had excluded Mirabeau as a Deputy, from the Ministry, and Montmorin had, therefore, no objection to the secret confidence that the Queen might repose in him. He left it entirely to Mirabeau to trace a plan for bringing the Assembly quietly to an end, for changing public opinion, for managing the next elections, and for restoring the Queen's popularity. Altogether, Comte de Montmorin showed great dexterity in this interview, and he succeeded in gaining Mirabeau's confidence.

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We pass to Mirabeau's forty-seventh note to the Court. This is by far the most important document in the Correspondence; but it is of too great length, and enters into such detail, that we cannot pretend to give even an abstract of the whole; we can only point out its most important suggestions. Mirabeau thus enumerates the obstacles to the formation of any systematic plan for establishing the royal authority, and saving the commonwealth from destruction. 'The indecision of the King, the 'prejudices existing against the Queen, the mad democracy of 'Paris, the bad spirit of the National Guards, the irritability of 'the Assembly, the little hold upon it on account of its mass, 'the insurmountable unpopularity of one section of it, the palli-'atives in preparation by the Committee of Revision, the im-'possibility of making use of a great portion of the discontented, 'from the divergence of their various interests, the direction 'which public opinion is taking towards party spirit, the fear of 'exciting a general conflagration if violent measures were em-'ployed, and above all, the order of things already established, 'already in motion, and the impossibility of obtaining any para-'mount result without retrograding, that is, without abrogating 'several decrees of the Assembly.'

The indecision of the King could only be surmounted by the private influence of the Queen, and in the Council, by concert among the Ministers. Mirabeau says of Paris, that it was the town of France in which public tranquillity would be restored the last, and that every effort should be made to destroy its influence in the provinces, and to produce a general desire that the next Legislature should meet in some other town, where its independence and the personal liberty of the King would be better protected. The National Guard of Paris is described as a most serious obstacle to the restoration of order: most of its chiefs were members of the Jacobin Club, and they would teach their soldiers to look upon the people as the first authority. Mirabeau proposes to establish a popularly organised household body of troops, as a rival to the National Guard, and to interest the provinces in the formation of this armed force, to induce the Assembly to refuse its assent to the measure, and thereby to make evident the influence of the city of Paris; thus separating the capital from the rest of the kingdom.

It did not seem desirable to raise the question of ratification in the existing National Assembly, but to leave it to its successor. In the difficulty of determining at what period or periods the Constitution was to be revised, Mirabeau was of opinion that each succeeding Legislature should have constituent authority. Mirabeau was prepared for a great personal sacri-

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fice; for he proposed that none of the Deputies in the National Assembly should be qualified for re-election, or at least that their qualification should be confined to the Department in which they had their domicile.

It was of importance to push the Assembly to acts of irregularity in assuming executive and administrative authority, but it was at the same time necessary to resist all decrees positively encroaching on the royal authority. The Assembly had shown itself dissatisfied with the conduct of some municipalities, and Mirabeau wished that it should be encouraged to destroy the rural municipalities, and to alter the local administration in towns, so as to spread a general feeling of dissatisfaction. The popularity of the Royal Family should be restored by the King and Queen frequently appearing in public, attending the reviews of the National Guard, and the debates in the National Assembly, where they might occupy the Tribune of the President; they should visit the hospitals and charitable institutions, and judiciously make pecuniary donations. No object would be gained by hastening the dissolution of the present Assembly. On the contrary, it was better to give it time for self-destruction. The Ministers might add to the embarrassments of the Assembly by overwhelming it with Reports, pointing out the difficulties of executing decrees that were contradictory and ill-digested.

Should the Assembly be compelled from the loss of all influence to dissolve itself, the King ought immediately to call another, and declare himself the guardian of all the advantages gained by the people; failing this self-dissolution, every exertion must be made to obtain an interval between the dissolution of the one, and the meeting of the other Assembly. In the interval, the royal authority would derive strength and consideration. Mirabeau erroneously assumes as a parallel case, the increased power of the Crown in England, while the House of Commons is not sitting. To obtain influence over the National Assembly, he proposes a committee of twelve deputies, — Bonnay, L'Abbé Montesquion for the Côté Droit, Clermont Tonnerre, D'André, Duquesnoy, L'Evêque D'Autun, Emmery, Chapelier, Thouret, Barnave, and himself, for the Assembly generally. They were not all to be equally trusted, nor to be brought together at any one time. The Côté Droit, Clermont Tonnerre, and D'André were not to be made acquainted with the concert of the others; nor were Chapelier and Thouret to know that Mirabeau and Barnave were their auxiliaries; nor was Barnave to be made aware that there was any coalition between Mirabeau and any other deputy. He (Barnave) should

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always be seen alone. Duquesnoy * was considered the best channel of communication between the twelve deputies and the Minister Comte de Montmorin. The several deputies were to use their influence with their personal friends, and thus secure a general support. Bribery might be successfully employed to gain the votes of deputies. Mirabeau recommended that the secret police of Paris should be entrusted to Talon and Semonville. The faithful devotion of the former might be secured by the promise of a great office, a person whose name is left in a dotted line was to be gained by money, and such promises must be most strictly kept. It was not, however, necessary, that the whole scheme should be known to Talon and Semonville; prudence required that entire cognisance of it should be confined to Montmorin and Mirabeau. Unanimity in the council of Ministers was indispensable. Forty agents were to be despatched into the departments, two to be attached to each, and a commission for the circulation of useful political pamphlets was to be established, under the management of Clermont Tonnerre. Mirabeau concludes by saying, 'If this plan be 'followed, every thing may be hoped for; if it be not,—if this 'last plank slips from under us, there is no misfortune from 'individual assassination and pillage, from the overthrow of the 'throne to the dissolution of the empire, that may not be 'anticipated.'

Under this plan Comte de Montmorin was not to have a sinecure. The following is the tableau of his regular conferences: —

Monday, with the Chief of the Office for Political Works, from nine to eleven; with Mirabeau, from eleven to one. *Tuesday*, with Messrs. Talon and Semonville, from nine to eleven; with Mirabeau, from eleven to one. *Wednesday*, with the Head of the Correspondence Department, from eight to ten; and Mirabeau, from ten o'clock to midnight. *Thursday*, with Mirabeau, and the persons to whom the plan is known, from ten o'clock to midnight. *Friday*, with Monsieur Duquesnoy and Mirabeau, from nine till midnight. *Saturday*, with Messrs. Talon and Semonville (we presume at night), from nine to eleven; and with Mirabeau, from eleven to one. *Sunday*, with the Head of the Correspondence Department and Mirabeau, from ten o'clock to midnight.

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* Duquesnoy became subsequently a violent Terrorist: was on the cessation of the Reign of Terror brought to trial, and condemned: he put himself to death on his way to the scaffold. He must be the Duq . . . , one of the several bribed deputies of whose visits M. Montmorin was so much ashamed. (*Mémoires de Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 23.)

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This memoir was communicated to Malouet, and a conference took place between Mirabeau and him, at the Comte de Montmorin's. Malouet has left a Report of this conference which is found in Droz (vol. iii. p. 340.). The following is the most striking passage in this Report: 'His voice thundering as in 'the Tribune, his animated gestures, the abundance and just-'ness of his ideas electrified me. I threw aside all my pre-'judices, all my doubts, and I found myself sharing his con-'viction, praising his project and his courage, exalting his means 'of success, but my peroration vexed him, — You will repair 'better than any one the mischief you have done.' Mirabeau vehemently denied the imputation, and threw the blame upon the '*modérés*' like Malouet, who had not appreciated him, upon the Ministers, who had never moved without making a false step, and upon the stupid Assembly, which never rightly understood what it said or did.

We have before said that Mirabeau had an intuitive aptitude for dealing with a revolutionary crisis, and it is difficult to determine whether he were more fitted to set up a Revolution, or to guide it when once put in motion. No other scheme could possibly have been propounded at the time, when the memoir was given in, which would have had a greater chance of success; but we believe that the revolutionary spirit was then too universally explosive to have been kept down by pamphlets, newspapers, or personal agency, however ably written or dexterously exerted. The excited populace of Paris in those days, as in the present, could only be controlled by a large army, and the royal authority was wholly unprovided with military means for self-defence, or for the maintenance of public tranquillity.

The memoir is very defective on this point, and does not go beyond the mention of a body of household troops for the personal protection of the King and the Royal Family. It seems to us, that the most practical part of the scheme was the means to be employed for managing the Assembly; and as this branch would have been conducted under the immediate superintendence of Mirabeau, there was reason to have anticipated success; but without that superintendence the result was always problematical and so, indeed, it turned out.

The Queen very reluctantly consented to give her confidence to Comte de Montmorin, and used against the employment of Messrs. Talon and Semonville the language which had been held by Mirabeau himself against them. Mirabeau's great objection to these individuals had been their devotion and subjection to La Fayette; and when convinced that their sentiments towards the latter had entirely changed, he was ready to give them his con-

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fidence, more especially as one important part of their employment was to undermine the influence of La Fayette. Montmorin himself had been equally obnoxious to Mirabeau, as the attached colleague of Necker, and, like Talon and Semonville, connected with La Fayette; he had therefore at one time laboured to destroy the influence of all three with the Court, and it was not surprising that the Queen should have hesitated to accede at once to the change in the confidential agency proposed to her. La Marck had held the same language as Mirabeau, and although his representations had always had, from his unblemished personal character and social position, infinitely more weight with the Queen, he felt the difficulty in overcoming prejudices which he had himself created. We refer our readers to his note (p. 513.). Even while recommending the employment of Semonville, Comte de La Marck says of him — 'This man is 'another intriguant, dexterous, enterprising, greedy of money, 'always calm in business, faithful from self-interest, a traitor 'whenever he sees an advantage in being so, intimate with all 'parties, without committing himself to any.' After this character there can be no doubt that the initial S. used in a former letter meant Semonville.

The Editor has quoted at length (pp. 518 and 519.) from Droz a very curious account of an interview between Talon, then Lieutenant Civil, and Favras, in prison, a few days before the execution of the latter, for a plot to carry off the King to Peronne. Talon at this interview obtained possession of a document drawn up by Favras, which was his confession, and which would have deeply implicated Monsieur and the Queen; he further succeeded in persuading the unfortunate Favras to submit to his fate in silence. We have ourselves heard that the document was in existence at the Restoration, and was voluntarily given up to Louis XVIII. La Marck, who saw the paper, does not attach as much importance to its contents as Droz, but he admits that Talon by keeping it secret had rendered a great service.

La Marck's letter of 30th December, 1790, contains an admirable report on the existing state of affairs at Paris; and that part which relates to the ministerial colleagues of Comte de Montmorin is particularly interesting. Dupont du Terre, the keeper of the seals, was a slave of the Lameths, and a dangerous enemy of the Queen, and owned to Comte de Montmorin that he should not, were the question to arise, oppose her being brought to trial — this man had been forced upon the King by La Fayette.

Duportail, the Minister of War, was not the minister of the King, but of the Military Committee of the Assembly. De

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Lessart, in the opinion of La Marck, was an abler man than the other two, but he was timid and irresolute. Even of Montmorin he says — 'He wants that decision and irresistible ascendency 'which mark the real statesman, and without which all other 'qualities are comparatively useless.' Thus one important element of Mirabeau's scheme — union among the members of the Ministry — did not exist, and perhaps no Ministry could have been formed at the time in which it would have sufficiently prevailed.

It was of the utmost importance to conceal Mirabeau's connexion with the Court, and more especially the pecuniary part of it: he was known to be very much embarrassed in his private fortune, and therefore any lavish expenditure of money by him in living or purchases would naturally excite attention, and justify suspicion of the quarter from whence he obtained the means. Notwithstanding these very obvious reasons for prudence and caution, Mirabeau, about this time, made large purchases of books, and through Duquesnoy suggested the acquisition of a country house. Talon was much alarmed and remonstrated, as did the Comte de La Marck. Mirabeau was offended by the interference of the former, of which he complained in a letter (p. 18.) to La Marck, and uses this expression with respect to Talon — 'Un tel Mentor est un peu mascarade pour moi.' He excuses the purchase of books as being an investment adding to the value of his library, which was the only part of his property free from incumbrance: his irritation led him to suspect that there was a wish to get rid of him, which he says persons who 'voguent de jour au jour,' and were not prepared to follow his plan, might naturally entertain.

Mirabeau's popularity was at this period, the month of January, 1790, undiminished, for he was elected commandant of a battalion of the National Guard, and a member of the administration of the departments; he accepted the former situation with the concurrence of Comte de Montmorin, but he had not time to wait for the sanction of the Court, and his forty-seventh note is (p. 9. vol. iii.) explanatory of his conduct. Mirabeau thought, as the commandants of the battalions of the National Guard when on duty were in the habit of accompanying the Dauphin in his walks, that use might be made of those opportunities for confidential communications to the Queen orally or in writing. He says, 'accustomed to do many things at once (and on that 'account it may be said I do them very badly) I might at the 'same time play at bowls or at nine pins, and the Dauphin 'would lose nothing in all that.'

In reading the Correspondence it is always a satisfaction to come to any letter of Comte de La Marck to Comte Mercy,

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and we have a very interesting one of the 16th January, 1791. The audience which Talon had sought with the King was at last granted, and gave great satisfaction to the former. The difference in manner between Louis XVI. and his Queen was strongly marked on the occasion. 'The King, in this audience, 'showed his usual bonhomie and brusquerie. The Queen, who 'came to it, was on the contrary full of quickness, tact, judg-'ment and grace. She even showed that measured reason 'which you and I have so often recommended to her, and which 'is so necessary in her present situation.' It appears from this letter that little progress had been made in carrying Mirabeau's plan into execution. None of the travelling agents had set off, and the Atelier des Ouvrages, the manufactory of pamphlets, had not been established. In fact, the only part in action was the secret Police under Talon and Semonville, and that was likely to absorb large sums of money, as the persons employed expected to be 'gorged with gold.' La Marck here truly observes, that the 'plan, perfect in theory, would be of very difficult execu-'tion.' The Comte gives very good reasons for this opinion, one of which is the character of Montmorin, whom he designates as the weakest man of his acquaintance, and yet this very man is 'notre unique ressort.' There is in this letter a very serious charge against La Fayette, whom the Comte accuses of 'having contributed by the most odious intrigues to augment 'the distrust of the Emperor, and consequently of the Queen.' The Comte was almost alarmed at the recent increase of Mirabeau's popularity; for he feared, that if ever Mirabeau lost confidence in the Government, and placed all his glory in popularity, he would become insatiable of it. 'And you know as 'well as I do, Mons. de Comte, what popularity is in a time of 'Revolution.' The Comte felt greatly discouraged, and indeed disgusted with the country, the men, the laws, and the manners. The King had no energy whatever, and Montmorin had with sorrow told the Comte, that when he spoke to his Majesty on public affairs and on his own position, the King seemed to take as little interest in what was said, as if the matters treated of related to the Emperor of China. La Marck continued his services—entirely from devotion to the Queen, and he deeply commiserated her condition. 'As a wife she 'was bound to a sluggish being, and as a queen she was placed 'on a tottering throne.' The Comte de La Marck persuaded Montmorin to take the opportunity of his accompanying his sister Comtesse Starhemberg to Strasburg, to put him in communication with Mons. Bouillé, whose head-quarters were at Metz.

Mirabeau at length obtained the President's Chair of the

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Assembly. We do not find in the Correspondence any notice of a very able report of the then existing relations of France with Foreign Powers, which Mirabeau made in the name of the Diplomatic Committee on the day before his election as President the 28th of January, 1791. The object of the Report was to calm the irritation caused by the rumours, of the breaking out of war, which were for mischievous purposes circulated among the people. Droz says of Mirabeau's conduct in the President's Chair, that 'even his enemies admitted that no man 'had presided over the Assembly with so much dignity. All 'admired his manner of directing the discussions, and his mode 'of summing up the result; he often acted as a Moderator. 'He always showed his respect for the Assembly and obtained 'it for himself. The deputations which appeared at the Bar, 'were unusually numerous—he delighted to seize these occasions 'of oratorical success, and that success his answers to the depu-'tations never failed to procure.'

The Comte de La Marck has not left among his papers his reports to Comte de Montmorin on the communications with the Marquis de Bouillé; and neither in his letter to the Queen (p. 59.), nor in that to Comte Mercy (p. 67.), do we find any statement which would supply the absence of the documents themselves. From the memoirs of De Bouillé we learn that he was made acquainted with Mirabeau's connexion with the Court, and that he entirely approved of the plan suggested by him, and was ready to give every aid to the execution of it. De Bouillé says that Mirabeau was to place the King in his hands either at Compiegne or Fontainbleau, where he would have surrounded him with the best troops. La Marck considered (we think without sufficient ground) that the successful departure of Mesdames from Paris showed that the King might easily have done the same; and if so, might, as was proposed, have reached Compiegne. At all events, the moment gave a better chance of success, than when the attempt at escape was actually made.

Comte Montmorin, in a letter of 9th February, informs Mirabeau that a committee of twelve, members of the Assembly, amongst whom were some of those included in Mirabeau's plan, was about to be formed, for the purpose of directing and bringing to a close the proceedings of the National Assembly. The Committee was to meet at La Fayette's. From this we might suppose that Montmorin had not been made acquainted with a previous meeting at Emmercy's between La Fayette and Mirabeau when this very project was discussed. The meeting was held on the 8th of February, the day of La

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Marck's departure from Paris, and, therefore, a day prior to this letter of Montmorin.

The Assembly, yielding to the wishes of the Commune de Paris, had decided that a project of law on the emigrants should be prepared by the Committee on the constitution. Chapelier, in presenting the report of the Committee, stated that the project of a law had, after serious discussion, been prepared, but that the Committee felt great hesitation in submitting it, as it violated the constitution. Mirabeau, in one of his most brilliant speeches, opposed the passing any law on the subject of emigration, which was not only unconstitutional, but in its very essence tyrannical, and concluded his first speech, for he spoke more than once on the occasion, by these words, 'If you pass a law against 'emigrants, I swear never to obey it.' The debate was throughout violent and tumultuous, and it was in one of the most violent explosions of opposition that he exclaimed, 'Silence aux 'trente voix,' and looked defiance at the bench where the Lameths, Duport, and others were seated with a small fraction of the Assembly. His personal success was great, but he did not carry his motion, and the question, on the proposition of Vernier, was adjourned, it being understood that the subject should be referred to the committees separately, and that a joint report should be prepared by commissaries selected by the committees.

The Lameths, reduced to silence in the Assembly, renewed the attack upon Mirabeau at the Jacobin Club; here again he boldly met them, and was equally successful, although his opponents were, it might be said, on their own ground, as Mirabeau had latterly seldom attended the sittings of the Club; and his conduct in the Assembly could not have been satisfactory to the majority of its members. He concluded his defence by the words, 'I will belong to you even till ostracism.'

These two occurrences thus brought together give us a measure of the wonderful influence which Mirabeau exercised over popular assemblies, even when those assemblies were in paroxysms of excitement, which would seem to make eloquence unavailing and reasoning impossible. It is singular that Montmorin should have supposed that Mirabeau had failed in defending himself against the attack made upon him at the Jacobin Club; he was equally mistaken as to the result of the debate on the project of the law on emigrants, which he supposed had been adopted by the Assembly.

Mirabeau's letters to La Marck (pp. 78 and 82.) contain bitter complaints against Duquesnoy, Talon, and Semonville: the former had written a foolish letter to the Jacobin Club,

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which had undone all the good that Mirabeau's speech had produced; and Talon and Semonville had allowed the newspapers to take a tone favourable to La Fayette, and hostile to Mirabeau. Beaumetz, Chapelier and D'André, all supposed to belong to the committee of twelve created by his plan, had been in communication with Danton, and had proposed the destruction of the dungeon of Vincennes to gain popularity, and hesitated to oppose the law on emigrants, from the fear of losing it. Danton, Mirabeau asserts, had received 30,000 francs. There was evidently no confidence or real concert among the agents employed to carry the different parts of Mirabeau's plan into execution; he himself trusted and respected no one with whom he was acting but La Marck; and, on the other hand, the persons of whom he complains winced under his dictation, had no real consideration for him, and may have entertained doubts of his honesty.

In p. 92. there is a note of Comte de La Marck's on the subject of the legislation on mines, in which he as a proprietor was deeply interested; the principles at issue were, whether the working of mines should be conceded to individuals, proprietors of the soil, or whether the mines should be considered the absolute property of the State. Mirabeau, from conviction, adopted the first; but his motive for devoting all his energy to obtain the application of the principle, maintaining the rights of proprietors, was his friendship for La Marck. The 27th of March was the day of the final discussion; he came to La Marck at nine o'clock in the morning, so ill and weak that he fainted. On recovering he persisted, notwithstanding La Marck's remonstrances, on going to the Assembly, where he made one of his ablest speeches, abounding in accurate details, sound principles, and conclusive argument. Mirabeau returned to La Marck's at three o'clock, and on entering the room he threw himself on a sofa, saying, 'Your cause is gained, but I am 'dead.' La Marck helped him to his carriage, and accompanied him to his house, 'd'où il ne sortit plus que pour être conduit 'au tombeau.'

The last note from Mirabeau in the Correspondence (p. 105.), is dated the 24th of March, and relates to the Regency Question. He was much alarmed at the course taken by the Abbé Sieyès on the occasion: his expressions are — 'Be assured that 'they wish to bring us back to the elections, that is to say, to 'the destruction of the hereditary principle, and to that of the 'monarchy. The Abbé Sieyès has never so courted and jobbed 'with the Assembly as now, and his partisans are numerous. 'Be sure, my dear Comte, that I do not exaggerate the danger.

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'Oh! inconstant! and thrice inconstant people! Two thirds of 'our troops are, on this question, with the Abbé Sieyès — Vale 'et me ama.'

We think that the perusal of the Correspondence up to this point will bear out our observations at the commencement of this Article, that the beneficial influence which Mirabeau's peculiar qualities and energy might have exerted on the progress of the Revolution may be supposed, but cannot be said to have shown itself at the time of his death; for we believe that the democratic spirit had already taken too firm hold on the lower classes, to have been subdued by what we will call moral and intellectual agencies. The brutal passions of the populace in Paris, and in other large towns, had been excited, acts of murder and violation of property had been committed with impunity, the administration of justice had been interrupted and disorganised, insubordination prevailed in the army, the King and Queen had been personally insulted, and while traditional and unhesitating obedience had disappeared for ever, respect for the greatly limited authority of the sovereign had not succeeded. The National Assembly, itself intimidated, was powerless for repression, and the majority of the members must have felt, that although they might, in decrees, frame a Constitution for the monarchy, practical adhesion to it depended not upon the King or the Assembly, but upon the will of a misled and turbulent populace. Against such a combination of evils there was little hope that time would be left for the development of Mirabeau's plan, which, though comprehensive in its details and definite in its object, was too complex and refined for prompt and general efficacy. His death, therefore, was probably more opportune for his reputation than hurtful to the cause which he had espoused. It is easy for Brissot to declare, that Mirabeau, if he had lived, would have killed the Revolution. On the contrary, we quite agree with the excellent remarks in the 'Memoirs of Mallet du Pan,' just published: 'Mirabeau died 'à *propos* for his fame and for the poetic satisfaction of future 'generations. A few more days would, perhaps, have only 'served to give him time to descend into the obscure ranks of 'the martyrs of reason and moderation, and to die defeated. 'By this time, possibly, he might be no more spoken of than 'the virtuous Bailly. The great Mirabeau might be nothing 'more to us than the brilliant orator of the Constituent As-'sembly, and an illustrious victim of the ingratitude of revolu-'tions. As to the conditions on which he allied himself with 'the Court, and whether his political conscience went along 'with him in the transaction? These questions have at length 'been settled, and justice done to this eminent man; who, in

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'this bargain, made his services be paid for, but did not sell his 'opinions.'

Mirabeau, licentious, prodigal, and of doubtful probity in private life, appears in this Correspondence a consistent politician, notwithstanding the apparent inconsistency of attempting to serve two masters; who, though in truth their interests were the same, did not themselves think so. From the opening of the Etats Généraux to his death he had but one purpose in view—the establishment in France of a limited monarchy. He accepted money from the Court as a salary, not as a bribe, and his position really was that of a confidential adviser of the Crown, though not an ostensible minister. His personal ambition was honourable in its end, and such as any modern statesman might have avowed, that of being first in the councils of a sovereign who claimed no greater authority than the Constitution gave, and the welfare of the nation required. Meantime, he was quite right in foreseeing that the publication of these papers was essential to the vindication of his memory with posterity. The revelation of the nature of his secret relations with the Court would have been fatal to his character, unless it had been accompanied with a knowledge equally complete of the use he sought to make of his popularity with the people and his influence with the King. Yet, after allowing Mirabeau the full benefit of the evidence as it stands, it is impossible to reconcile the false colours, which he wore, and his underhand receipt of money, with the character and conduct of a straightforward, highminded, independent man. Many others may have been equally compromised. But there can be no security for public integrity and private honour, and no confidence between man and man, where such exceptions are admitted.

The great interest of these papers ceases with the death of Mirabeau; and even were it otherwise, as we have already exceeded our prescribed limits, we must here bring our examination of the 'Correspondence' to an end, and leave the third part of the work without any detailed notice; at the same time we must observe, that the remaining letters from Comte de La Marck, from Comte Montmorin, from Monsieur Pellenc, and from Comte Mercy d'Argenteau will amply repay the trouble of perusal.

We cannot conclude without pointing out the admirable manner in which Monsieur Bacourt has performed the duty of editor. The notes which he has appended to the original letters and narratives, are so useful and complete, that readers not familiar with the history of the particular period, are relieved from the necessity of reference to contemporary writers, for explanation.

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ART. VI.— *The Metamorphoses of Apuleius.* Translated from the Latin by Sir GEORGE HEAD. London: 1851.

ON inquiring lately at an old book-shop for an Apuleius, we were told by the bookseller that since the appearance of this translation, he had disposed of many copies of the original, which had long been a dead weight on his shelves. Sir George Head has recalled his author to the attention of scholars, and may, with good reason, feel flattered by this success, even if disappointed in his expectation that readers will resort to the book for 'the light and amusing qualities of a romance.' The Metamorphoses of Apuleius are not suited to modern taste, though they well deserve notice. Cervantes probably drew from them a hint for Don Quixote's adventure with the wine-skins; Boccaccio undoubtedly had read them; and the legend of Cupid and Psyche furnished subjects for the frescos with which Raphael adorned the walls of the villa at Rome, which is now called the Farnesina. The structure of the story is like that of Gil Blas. In both the adventures of the hero form the groundwork; but in both also, more than half the book consists of stories and incidents from their own lives, told by the different personages. This resemblance is probably due to the fact, that Apuleius, like Le Sage, worked up into his book materials provided by preceding novelists.

There existed at that time a class of literary compositions, called Milesian Tales, the character of which we are at no loss to determine from incidental notices, though no specimens are now extant. Aristides of Miletus, an author whose date is not precisely known, first composed them, and to him they owe their designation. He was followed by other writers, whose names the curious may find preserved in the Bibliotheca Scriptorum Græcorum. The only circumstance worth our observing is, that this species of literature sprang up at the point of meeting between the Grecian and Eastern worlds. Owing partly to their adoption of Persian habits, and partly also to their political insignificance, the Greeks of Asia Minor turned their attention more and sooner than the Athenians to pursuits which minister to the refinement and elegance of life. We have a curious proof of this in the impression produced in Athens at an earlier period, by the accomplishments of the ladies of Ionia. Aspasia was a native of Miletus, and not only was her house the resort of the philosophers of the day, but according to Plato, she even gave lessons in rhetoric to Pericles and Socrates. We do not suppose he is to be taken to the letter, but the story

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shows that education in Ionia was less exclusively directed than in Athens, towards public life, in which men alone could engage; but embraced within its sphere a dilettante study of morals, unaccompanied by the severity of practice, and also of philosophy clothed in that light and graceful drapery in which eloquence can disguise it. To this same turn of mind we attribute the productions of which we are speaking. They first appear in Greek literature at a time when all interest in politics had died out, and men, instead of living in public, as their forefathers had done, courted retirement and privacy. In many cases, such a life was one of voluptuous indulgence; in most, a life of intellectual poverty; and these tales became popular, because they relieved the ennui of idleness. This sufficiently explains their character. They were familiar, trifling compositions, containing descriptions of the laughable incidents of life, amusing pieces of fiction, and adventures in love and intrigue, mixed with great licentiousness. The Romans first became acquainted with them during their campaigns in Lesser Asia. Plutarch tells us that the officers of Crassus's army carried the novels of Aristides in their knapsacks. Their popularity induced Sisenna, the historian of the expedition, to translate them into Latin; but though Ovid mentions the fact of their publication, we hear no more of them during the golden period of Roman literature. In the next century, however, they again came into vogue, and must have been well known to the readers of Apuleius; for in his preface, he promises to string together his stories in the Milesian strain, and charm their ears with a merry whispering.

He has kept his promise. His story contains a pleasant account of the habits, the follies, and even the vices of his contemporaries. He had enjoyed extensive opportunities for observation, for he spent his early years in Africa, studied at Athens, and, for some years, practised at the bar in Rome; and as the result, he exhibits to us a collection of portraits taken from different classes of society, sufficiently resembling the sketches made by the satirists of the preceding century, to convince us of their truth, but less harshly drawn. There is the usurer, — the enchantress taking vengeance on her lover, — the harsh stepmother, — the hectoring soldier, — the oppressed provincial, — the Christian woman, — the interior of a workshop, — and the juggling priests of the Syrian goddess. Every picture tells its own date; the gallery was made under the Empire.

But Apuleius was a philosopher as well as a satirist, and desired, in portraying, to reform his generation. We are aware that this has been denied by many critics, both in ancient

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and modern times; but on any other supposition a large portion of the book is unintelligible, and inconsistent with what we know of his character. Our best plan will be to tell the story, and then give the explanation; following his own words as far as possible, though at the risk of falling into his faults of style. It is but fair to add, that in our quotations we have taken great liberties with Sir George Head's translation.

Lucius, the hero of the novel, is introduced to us mounted on a milk-white steed, upon a journey from Corinth to Thessaly. In the way he overtook a commercial traveller, engaged in earnest conversation with a friend. The subject of their discussion was suited to the spot in which they were travelling, for they were discussing the pretensions of magic on the borders of Thessaly, —the chosen home of witchcraft from the days of Medea even to the present hour. Lucius overheard the loud laugh with which the friend scouted the merchant's story, and was tempted, by his thirst for the marvellous, to introduce himself to them as a man eager for information. He reproved the unbelieving listener in words, which, though intended to convey to us the real scepticism of the novelist, flattered the speaker into repeating his tale. It related the untimely death of an acquaintance, brought about by the incantations of a hag, —a fact of which the merchant had been himself a witness on some former expedition into Thessaly, to procure the honey and cheese for which the district was famous. The story was good enough to beguile the remainder of a toilsome journey, but is not worth our repeating. It is enough to say, that, though supported by the devout belief of the narrator, and the common talk of all the people of Thessaly, it failed to convince the sceptical companion, while the cautious Lucius, when appealed to, gave his verdict that nothing is impossible, but all things proceed according to the decree of fate; 'for,' continued he, 'occurrences happen in the experience 'of us all, so wonderful, as to have been within an ace of never happening at all.'

The tale thus ended, Lucius parted company at the entrance of Hypata, and inquired for the house of Milo, to whom he had a letter of introduction. Milo was one of a numerous and powerful class, which owed its origin to the imperfect state of commercial credit, and the difficulty of finding secure and ready investment for capital under the Roman Empire; he was a miser and a money-lender. The influence and extortions of his order had more than once invited the interference of stringent laws, and exposed its members to popular hatred; and the old inn-keeper, who directed Lucius, did not miss the opportunity

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of speaking an ill word of her wealthy neighbour, who kept one maid for himself and his wife, and dressed like a beggar.

The door of the house was bolted fast; but, after a parley with the maid, who mistook him for a customer come to borrow, Lucius was admitted to see Milo. The money-lender was reclining upon a tiny couch, on the point of beginning his evening meal. His wife was sitting at his feet, and before them was a bare table, to which he pointed, and said, 'You see 'all we have to offer.' Then, bidding his wife rise, and dragging his unwilling guest into her place, he apologised for the want of furniture, on the ground of his dread of robbers, and, after a compliment on the handsome figure of Lucius, and his almost feminine delicacy of manners, invited him to occupy a nook in his cottage. Lucius accepted the invitation; but, observing Milo's parsimonious style of living, determined to forage for himself on his way to his evening bath. Accordingly he went to the market, and bought a basket of fish. Just then he was recognised by an old friend, named Pythias, whose dress and retinue showed him to be a magistrate. The two had not met since their school-days at Athens, and Pythias had now become an ædile and an inspector of the market. He caught sight of the basket, and inquired what had been given for the bargain. The price was exorbitant; and, on hearing it, he grasped Lucius by the hand, and, leading him back to the stall, in the harshest tone which the majesty of the ædile could assume, threatened to show the fishmonger how rogues should be treated. Then, emptying the basket in the middle of the road, he ordered one of his attendants to trample upon the fishes; and, satisfied with his own sternness, advised his friend to come away, adding, 'The dis-'grace is punishment enough for the old fellow.' Lucius stood aghast at this rigorous system of administration; but there was no help for it; so, deprived alike of his money and his fish, and, wearied by his long journey and an evening without any supper, except Milo's conversation, he betook himself to rest.

We will take this opportunity of making our readers more intimately acquainted with the female portion of Milo's household—Pamphile and Fotis. The popular belief of Hypata represented the former as a notorious witch,—the mistress of every sepulchral incantation. By the slightest puff of her breath upon a branch or a stone, or any other inanimate object, she could extinguish the light of the heavenly bodies, and plunge the world in the darkness of chaos. She became enamoured of every handsome youth she met, and if he refused to

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gratify her passion she changed him into some brutish form. Fotis was her mistress's confidante, and herself an adept in magic; but her knowledge was not accompanied by the impatience and dark temper which characterised Pamphile. On the contrary, she was pert and coquettish, and readily responded to, if she did not anticipate, the advances of Lucius. His fancy was taken by her elegant figure, her graceful motions, and, above all, her luxuriant and unadorned tresses, to the praises of which he has devoted a chapter; and he determined to follow up an intimacy, which, besides its own attractions, promised him an opportunity of gaining the knowledge he was in search of. We shall presently see what were its consequences.

One incident during his stay in Hypata is too important to the plot to be omitted. There was a noble and virtuous matron, named Byrrhæna, who took a deep interest in him, and warned him against the dangerous company he had fallen into. It chanced that this lady gave a magnificent entertainment, at which all the fashion of the place was to be present, and she invited Lucius to join the party. Fotis, though unwillingly, gave her consent, on condition he would return early, for fear of the mad-headed band of young nobles who infested the streets and massacred the passers-by. The supper was excellent; the wine flowed freely; one of the guests told how he had lost his ears and his nose, owing to a witch; jokes were bandied from side to side, and it was late before Lucius, with dizzy head and uncertain step, returned to Milo's house. There he saw three tall figures, to all appearance robbers, dashing against the door with the utmost violence. Without a moment's delay he charged into the midst of them, and engaged each in turn, till all three fell, pierced with wounds, at his feet.

Aurora was already shaking her rosy arm above the glowing trappings of her horses,—the fine writing is Lucius's, not ours,—and mounting towards the top of heaven, when night restored him to day. His mind was agitated by the remembrance of the last night's deed. With his legs bent under him, his hands clasped and resting on his knees, he sat up in bed, and wept abundantly, while his imagination pictured a court, a trial, a conviction, and the executioner. At this moment the lictors arrived to arrest him on a charge of murder, and conducted him to the theatre, the only place large enough to accommodate the crowds assembled to witness the trial. The prefect of the night-watch stated the charge, and Lucius was called upon for his defence. He admitted the fact, but repeating word for word the language of their leader, which left no doubt of their intentions, and describing the violence of their

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attack on himself, and the deadly grip he had felt, he asked for a triumphant acquittal. By a procedure allowed in Greek Courts, the widow of one of the deceased, with an infant in her arms, was now produced, in order to excite the commiseration of the judges, and, at her instance, the accused was compelled to lift the sheet which covered the corpses. Beneath it lay three wine-skins, slashed with gaping holes, which his recollection told him corresponded with the wounds inflicted on the robbers.

The laughter, which had been with difficulty suppressed during the trial, now burst into the loudest peals of merriment. The day was the festival of the Lord of Laughter—the patron saint of Hypata, and required annually for its celebration the invention of some new amusement. For this purpose the trial had been devised. Lucius received the explanation with all the composure he could muster; but was hardly appeased even by the honour of a statue, and being enrolled among the patrons of the city. Fotis, in tears, accounted for the rest. She had been sent to the barber's shop for some of the hair of a young man with whom her mistress was in love; but the barber threatened to inform against her; so, fearing to return empty-handed, she picked up the hair from some wine-skins hanging in the street. Her mistress was taken in by its flaxen colour; the sorcery worked its effect, and the wine-skins, animated with a transient vitality, presented themselves at her door instead of the youth.

And now the opportunity for which he was waiting arrived, when he was admitted by Fotis to see Pamphile transform herself into an owl, and fly to her lover. The sight excited his desire to follow, and at length Fotis, yielding to his entreaties, produced a box of ointment from her mistress's cabinet. Lucius shall describe the scene himself.

'Elated at the sight of the precious treasure, I kissed the box several times; and, uttering repeated aspirations in hopes of a prosperous flight, I stripped off all my clothes as quick as possible, dipped my fingers greedily into the box; and having thence extracted a good large lump of ointment, rubbed it all over my body and limbs. When I was thoroughly anointed, I swung my arms up and down, in imitation of the movement of a bird's pinion, and continued to do so a little while, when, instead of any perceptible token of feathers or wings making their appearance, my own skin, alas, grew into a hard leathern hide covered with bristly hair, my fingers and toes disappeared, the palms of my hands and the soles of my feet became firm solid hoofs, and from the end of my spine a long tail proceeded. My face was enormous, my mouth wide, my nostrils gaping, my lips pendulous, and I had a pair of immoderately long, rough, hairy ears. In short, when I came to contemplate my transformation to its full

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extent, I found that, instead of a bird, I had become changed into an ass.'

Our readers must not expect the fairy fancy of the Midsummer Night's Dream in what follows.

Fotis, in her eagerness, had mistaken the box; and, though a compound of rose-leaves would have reversed the transformation, she had neglected to weave for her lover his evening chaplet, and he must take his place in the stable till they can be gathered at dawn of day. But at midnight Milo's house was sacked by a band of robbers, and long before morning Lucius, laden with the spoils of his late host, was far on the road to their cave in the mountains.

This cave is supposed to have suggested the corresponding scene in Gil Blas. The presiding genius — its dame Leonarda — was a crone bent double with age, and with the voice of a screech-owl, who attended upon the robbers, and received in return a rich reward of invective upon her habits and appearance. Soon another inmate arrived, a young lady whom the robbers captured in one of their raids. They handed her over to the beldame for consolation, but kind words, and harsh looks, were alike unavailing; so promising her an old wive's tale, she repeated the legend how 'celestial Cupid' —

> 'Holds his dear Psyche sweet entranced,
> After her wandering labours long,
> Till free consent the gods among,
> Make her his eternal bride.'

The lady listened, and was soothed; and Lucius, forgetting his transformation, regretted that he had not his pen and tablets, to note down every word. Relief, however, more substantial was at hand. The robbers had taken the resolution to slay Lucius, and sew the lady up in his hide, when a young man offered himself as a volunteer to the horde, and they were induced, from his commanding stature, his boasted achievements, and the rich prize he threw into the common stock, to take him at once as their leader. The youth was the lady's lover, and by his manœuvres soon effected her deliverance. All the inhabitants of her native city turned out to welcome her when she made her triumphal entry on the back of Lucius, and he, to testify his sympathy in the public rejoicing, made the place ring with brayings, according to his own account, as loud as thunder.

It would be tedious to follow him through his succeeding misfortunes, so we will pass to the time he spent in the service of a band of mendicant priests. He has described this passage of his life at some length.

The priests presented a fantastic appearance. Their faces

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were painted, and the insides of their eyelids darkened after the manner of Eastern women. They wore white tunics striped with purple, turbans, and yellow sandals. Their arms were bare, and in their hands were large swords or axes. In this guise, they danced along in procession with a wild step to the music of flutes, cymbals, and castanets, till they arrived at the mansion of some rich proprietor, who was willing to repay a grand exhibition of their rites. Those rites were gloomy and hideous. As the band entered, they made the premises ring with discordant howlings, and ran to and fro with frantic gestures. They whirled their heads till their long hair stood out on end, and tore their flesh with their teeth and knives. Then one of the party, taking the lead, and panting deeply, pretended to be the subject of a more complete possession; — as though, says Lucius, the presence of the gods made men weak instead of strong. In a loud chaunt, he accused himself of some imaginary violation of their rules, requiring for its expiation punishment from his own hand. Seizing a whip, strung with the knucklebones of sheep, — the peculiar implement of their order, — he lashed himself severely, without betraying the least sense of pain. This exhibition continued till the earth was moistened with blood. At its close, the spectators vied in offering them money and presents of every kind, which the flagellants, well provided with wallets for the purpose, greedily scraped together and piled upon Lucius, who discharged the double function of a 'locomotive granary and temple.'

In this way they plundered the whole neighbourhood. Once indeed, they were discovered while performing some disgraceful orgies, and compelled, for fear of public ridicule, to decamp. But no sooner had they got beyond the reach of this report, than they were again received everywhere with reverence. Nor was this feeling confined to the lower classes. On their approach to a town of considerable importance, one of the principal inhabitants, 'a religious man and one that feared the 'gods greatly,' hearing the cymbals, came out to meet them, and hospitably entertained them during their stay. At another place, they were pampered for several days at the public expense. Here they were held in high repute for their skill in divination. They were consulted on all the important emergencies of life, — the choice of a wife, the purchase of a farm, the success of a journey, or an expedition against banditti. Their fees were large, and their labour small, for they answered all comers in one formula, which the craft of the priests interpreted to suit each particular case. At length, however, their knavery was exposed. Under pretence of celebrating their secret rites, they repaired to the temple of the Mother of the

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Gods, and stole thence a sacred goblet. The theft was speedily discovered; the whole band was summarily thrown into prison; and Lucius put up to auction.

He was bought by a baker, 'a kind-hearted and highly 'respectable man.' We are careful to give his character, that his establishment may not be supposed to imply monstrous inhumanity. It was one of the workhouses into which were crowded the slaves who formed the manufacturing population of the Roman world. We are not often admitted to see their interior. Profound indifference rather than any desire of concealment has caused our exclusion. Ancient writers did not care to describe what none cared to read. But this indifference had for some time been giving way. Seneca had laid down a new rule for the treatment of slaves, that a man should do to his inferiors as he would his superiors should do to him. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius took the first steps towards embodying in laws the maxims of the Stoic philosopher. The absolute jurisdiction of life and death over slaves was transferred from their masters to the prefect of the city. They were allowed to appeal to him in cases of cruelty, starvation, and gross personal affront. It is to this altered state of public feeling we probably owe the following account of Lucius's first view of the human inmates of their common abode.

'What a stunted set of human beings did I see before me! Their lacerated backs and shoulders, shaded rather than covered with ragged cloaks, were marked with black and blue wheals; some had only a slight covering round the waist, and the flesh of the rest was visible through their tatters. Their foreheads were branded with letters; their heads half shaved, their ankles in fetters, their faces of ghastly paleness, their eyes eaten away and nearly blinded by the black smoke and hot air; and they were covered with a dirty-white mixture of ashes and flour, like the dust with which wrestlers sprinkle themselves before entering the ring.'

The baker had a wife, who took an extraordinary dislike to Lucius. Before day-break, while in bed, she called out for the new ass to be harnessed to the wheel; her first act, on getting up, was to order him to be beaten; and he was the last led back to the manger. In return, he has described her character in terms of the bitterest hatred.

'The heart of that most detestable woman was like a common cesspool, in which all the evil dispositions of our nature were collected together. There was actually no description of wickedness wanting. She was cruel, malevolent, abandoned, drunken, obstinate, close-fisted, avaricious in grasping, profuse in dissipation, an enemy to good faith, a foe to chastity. Then despising and trampling under foot the

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deities, in place of the true worship, she set up a false and impious imagination of a god, whom she might style the Only God; and, deceiving her neighbours and betraying her miserable husband by the pretence of her empty observances, she abandoned herself to morning draughts of wine and unceasing adultery.'

The character may be summed up in one sentence,—the lady was a Christian. Such, at least, has been the supposition of the most learned critics. She is not indeed called by the name, but some of the features bear the closest resemblance to, and none are at variance with, the popular conception of the character. The word which expresses her creed, 'an imagination of a God' is the same which, a quarter of a century afterwards, Tertullian mentions as specifically applied by heathens to the Christian faith. The empty observances, and the morning draughts of wine recall to our minds the letter Pliny wrote to Trajan,—and the charge of impurity finds an illustration in the remark of Tertullian, that the heathen viewed the supper of the Lord with such disgust, that no man allowed his wife to go to it without a feeling of suspicion.

His next master was a gardener, who drove him every morning to the neighbouring market with a load of fresh vegetables, and on his return shared with him his evening meal of 'rancid lettuces as coarse as brooms.' While here, he had an opportunity of observing two significant instances of the insecurity of life and property at a distance from the centre of government.

There was a cottager whose small farm adjoined the domains of a youthful and rich proprietor, who employed his family influence, and his position at the head of his party, to lord it over the city. He made open war upon his poor neighbour, killed his sheep, drove away his oxen, and trampled down his growing corn. After robbing him of the fruits of his industry, he became eager to eject him from his field, and upon some pettifogging quibble, laid claim to the whole property. The cottager anxious to save enough of his patrimony for a grave, called together a large party of his fellow citizens to beat his bounds. They expostulated in the mildest terms with the great man, but were answered with threats. A voice then exclaimed that it was vain for him to play the tyrant because of his wealth, for the law gave protection to the poor against the insolence of the rich. The words fell like oil upon fire. The tyrant maddened bade his shepherds let slip their dogs, and bark them on to the attack. The faster the party fled, the more keenly the hounds pursued, and many were torn in pieces. In the end, however, some satisfaction is made to our sense of

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justice. The aggressor himself fell. We are not told what became of the cottager.

But the tyranny of the wealthy was not the only species of oppression to which the poor in the provinces were exposed. The military quartered in the district treated the inhabitants with despotic insolence, and hardy indeed was the civilian, who, with justice on his side, dared to contend against a soldier. It is the history of all governments, which depend for their maintenance on the army. As the gardener was riding home on Lucius, musing over the occurrence just related, he was awakened from his reverie by a gaunt legionary demanding the ass for the use of his commanding officer, and enforcing the demand with a blow. The gardener wiped away the blood which streamed from his head, and mildly begged him to spare so sluggish and unsafe an animal. But the soldier was inexorable, and was on the point of ending the controversy by dashing out the brains of the civilian, when the gardener, by a feint, tripped him up, and pommeling him soundly, left him for dead. He seized his sword, and rode off with it at full speed to hide himself till the affair blew over. The soldier slunk to barracks, ashamed and afraid; for by the Roman articles of war, the soldier who parted with his sword was to be treated as a deserter. His comrades took up his cause, and laid an information against the gardener, for refusing to give up a silver dish, the property of their commanding officer, which, they alleged, he had found. With their help, the magistrates discovered his hiding-place, and threw him into prison to answer the charge; and there being no one now to object, the soldier took possession of Lucius.

We are fast approaching the end of his wanderings. He passed into the hands of a rich Corinthian, who being anxious to signalise his accession to office by an exhibition of more than usual magnificence, had come to Thessaly to collect wild beasts and gladiators. To his surprise, he discovered in Lucius the power of living upon human food, and, in consequence, determined upon assigning him a part in the spectacle. What that part was, we must pass over in silence. On any supposition, — whether these chapters contain an account of an actual occurrence, or are merely a caricature, — the fact, that a man of high character should write, and hearers listen to them, is evidence of depravity, we might have disbelieved, had it not been corroborated by pictures and pieces of sculpture still remaining. The exhibition opened with a ballet. Change the close atmosphere of a modern opera house for a spacious amphitheatre open to the sky — the glare of gas lamps for the bright light of a spring morning, — and we can have no difficulty in picturing to our-

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selves the 'Judgment of Paris,' as it was represented that day at Corinth. The mazy dance of the corps of ballet girls, the scenery, the pantomime, — in a word, the whole representation might be modern, except that public opinion in Corinth allowed a nearer approach to the costume in which the goddesses appeared on Mount Ida, than would be tolerated now-a-days, even in *poses plastiques.*

The slaves who had the charge of Lucius were so engrossed with the spectacle, that they left him to his own devices. He took advantage of the opportunity to escape, and galloping away to the neighbouring town of Cenchreæ, laid himself down to sleep in a retired spot on the sea-shore. When he awoke, the Moon was just rising above the waves. He prayed to her as the Queen of Heaven, to save him from his debased condition, and restore him to his former self. In answer to his prayer, Isis appeared, — revealing herself as the one deity worshipped under many names, and bidding him wait till the morrow for deliverance. In return, she demanded that he should consider the remainder of life pledged to her service, to be spent in diligent obedience, devout ministrations, and inviolable purity.

In the morning, the streets of Cenchreæ were filled with crowds running hither and thither, preparing to celebrate the festival of Isis. Its contrast with the gloomy rites we witnessed just now is too marked not to be intentional. *Their* dismal howlings told of sin and expiation, the song of *this* is of mercy and thankfulness. *They* were sullied with hypocrisy and crime, *this* is all joy and purity. Even the objects of nature are supposed to sympathise in the rejoicings of the day. The ceremonial is minutely described. In front, were humorous representations of the different pursuits of mankind. There was the hunter, the soldier, the gladiator, the magistrate, the philosopher, the fowler, the fisherman, each with the emblems of his craft. There were also animals, connected by mythological fancy with the worship of Isis. A tame bear sat in a car, in the garb of a matron: the part of Ganymede was performed by an ape; and an ass, with a pair of wings glued to his back in imitation of Pegasus, walked beside a Bellerophon in the person of a decrepid old man. Next came the procession. A troop of women preceded the image of the goddess, carrying mirrors on their shoulders, to reflect her figure. Some with ivory combs imitated the action of dressing her hair, others sprinkled perfumes along the path, or brandished torches. They marched to the chant of a chorus, with an accompaniment of flutes and cymbals. Then followed the main-body of the initiated, — a crowd of men and women of all ranks and ages, dressed in white linen. The men had their heads shaved.

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Priests of tall stature carried the sacred vessels,—a golden lamp like a boat, a palm tree, an altar, a model of the left hand, to signify fair dealing, and a winnowing-fan. Next were borne aloft the emblems of the gods — the dog Anubis, with his faces half sable, half gold, — a cow, the type of production, — an ark, and lastly, an object in the likeness neither of beast, nor bird, nor even human being; a small urn, covered with hieroglyphics, with a handle of the shape of an asp, — the peculiar symbol of the goddess. The high-priest closed the train, and, forewarned in a dream, paused at the approach of Lucius, to offer him his garland. He tasted, and the promise of the deity was fulfilled. The transformation was reversed. His neck, his ears, his teeth, re-assumed their human dimensions, and his tail, the feature in his asinine incarnation most galling, completely vanished. The priest explained to him the events of his life. In youth, notwithstanding the advantages of birth, social position, and learning, he had given way to debasing pleasures and ill-fated curiosity. But the punishment which the blindness of Fortune had inflicted, had brought him to a better mind. Calamity had no hold over those whose lives the goddess claimed for herself. 'Let the unhallowed behold, let them behold and acknowledge 'their error. Lo, delivered from his former woes by the provi- 'dence of the mighty Isis, Lucius has triumphed over his 'destiny. Still, to be more secure, enlist in our sacred army. 'Devote thyself from this hour to the observance of our ritual, 'and freely take the yoke of its service: for when thou hast 'begun to serve the goddess, thou wilt more truly enjoy 'liberty.'

When the rites of the day were celebrated, and the mimic ship sacred to Isis had been launched, to secure a prosperous navigation for the season, the crowd dispersed to spread abroad the fame of the miracle, and Lucius prepared to obey the monition of the goddess. A sense of religious awe delayed awhile his initiation. The ritual was difficult of observance. It ordained a severe rule of abstinence, and a life of the utmost circumspection. The high-priest, too, checked his impatience, representing the impiety of haste as no less than that of disobedience to the call. At length, however, the will of the goddess was clearly revealed, and he was admitted to initiation. He was bathed and sprinkled with pure water. Ten days of fasting were then prescribed. On the evening of the tenth day, the people flocked from all directions, according to ancient custom, to present him with their offerings. Presently the profane were ordered to withdraw, and the priest led him into the innermost sanctuary. We will hear from himself what he saw.

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'I approached the abode of death; with my foot I pressed the hreshold of Proserpine's palace. I was transported through the lements, and conducted back again. At midnight I saw the bright ight of the sun shining. I stood in the presence of the gods,—the ;ods of heaven and of the shades below; aye, stood near and wor- hipped. And now have I only told thee such things, that, hearing, hou necessarily canst not understand; and, being beyond the com- prehension of the profane, I can enunciate without committing a rime.'

In the morning the people were again admitted to see him, placed like a statue in the middle of the temple, in a linen robe embroidered with hieroglyphics, and a crown of palm leaves. This was his spiritual birth-day, and was spent in festivity and social intercourse. On the third day the same rites were repeated, and the initiation was then complete. Though Lucius has told us that it is beyond our comprehension, there can be little doubt but that the ceremony typified death and a resurrection.

After this he went to Rome, and was there initiated into the mysteries of Osiris, which differed widely from those of Isis, in the mode of their celebration, though the two deities were closely connected, or, more properly speaking, substantially one. Osiris revealed to him that he should become famous for his forensic success; and to distinguish him from the great body of his sacred profession, appointed him to a high office among the Pastophori, an order whose duty it was to bear the pall in the processions of the god.

'Thenceforward,' says Lucius, 'I fulfilled my duty as a member of that ancient college; and, with a head newly and thoroughly shaved, joyfully exposed my bald pate to the gaze of the multitude whithersoever I went.'

Such is the outline of a story which acquired considerable popularity from the middle of the second to the fourth century. Its interest was increased by a curious theological discussion. When in their controversies with their heathen neighbours, the early Christians appealed for confirmation to the miracles of our Lord, they were met by a counter-appeal to current accounts of wonders performed by reputed magicians. Apuleius was ranked in this class, and the metamorphoses of Lucius, under which name he was supposed to represent himself, were quoted among his miracles. Lactantius and Jerome in the third century both allude to the dispute. At a later period Marcellinus applied to his father for an answer. The answer is remarkable. Apuleius has himself denied any knowledge of magic; and Augustin was obviously inclined to give credit to

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the denial, though he was staggered by the universality of the rumour, and from feeling that those who started the difficulty would not appreciate so simple a solution. Adopting therefore the popular version, he contrasted him with David. Born in the higher ranks, highly educated and of great eloquence, he never with all his arts succeeded in obtaining any judicial office in the republic. And yet his actions showed that he was not insensible to ambition. He did his best, and his failure was due to want of power, not of will. David, on the contrary, not by magic, but by pleasing God, rose from a shepherd to a king. Without much astuteness, the heathen opponent might have replied that Apuleius was not really ambitious. He retired early in life from Rome to his native place Madaura, and there reached the highest judicial post a colony had to offer. He speaks with pride of succeeding to his father's office, and it is a fair conclusion that his ambition looked no higher. Be this as it may, the answer seems to have proved good as an *argumentum ad homines,* for we hear no more of the question.

But we should wrong Augustin were we to suppose his 'strong, capacious, and argumentative mind' could rest satisfied with this solution. In his work 'On the City of God,' he has attempted to account for the phenomenon consistently with philosophy and religion. If true, it must be attributed to the agency of demons, beings to whom the power of creation, or of effecting real transformations, is denied by God, and the power of producing deceptive appearances alone conceded. Through some inexplicable exercise of that power, the phantasy of one man, that part of us which, though itself incorporeal, assumes with strange rapidity in thought, or sleep, a thousand corporeal shapes, is made to appear to another in the form of an animal; in such a manner that, while the one, far removed and buried in deep sleep, imagines himself an animal carrying a load, the other sees, not a real animal, but the appearance of an animal, carrying a load, which, if real, is carried by the unseen demon. Our first impulse is to laugh, but Augustin had to explain the evidence of persons who testified to having heard of, and actually seen, such transformations. The controversy has left no trace, except that of compelling each succeeding editor to examine the proof of identity between Apuleius and his hero. The earlier commentators are nearly equally divided on the subject. Sir George Head says, 'Unquestionably,' from the beginning to the end of the 'adventures of his hero Lucius, it was himself whom 'he intended to personate;' while nearly all modern scholars of authority take a different view. This last is our opinion. If

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we except, perhaps, the scene describing the initiation, they have apparently no more in common than any other novelist of manners and his hero; though much that the hero relates must most probably consist of the experience of the novelist.

Apuleius hated magic, because it had exercised a real and unpleasant influence upon his life. While studying at Athens, he became intimate with a young man, Pontianus, an African like himself. Pontianus's mother, Pudentilla, was a rich lady of forty, who had remained in widowhood thirteen years, for the sake of her sons. That reason no longer applied; and now her own inclination prompted, her family advised, and her physicians prescribed, matrimony. Pontianus fixed upon Apuleius as worthy of being his mother's husband and his own stepfather; and he proceeded in the matter like an adept in match-making. Apuleius happened to be visiting at Œa, the modern Tripoli, where Pudentilla lived, on his way to Alexandria. Pontianus sounded him on the subject of marriage, and seeing his unwillingness, entreated him not to risk his health by travelling that winter, but to wait till next year, when he would himself accompany him,—begging him meanwhile to remain in their house, which was healthy, and commanded a view of the sea. Apuleius acquiesced, and common studies cemented his friendship with the lady. The favourable moment at length arrived; when after the delivery by Apuleius of a very successful public lecture, Pontianus told him that the whole of Œa agreed he would make an excellent husband for Pudentilla. She was, he admitted, a widow without personal attractions; adding, with a shrewd knowledge of his friend's weaknesses, that to reserve himself in hope of a match for beauty or money, was unbecoming a friend and a philosopher. His wish to travel was the difficulty; but soon he became as eager to win the lady, as if he had made the offer. Now her connexions began to object. Pontianus was gained over to their faction, and every obstacle was placed in the way of the lovers,—of course without success. The opposition, nevertheless, did not cease even upon the marriage. They prosecuted him in the Court of the Proconsul for dealing in magic, and so obtaining the lady's affections. Every topic, however irrelevant and absurd, which could make him ludicrous or unpopular, was foisted in to eke out the ridiculous charge; and it is to his Apology that we owe our knowledge of his personal history. He was handsome; —so had other philosophers been, but literary labour had worn away his good looks, and his neglected locks hung down in ropes: he used tooth-powder, — the habit was cleanly and not unphilosophical: he wrote love-sonnets, — his verses might be wanton, but his life was pure: he carried a looking-glass, — he

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was studying the laws of reflection: he was poor,—he had spent his patrimony in assisting his friends and in travelling: he collected fishes for the purposes of magic,—he was investigating their natural history, and trying to use them in medicine: a boy had suddenly fallen in his presence,—the boy had a fit: a lady of sixty had been charmed into marrying a man half her age,—he told the story, the lady was only forty; her relations had got up the prosecution from jealousy at his obtaining her property, and meanwhile he had induced the reluctant Pudentilla to leave her money to her son. The defence was complete; we need not add, he was acquitted.

Critics have perplexed themselves to find a hidden meaning in the book. They have supposed it an allegory, representing the soul invited by Virtue and Vice;—like the old story of the Choice of Hercules. Thus Byrrhæna is Virtue, warning Lucius against Pamphile and Fotis, the impersonation of Vice; but led astray by curiosity and love of pleasure, he neglects the warning, and his transformation typifies his fall into sensuality. In the end, his better nature,—the human reason beneath the asinine form,—roused and strengthened by misfortune, becomes victorious, and induces him to pledge himself to Virtue by initiation among the worshippers of Isis. Warburton has lent his support to this theory. His ingenuity has tempted him to carry it a step further. He exalts Apuleius into a controversialist, and an inveterate enemy of Christianity; and he considers the true design of the story to be 'to 'recommend Initiation into the Mysteries, in opposition to the 'New Religion.' This interpretation is founded on the character of the baker's wife, and a passage in the Apology, from which Warburton concludes that his accuser was a Christian. For the honour of the African Church, we hope the conclusion is false; and assuredly, if Apuleius had intended to single out Christianity for his attack, he would have made his meaning clearer. Nor do we think the tale an allegory. It was not new; we have it in Lucian, and both are said to have copied from an earlier writer—Lucius of Patræ.

But Apuleius introduced two remarkable additions,—the account of the Mysteries, and an allegory, closely connected with them, representing the fall, the trials, and the ultimate restoration of the soul to the love of what is divine,—the legend of Cupid and Psyche. In the Greek account Lucius regains his human form on merely tasting rose-leaves; Apuleius, by his version, obviously intended to use the old story as a vehicle for a panegyric on the 'Mysteries.' The advantage of initiation was an established tenet of the philosophy of the day, and in

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his Apology he boasts of having studied 'many sacred systems, 'rites, and ceremonies, in the pursuit of truth and the exercise 'of piety.' Now, by the side of the true mysteries had grown up a race of impostors, who brought discredit upon them by their debauchery, magic, and lying divinations. To this race belonged the priests of the Syrian Goddess, with their bloody rites. To this the Jewish fortuneteller, who appears in Juvenal, between the howling priests of Osiris and the Armenian soothsayer. To this, in common apprehension, the Christian. Like the heathen mysteries, the Christian Society was proselyting and migratory. Still more, like them, it was part of the dregs which the Syrian Orontes rolled into the Tiber. No more was needed to arouse prejudice, and render inquiry unnecessary, on the part of a Roman. Every fact and every report was made to harmonise with this theory of its character, and hence come the features in the baker's wife which we can recognise, combined with others to which we know of no counterpart. Against all these superstitions Apuleius levelled his satire. They were gloomy and infernal; nay, more, they were caricatures of the truth. His object was to bring out the contrast. The best commentary on the book is his own confession of faith made on his trial:—'We, of the Platonic School, believe in 'nothing but what is joyous, cheerful, festive, from above, 'heavenly.'

One word upon his Latinity. Grammarians place him with Tertullian and Cyprian, in the African School, the chief peculiarity of which is an affectation of old forms of speech. Punic was the common language of the north of Africa, and Apuleius learnt his Latin in the schools of the rhetoricians. The rhetoricians were indebted for the important position they then occupied to the patronage of Hadrian; and, in return, they echoed his imperial criticism, that Cato ranked above Cicero, Ennius above Virgil. Apuleius caught their spirit, and in every page we have the florid declamation of a later age studded with archaisms and expressions which, even when new, are stamped to resemble an early coinage. He is not one of those authors who live by their style. As a novelist he has had his day; but to the student of the history of literature and society during the decay of the Roman Empire, he will always be a useful and amusing companion.

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ART. VII.—1. *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government.* By the Right Hon. W. GLADSTONE, M.P. Second Edition. London: 1851. 8vo.

2. *Al Sig. Guglielmo Gladstone, Parole di gratitudine di* GIUSEPPE MASSARI, *ex-Dep. al Parlamento Napolitano.* Torino: 1851. 12mo.

3. *The Neapolitan Government and Mr. Gladstone. A Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen.* By CHARLES MACFARLANE. 8vo. London: 1851.

4. *Conclusioni pronunziate innanzi alla Gran Corte speciale di Napoli, nella causa della setta l'Unità Italiana, dal Consigliere Procurator Generale Filippo Angelillo.* Napoli: 1850. 8vo.

5. *Requisizione ed Atto di Accusa . . . nella causa della setta l'Unità Italiana.* Napoli: 1850. 8vo.

6. *Decisione della Gran Corte speciale nella causa della setta l'Unità Italiana.* Napoli: 1851. 8vo.

7. *Atti e Difesa della causa di Carlo Poerio ed altri.* Napoli: 1850. 8vo.

8. *Speech of C. Poerio, late Minister of Public Instruction.* London: 1851.

9. *Difesa di Luigi Settembrini.* 1850. 8vo.

10. *Costituto di Nicola Nisco.* 1850. 8vo.

11. *Atto d' Accusa nella causa degli avvenimenti politici del 15 Maggio* 1848. Napoli: 1851. 8vo.

12. *Eccezione d'incompetenza dedutta dall' Avvocato Lorenzo Jacovelli imputato dei fatti del 15 Maggio* 1848. Napoli: 1851. 8vo.

13. *Coup d'œil sur la situation de la Sicile en* 1847, *et sur la marche de sa Révolution.* Par P. C. O'RAREDON. Génève: Cherbuliez, 1850. 8vo.

14. *Young Italy.* By A. B. COCHRANE, M.P. London: 1850. 8vo.

THE history of the rise and fall of the national cause in Italy is before our readers: the result of those events remains to be told; and this is the task which we propose to ourselves on the present occasion. The extent of the subject will prevent us from exhausting it; and had we consulted our feelings only, we should have gladly abstained from the painful task of exposing to the world transactions which men of all parties must

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learn with the deepest emotion. But we consider it to be a duty which we owe to truth and to justice, to lay bare, at whatever cost to our feelings, the iniquities perpetrated in the name of legitimate government and of religion by a set of persons, who, after having crouched before the popular enthusiasm when triumphant, now abuse their, we trust, temporary success, without respect for either divine or human laws, of which forsooth they call themselves the assertors and avengers. We apply these expressions more particularly to the Government of Naples. We say to the *Government*, wishing to keep the Sovereign out of sight; not that we mean to act the part of apologists of His Sicilian Majesty, but because, however bad he might be, he could not carry out his principles, did he not find in his government and supporters, not only a ready compliance with his wishes, but individuals, who, taking advantage of his weakness, urge him on to cruelty by deceiving him. Better surrounded, and more honestly advised, this Prince might, if such be his nature, be still inclined to acts of tyranny and injustice; but this inclination would be checked, if not altogether neutralised. At present, he is, perhaps, held responsible for more than he ought in fairness to bear.*

The oppression under which the Italians have long been suffering has always been well known. It has, however, been held to be exaggerated in some particulars. Englishmen, who are so justly disposed to laugh at foreigners, when they attempt to give an account of our laws, institutions, and government, think themselves quite competent to decide on such matters in other countries; the course which they generally pursue is to argue from what they do know of the subject in their own country, to what they do not know of it in foreign States, drawing the most erroneous conclusions. When an Englishman, accustomed to impartial and independent judges—to fair and uniform proceedings—to deliberate and solemn judgments,—hears of persons tried and condemned abroad, he never dreams that the trial is other than what it is in England, where the judgment is the obvious result of the judicial inquiry. Not doubting the perfect straight-forwardness of what takes

* We have just learnt, with great satisfaction, that His Sicilian Majesty, on being informed of one of the points much dwelt upon by Mr. Gladstone in his First Letter, has directed an inquiry into the state of the Neapolitan prisons. We may thence fairly infer that, had his ministers laid the case before His Majesty long ago, as they were bound to do, an inquiry would have been ordered at once, instead of being delayed till a foreigner urged it on.

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place in England, no Englishman is ever inclined to listen to doubts thrown on what takes place elsewhere. There is, after all, much in a name: because English judges are venerable, all those who are called judges in other countries must be 'venerable' likewise;—because the law is justly administered in England, the administration of the law must be just in other countries;—because no sensible man will listen to the protestations of innocence by a convict in England, therefore no one ought to listen to such protestations in foreign countries. It has been in vain that the most convincing proofs have been produced of the injustice of foreign sentences, of the dishonesty of foreign judges, of the unfairness of foreign trials. Englishmen would not entertain the question; and the innocent victims of the most infamous systems of administration of *in*justice have died a lingering death, their memory insulted if not forgotten; not seldom the object of coarse jests and unmanly allusions, in a country which boasts of the generosity of its Conservatives, and of the pure Christianity of all its classes.

The recent Neapolitan victims would have met with the same fate, had not Providence inspired a gentleman of unblemished character, brilliant talents, high position, uniting to the qualifications which eminently fitted him for discovering the truth a heart that urged him on to search for it, and a will which was not to be baffled in its pursuit. We need not say of whom we speak. Mr. Gladstone went to Naples soon after having voted against the Government on a vital question of foreign policy. Secretary of State for the Colonies in that Administration which had Lord Aberdeen for Foreign Secretary, Mr. Gladstone would have been too happy to be able to say that the Conservative Government of Naples deserved the respect and support of the great and influential party in this country, of which he is an ornament and a leading member. But Mr. Gladstone is not one of those who attach much importance to a name; and having soon had reason to suspect that under the cloak of Conservatives and Conservatism may be concealed persons whose wickedness it is a duty to expose, and principles which every honest man must repudiate, he determined to inquire into the facts and to get at the truth. The result of his inquiries has been recorded in his two Letters to Lord Aberdeen. That the correctness of this result must have been reluctantly admitted by a politician of Mr. Gladstone's party need hardly be mentioned; that as a gentleman and a Christian Mr. Gladstone must have hesitated at believing, until further doubt and disbelief became impossible, we may well suppose; if even he had not expressly declared, that he expects

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that his statements should be received in the first instance with incredulity, and that he had himself felt that incredulity, but that it has yielded to conviction step by step. (P. 41.)

Guided by his own heart,—the heart is always in its right place in a gentleman, as was said by the knight who refused to commit an unworthy act, which, it was urged, would remain a secret,—Mr. Gladstone determined on endeavouring to mitigate the horrors which he had witnessed, and to expose the infamies which he had discovered, no matter at what sacrifice. We confess we envy his party a man, whose talents we have often admired, but whose generosity of feeling had not been sufficiently appreciated; and, far from grudging him the universal approbation with which his noble vindication of the rights of humanity has been greeted, we cannot avoid muttering to ourselves,—*Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses!*

Although there have been now and then whispers of disapprobation, such as, What are the sufferings of some Neapolitans to Mr. Gladstone? Mr. Gladstone's resolution in publishing what he saw has been generally applauded. Would any man stand by without expressing his horror, were a child murdered under his eyes?—and, yet, what is that to him? Had the case been one of illegality only,—had there been no other charge against the Government of Naples, than that every day and in every act of its existence it violates the fundamental law of the land,—that law which the King, in the most awful and solemn manner, spontaneously swore to maintain, on his word as a king, and on his soul as a Christian,—there might have been some excuse on the part of Mr. Gladstone if, out of respect to a political line of conduct, which we freely admit to be very often the least objectionable to follow, he had repressed his private feelings as an Englishman. But this illegality—gross, flagrant, and universal as it is,—becomes totally insignificant in comparison with the other features of the case,—features which convert every man who feels for his fellow-creatures as Christians ought, into an avenger of outraged humanity, and give him a mission to expose, if he cannot otherwise amend, a gigantic iniquity, such as has rarely in the history of man trampled upon earth, or lifted its audacious front to heaven.

There is a bond of flesh that unites man to man,—there is a community of nature and of lot, of thought and feeling, of hope and aspiration, of weakness, of sorrow, of suffering, which under certain circumstances compels us with a power paramount to that of ordinary rules of conduct,—framed upon the supposition of an average standard of behaviour among

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men,—to act in an exceptional manner. The present,—we confidently appeal to those who have any knowledge of the facts,—is one of those anomalous cases for which no ordinary rule can provide, and which is, therefore, to be decided on its special merits.

In his admirable Letters Mr. Gladstone has been particularly careful—perhaps too much so—to guard himself from being supposed to mix up the question of the illegality of the Government, with the means which that Government adopts to support it. The Neapolitan Government is struggling to protect its utter illegality by a tyranny unparalleled at this moment in any part of the globe, and scarcely with a rival in the annals of older atrocities. To say 'unparalleled at this moment' is saying little. That might be true were it in point of cruelty, corruption and iniquity, only a little more than *primus inter pares*. But it is much more. It is a Government which stands in a class and constitutes a *genus* by itself; it surpasses by a considerable distance any other well-ascertained case even of Italian tyranny. It purchases perjury by bribery in all ranks,—in its police agents, in its witnesses, in its instruments of execution, whom it dignifies with the name of judges. It views the use of these means as sanctified by the end, which end is rank murder—murder carried into effect by the application of the slowest refinement of misery in the persons of their unhappy victims, and veiled under the mask of hypocrisy. It perpetrates these enormities upon such a scale, that whole classes are included under its fell swoop. Above all, and as a whole, that class is most persecuted which constitutes the real vitality of a nation —the middle class in its widest acceptation, but particularly in its upper portion which embraces the professions,—the most cultivated and most progressive part of the nation. Let the heartless and pedantic politicians of the selfish school consider these facts; not feeling in themselves the courage to imitate Mr. Gladstone, they may well envy him that success, from which they in vain try to detract by their craven scruples; *Virtutem videant intabescantque relictâ.*

We are told that a few of the political friends of Mr. Gladstone have not been overpleased that a man filling so prominent a political position should have done what, as a party man, he ought, in their opinion, to have avoided. We think, on the contrary, that the party to which Mr. Gladstone belongs will benefit from his noble efforts in favour of the oppressed and persecuted; and were we of a different opinion, we should be still more disposed to admire Mr. Gladstone's manly conduct. Political principles, moreover, are not the worse for being seasoned with a

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soupçon of humanity. We are not sure that Mr. Gladstone has not sacrificed too much to his position as a statesman in forbearing from unfolding the foul case against the Neapolitan Government in that assembly of gentlemen where his words are always received with profound attention, and where generous sentiments are certain to find sympathy. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Gladstone's reserve in this respect, of this we are satisfied, that nothing could be more considerate than his proceedings towards a party which, *volens nolens*, he feels to have something in common with his. Before exposing to the public atrocities the unveiling of which must make even a Neapolitan Government shake — *trepidant immisso lumine Manes* — Mr. Gladstone addressed his First Letter, privately, to Lord Aberdeen, disclosing important facts, in the hope that, being made known in the proper quarter through so influential a channel as his Lordship, some remedy might be applied.

'But,' says Mr. Gladstone in his Second Letter, 'the manner in which it [the First Letter] had been received in the quarter directly affected by my allegations, had entirely convinced me that it would not be warrantable to trust any longer, in this case, to the mere force of expostulation, before, driven from the definite hopes which I had founded upon your assistance, I committed my First Letter to the press.'

Here we pause merely to remark, in justice to the King of Naples, that we have good ground for affirming that he never saw Mr. Gladstone's First Letter before it was printed, although it was intended that he should do so. Whether he has seen it even now, is more than we can say; and that he may not even now know all the iniquities which Mr. Gladstone with so much precision and moderation relates, is very probable; for since his ministers, treating His Majesty as a cipher and a mere tool in their hands, took it upon themselves to keep from him the *whole* truth, as we know, we may very well doubt whether even a part was ever communicated to His Sicilian Majesty. The character of the facts disclosed by Mr. Gladstone is by this time well known over all the civilised world in which — republican France, of course, its foreign legations and the agents of the Neapolitan Police excepted—not a voice has been raised to palliate them. In England, where the letters of Mr. Gladstone are circulating by thousands, it is hardly necessary to do more than allude to them.

Although the guilt or innocence of the gentlemen now dying a lingering death in the Neapolitan dungeons does not in the least affect the value of Mr. Gladstone's disclosures, we think, nevertheless, that it is desirable, particularly with

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the view of giving an insight into the nature and working of the Neapolitan Government, to relate the history of one or two of the crimes imputed to the persons now suffering as guilty of them. The deeds which we shall have to record would seem to proceed from a government bent only upon destroying the fundamental truths of religion and morality, in order to substitute for them falsehood, thirst for blood, the gratification of all the meanest and most degrading passions, and relying only on brute force for securing their triumph — the triumph of vice in its most revolting nakedness — the oppression of virtue in its noblest form; in short, adopting the phrase which Mr. Gladstone quotes, the negation of God reduced to a system.

Poerio, Settembrini, Agresti, Faucitano, Romeo, Pironti, Nisco, and all those of whom Mr. Gladstone speaks in his Letters, were accused of belonging to a secret Society called l'Unità Italiana. Now we have looked very carefully over all the documents to which we could possibly obtain access, but we have not found any proof of the existence of such a society which would justify one of our magistrates in committing a prisoner. We will rest on the authority of the prosecutor to show how rotten is the whole case. The speech of this public officer contains extracts from documents which, it is contended, prove the existence of the Society; but besides that they are only extracts, their authenticity is far from proved. And when a Government, its courts of law, and its police are capable of forging documents, as we shall show to have been the case at Naples, we are at liberty to more than doubt the authenticity of what purports to be the statutes and blank diplomas of the Society l'Unità Italiana. But, what is more, no proof has been offered by the public accuser that the persons accused ever saw the statutes in question, or that the Society, to which they were charged to belong, was the same with that to which the statutes and diplomas referred.

From the same speech of the public accuser, we shall extract some specimens of judicial logic, judicial fairness, and judicial evidence; from them, better than from any comment, the absurdity of the charges and the iniquity of the judgment may be inferred. One of the accusations was, that the members of l'Unità Italiana were conspiring to establish a republic, and that Nicola Nisco, one of the alleged directors of the Society, was very eager to enlist partisans in this cause. As a proof of this, the public accuser states that sundry captains of the National Guard in the Principato Ulteriore

'Listened to the perfidious insinuations of Nisco, and that the most criminal correspondence by letters, of which Nicola Riano and

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Crescenzio Petrillo were the bearers, was carried on between the conspirators. I cannot lay before you,' says the worthy Angelillo, 'the mad words which were used in that correspondence, because the several letters having remained in the hands of the conspirators, they have escaped the judicial researches. But the object of that correspondence was too well shown by the incautious conduct of the captain of the National Guard of Montefredino, and of some of his dependents, who, after having read one of those letters, which, at Nisco's request, was taken to them by Crescenzio Petrillo, in April, 1848, in this man's presence, overcome by an irresistible enthusiasm, each of them broke out in the elegant exclamation: "Then, by "heaven! we must proclaim the Republic!" And this is, moreover, proved by the Captain of Solofra, who, on receiving a similar letter, strongly urged the bearer of it to conceal in future such letters about his person near the skin, to avoid getting into trouble. From these exhortations, even that uneducated and half-witted man argued that the object of that correspondence was to collect forces and to proclaim the Republic. In the same manner and for the same purpose Nisco held a correspondence with the districts of Montesarchio and of Cervinara, and also with the city of Benevento; and his correspondents there were Joseph de Ferrariis, Frederic Verna, Salvator Sebariani, persons of the same party, and well known for destructive intentions.* And we may well believe that these persons were not idle, for Sebariani, more daring than the others, attempted a revolt at Benevento; but not succeeding, he was sent to prison.' (*Angelillo*, pp. 17, 18.)

And the Court, worthy of such an Attorney-General, quotes in its judgment against Nisco such *proofs* as these, almost word for word; only adding that at the trial the faithful messenger Petrillo 'explained' that the unanimous exclamation of the Captain of Montefredino and his friends about the proclamation of the Republic, were uttered in this manner: 'Nisco wishes to 'be elected deputy, and we will have the Republic,'— an 'ex-'planation' utterly unintelligible, and making darker what was before incredible. Comments are superfluous; only we beg to observe, that at pages 25. and 55. of these same precious 'Con-'clusions,' the guilt of Nisco is argued from his having been a candidate for the place of Deputy to Parliament for his own native province.

Another specimen of evidence worth notice, is that of a person of the name of Margherita, who, being himself accused, endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to escape a severe punishment by calumniating, clumsily in most cases, his co-accused. The

* It is necessary to note that Benevento belongs not to the kingdom of Naples, but to the Papal States.

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reason why he has been so severely punished, notwithstanding his calumnies,' is, that when re-examined (submitted to what is called the *Costituto*, on which occasion the person under examination has a right to say what he thinks proper in his defence), he completely retracted what he had said at first, and stated that he had said it in consequence 'of the threats, the 'preparations for torture, the allurements, and the promises 'made to him by the judge by whom he had been at first exa-'mined' (the *Istruttore*, or *Juge Instructeur*, as the French call such a being). (*Settembrini*, p. 32.) On being asked what was the object of the Society, Margherita naïvely answers: 'I do 'not know; but from what Sessa and Giordano said, the end 'of it was to support the constitution which the Government 'wanted to suppress!!' Margherita at first, that is, previous to his *Costituto*, had stated, with respect to the existence of the secret Society l'Unità Italiana, 'that in September, 1848, he had 'confidentially learnt from Giordano and Sessa that there ex-'isted a central committee, of which Agresti was chairman, 'and Poerio, Carafa, Pironti, Persico, and Settembrini, with 'others unknown to him, were members; and that Settembrini 'was secretary, and Persico was treasurer.' (*Conclusioni*, p. 80.) Unluckily for the police, in the statutes of that Society, as laid before the Court by the prosecution, there were no such dignitaries as chairman, secretary, and treasurer. Thereupon Angelillo, nothing daunted, remarks: —

'True, that in the Statutes there is no mention of a *Central Committee*, there is, however, that of a *Council* placed over the inferior circles; and this, as the concentric point towards which converged all the acts of the provincial circles, was well designated, from its functions, by the name of *Central Committee*. Although there is no mention of *treasurer*, mention is made of *quæstor*, which is an equivalent office; and if there is no office of *secretary*, there is, nevertheless, that of *master*. In that change of names which has given rise to such a display of noisy arguments, I do not, therefore, see any thing else but the material necessity of the Society of adapting its phraseology to common understandings, to which those names more expressive, indeed, but more classical and more difficult, might have appeared too unusual and abstruse.' (*Angelillo*, p. 84.)

So that, according to the learned Angelillo, the words *consiglio* and *maestro* are unusual and abstruse words for the generality of Italians!

There is a story put into the mouth of poor Margherita to the following effect: —

'That in June or July of the same year (*i.e.* 1849), and after Pironti's imprisonment, he (Margherita) learnt from the aforesaid

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Giordano and Sessa that a Committee of Murderers* had been instituted, in order to take the life of the most excellent Minister the Chevalier Longobardi, of the excellent Prefect of Police, the Commander Peccheneda, and of the honourable Magistrate who presides over this illustrious body (*i.e.* the Court); which project being submitted to the opinions of Agresti, Settembrini, and Pironti, in the prisons of Sta Maria Apparente, by means of letters taken to them by Lorenzo Vellucci and Francesco Antonetti †, it received their approbation; and Giordano and Sessa, in order to carry it out, asked Margherita to find a safe person, for which purpose they furnished him with some fire-arms.' (*Angelillo*, p. 82.)

Our readers, however slightly versed in the history of the *Reign of Terror* during the French Revolution, will not forget that one of the most clumsy pretexts of the revolutionary tribunals, and of the Committee of Public Safety, for shedding blood, was that known under the name of the 'Conspiration des Prisons.' For the very same sanguinary purpose is the identical absurd pretext alleged by the pious, mild, and merciful police of the most pious, most mild, and most merciful Neapolitan Government; a coincidence which we think worthy of note. This time, however, the Neapolitan police overreached itself. Pironti was arrested on the 3rd of August, 1849, and Margherita, as well as Giordano, had been arrested before him; therefore the latter could not have heard what they said they had, nor could Pironti have received in prison letters which, as the story ran, must have been sent before he was there.

'Oh!' says the sturdy Angelillo, 'these are mere trifles: the Committee of Murderers was not a recent invention of the conspirators; it was as old as January, 1849; for the murder of several ministers, of the Commissary of Police, Merenda, and of Captain Palmieri, was then determined upon. The newly intended assassinations were, therefore, only a second proposition of the Society; and it may well have happened in June or July, 1849, as Margherita states. If, however, the arrest of Pironti, having happened in August, could in any manner disturb the mind of the judges about the chronology of the events, the Court will not certainly forget that Margherita repeated only what he heard from Giordano; that he had no reports with Pironti, except through Sessa and Giordano; that Margherita might well, either through forgetfulness or confusion of ideas, think, when making his disclosures, that Pironti was at the time already arrested, when he was not so in fact.' (*Angelillo*, pp. 85, 86.)

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* The word is *pugnalatori*; that is, literally, *daggerers*.

† Vellucci and Antonetti, who said as much as they dared to please the Government, declared, nevertheless, that they had never taken letters, or had ever even been in Sta Maria Apparente. (*Settembrini*, p. 32.)

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Such logic soars to so high a degree of impudence that it is impossible for plain honest folks to follow it. It would be shocking to hear such arguments used any where; but to learn that they have been used by an officer of justice, and not only listened to but acted upon, by a court of law, is an enormity which makes one shudder.

Having shown from the words and acts of the prosecutor upon what principles these criminal prosecutions were carried on, we shall now select a few circumstances only from one of the cases, and show how overwhelming was the defence, although hampered to a degree unequalled out of Italy in modern times. Mr. Gladstone has shown this in the case of Poerio; we shall show the same in the case of Settembrini, quoting his words. The fate of this victim calls forth the warmest feelings of sympathy, whilst his splendid talent, his eloquence, his powers of reasoning, his manliness, his noble character, command our admiration. Settembrini is a man worthy of the best times of Greece and Rome. The *per*secutions of which he has been the object, and the cruel treatment which has been inflicted upon him on more occasions than one, are, if not unparalleled, certainly unsurpassed in the history of tyranny.

Luigi Settembrini is a literary man of distinction, who, in 1839 — when not yet twenty-seven years of age — was arrested on a charge of belonging to the Giovine Italia. After twenty-six months' imprisonment he was tried and declared not guilty. He was nevertheless kept in prison for sixteen months more, and liberated after three years and a half imprisonment.* In

* We should have thought that what Settembrini suffered was *sufficient punishment for his innocence*, and that he ought not to suffer again on that score. But we were mistaken. Angelillo (p. 117.) assumes positively that Settembrini was guilty in 1838, and *therefore* argues that he must have been guilty in 1848. Against Pironti Angelillo alleged that 'the *secret* inquiries of the police' prove him to be a man of anarchical and destructive principles; against Poerio, that he had before been arrested (never indicted, still less tried) for high treason; against Agresti, that he was possessed of a masonic catechism; against Vellucci, that he was watched by the Commissary of Police of his district, who suspected him of being in the pay of the demagogues; against Braico, that there were secret reports in the Ministry for the Home Department, &c. &c. Moreover, Nisco had actually in his possession a printed copy of the Sicilian Constitution; Molinaro, a tricoloured handkerchief, *supposed* an emblem of a secret society; Esposito, a tricoloured scarf ..... This is overwhelming evidence, not of guilt certainly, but of perversion of logic.

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March, 1848, he was appointed Under Secretary for the Department of Public Instruction, of which department Poerio was then secretary. He resigned in May of the same year, finding the occupation unsuited to a man of his habits. During the Calabrian insurrection he was requested by Poerio and other friends of the moderate party to write an address to the electors. He did so; that address was burnt at Lecce by the popular party as a servile composition. He was then offered a pension, which he felt he did not deserve, not having served for more than six weeks, and he refused it, adding, however, that he would be too happy to be employed and rewarded; he was then offered a place in the Treasury, which he declined, being conscious of his utter incompetency for the office. Without his knowledge, on the 24th of November, he was elected deputy; but his resignation of the place of Under Secretary not having yet been accepted, he himself pointed out the law which rendered the election void; the House held the objection fatal, and his seat was declared vacant. And yet this man is accused — as if it were a crime, if true — of having canvassed to be elected! Towards the end of May, 1849, he chanced to meet in the streets his friend Poerio, who informed him that one Jervolino went often to see him (Poerio) to ask assistance; that he (Poerio) had had in his hands a report of Jervolino to the police, of which he was a salaried spy, in which he spoke of them both; and that with respect to Settembrini, Jervolino asserted that he had been assured by him that a revolution was at hand. Settembrini told Poerio that he did not even know this Jervolino; but on the 23rd of June, 1849, he was arrested, not on any charge, or by lawful authority, but by order of the Prefect of Police, 'as a measure of prevention, and by direction of the 'Minister of the Interior.'

Before going farther, we shall give an extract out of Mr. Gladstone's First Letter to Lord Aberdeen, from which our readers will form an opinion of this miscreant Jervolino, of the Government, whose spy he is, and of the tribunals which received his evidence.

'Jervolino stated that, having failed to obtain an office through Poerio, he asked him to enrol him in the sect of the *Unità Italiana*. That Poerio put him in charge of a person named Attanasio, who was to take him to another of the prisoners, named Nisco, that he might be admitted. That Nisco sent him to a third person named Ambrosio, who initiated him. He could not recollect any of the forms, nor the oath of the sect! Of the certificate or diploma, or of the meetings, which the rules of the sect when published (as the Government professed to have found them) proved to be indispensable for all its members, he knew nothing whatever.

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'"How did he know," said Poerio, "that I was of the sect when "he asked me to admit him?" No answer.—"Why could not Nisco, "who is represented in the accusation as a leader, admit him?" No answer.—"If I, being a Minister of the Crown at the time, was also "a member of the sect, could it be necessary for me to have him "thus referred to one person, and another, and a third, for admis- "sion?" No answer.—"Why has not Ambrosio, who admitted "him, been molested by the Government?" No answer.—"Could "I be a sectarian when, as a Minister, I was decried and reviled by "the exalted party in all their journals for holding fast by the Con- "stitutional Monarchy?" No answer.—Nay, such was the impu- dent stupidity of the informer, that, in detailing the confidences which Poerio, as he said, had made to him, he fixed the last of them in May 29, 1849; upon which Poerio showed that on May 22, or seven days before, he was in possession of a written report and accu- sation, made by Jervolino, as the appointed spy upon him, to the police: and yet, with this in his hand, he still continued to make him a political confidant!'

'Such was a specimen of the tissue of Jervolino's evidence; such its contradictions and absurdities. Jervolino had, shortly before, been a beggar; he now appeared well dressed and in good condition. I have stated that the multitudes of witnesses called by the accused in exculpation were in no case but one allowed to be called. That one, as I have learned it, was this:—Poerio alleged, that a certain arch- priest declared Jervolino had told him he received a pension of twelve ducats a month from the Government for the accusations he was making against Poerio: and the archpriest, on the prisoner's demand, was examined. The archpriest confirmed the statement, and men- tioned two more of his relatives who could do the same. In another case I have heard that six persons to whom a prisoner appealed as witnesses in exculpation, were thereupon themselves arrested. No- thing more likely.

'I myself heard Jervolino's evidence discussed, for many hours, in court; and it appeared to me that the tenth part of what I heard should not only have ended the case, but have secured his condign punishment for perjury.

'I must, however, return to the point, and say, even had his evi- dence been self-consistent and free from the grosser presumptions of untruth, the very fact of his character, as compared with Poerio's, was enough to have secured the acquittal of the accused with any man who had justice for his object. Nor do I believe there is one man in Naples, of average intelligence, who believes one word of the accusa- tion of Jervolino.'

Settembrini, in his 'Difesa,' represents to his judges the facts respecting Jervolino and some of his co-spies as follows:—

'Among the paid spies,' says Settembrini, 'who are witnesses at all trials, and who, although imprisoned for swindling, for thieving, for manifest calumnies, are always caressed and employed, that wicked Jervolino was selected and bought to accuse me. He is in

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the pay of the police, as is shown by a report of his to Cioffi (an officer of police), which Poerio will produce; he was a hound of Cioffi; he is a vile wretch, who gets twelve ducats per month as blood money. In 1844, he accused his own father of speaking ill of the Government with Bracale, to whom the Commissary of Police, Marchese, showed the original information laid by the son against his father and him. Bracale told me this horrible fact.' (*Settembrini*, p. 13.)

Angelillo was not a man to fail a Jervolino, and here are the terms in which he came to the rescue:

'Poerio,' says the learned prosecutor, 'charged Nicola Nisco to get Jervolino enrolled in the Society; and to Nisco was Jervolino sent by Poerio, through Nicola Attanasio. Nisco took Jervolino to d'Ambrosio's house; and there the new associate took the prescribed oaths of secrecy and obedience, and received the sign and passes peculiar to the Society. I cannot refrain from here again observing, that this part of Jervolino's evidence is supported by the often quoted statutes of the Society, by which such ceremonials are required. It is likewise supported, and strengthened, by the answers of Poerio and Nisco, the former avowing his friendship with Nisco and with Attanasio, and Nisco acknowledging his acquaintance with Poerio and with d'Ambrosio. Now, inasmuch as these names and these men must have been unknown to Jervolino; and inasmuch as he positively mentioned them, going even so far as to state the precise quarter where d'Ambrosio lived, and the very number of his house, there is every reason for believing that the knowledge he had thus become possessed of must have come to him through Poerio and Nisco, with whom those persons were on intimate terms, according to their own confessions.' (*Angelillo*, p. 34.)

Poerio and Nisco knew each other: Poerio knew Attanasio and Nisco knew d'Ambrosio: These names and these persons must have been unknown to Jervolino, (why so?) and yet he knew d'Ambrosio's address; is it not therefore clear that he learned what he knew from Poerio and Nisco? Such is the reasoning of Neapolitan crown-lawyers and judges.

Knowing his own character and the weight of his own evidence, Jervolino supposed that he would not be believed unsupported; he therefore applied to two honest persons, Pasquale Marignola and Tomaso Mazzola, and hinted that they might as well give him a help, and chime in with him in charging Poerio, Nisco, and Settembrini. The two men refused the job; and, what is more, swore at the trial, that these overtures were really delicately made to them by Jervolino. But the judges whose principles were more in unison with those of Jervolino than with those of two honest persons, relied on Jervolino's

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Maria Apparente to those of the Castel dell' Ovo, 'where,' he says,

'I was shut up in solitary confinement, and where the little hair I had on my cheeks was shaved off with insult. I learnt since that my excellent friend, Mr. Philip Agresti, was soon after transferred to the same castle. I saw him at a later period shut up in a horrible dungeon, hewn in the rock, dark and most loathsome, as there was in it a well into which was emptied all the dirt of the other prisoners.' (*Settembrini*, p. 20.)

On the 11th of November, Settembrini was examined by a certain Commissary Silvestri, upon the very points on which he had been examined before by another police agent. Settembrini referred to his former answers, and then asked why the same questions were again put to him?

'The Commissary replied that he was collecting proofs to proceed against persons accused of having, on the 16th of September, by causing a bottle full of inflammable matter to burst, endeavoured to interfere with the blessing that the Pope was giving from the royal balcony to the people.—"But what can I have to do with it, who am in "prison since June?" That act was the doing of the Society, of which you are accused of being one of the heads. You are also accused of having held meetings in your house when the murder of four of the ministers was proposed; and of having approved in prison together with Agresti and Pironti the plan of murdering the minister Longobardi, the Prefect of Police, Peccheneda, and Navarra, the President of the Criminal Court. I do not recollect,' continues Settembrini, 'what I said when I heard such foul and cowardly calumnies, and with what eagerness I asked to be confronted with the vile informer who had so malignantly attacked my honour . . . I went on, and went on; the Commissary answered me with an eloquent shrugging of his shoulders, and sent me back to my prison. The complete information was sent next day to the Criminal Court, so that I was examined merely as a formality, and out of mere cruelty I was kept for forty-two days in the secret prisons† of the Castle. On the 12th of December I was taken to the dark and loathsome prisons of the Vicaria, where I learnt that twenty-seven prisoners had been brought from the Castle. We were all of us thrown, together with other political victims, among thieves, forgerers, and murderers. I wish the magistrates had been present when we first met in that gloomy abode, and peered at each other; they would have perceived how few of us knew one another even by sight.'

And here he states that he found only Poerio, Pironti, Agresti, Persico and Carafa of his acquaintances there; but

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† Le Segrete, the worse prisons in a gaol: solitary confinement is one of the smallest torments to which a prisoner shut up in them is subject.

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that he was not aware even of the existence of the others: and he has been condemned to death for having conspired with them! He then continues: —

'In the prisons of the Vicaria I have learned wonderfully terrible facts, which I shall relate in order that history may record them, and the world may know the manner of proceeding against us. Lorenzo Vellucci, accused of having stuck up a revolutionary placard at the corner of a street on the night previous to the 16th of September, and Salvatore Faucitano, accused as the author of an explosion which took place before the palace, when arrested and pinioned had to suffer unheard of torments. Dragged along as a sight through the streets, they were beaten, wounded, spat upon, insulted by a few wretches who followed the well known inn-keeper, nicknamed *Monsù Arena**, who entered the Castle, and in the presence of the soldiers, pulled out the hair singly from the face of the unfortunate prisoners, and carried away triumphantly a lock of hair shaved off the head of Vellucci. Faucitano, tired and almost fainting from ill-treatment, terrified by threats of farther ill-usage and of death, being before the Commissary and the Prefect of Police, asked for a glass of water: he got a large glass of wine, and then he was forthwith submitted to examination, as he will say and prove. The Prefect of Police, who has nothing to do with the preliminary judicial inquiry, and who in this case appeared as the injured party, assisted at the examination, and examined himself the prisoners Faucitano, Margherita, and Carafa. Luciano Margherita, arrested at Siracusa, then taken pinioned and on foot to Messina, thence to the Castle dell' Ovo, where he was kept three days fasting, was attacked in another manner. He was told to sign a declaration which would prove entirely harmless, but would give confidence to the Government. He was promised a place, and the protection of the Italian princes; should he refuse, a cannon ball would be tied to his neck and he would thus be thrown into the sea. The declaration was written; the Prefect of Police altered it four several times, and after it had been copied, Margherita signed it, thinking to injure nobody, and to have place and protection. In the same manner was attacked Carafa, who being born and brought up in luxury, frightened by threats and by the prospect of solitary confinement, said and wrote all that they required of him. Every one of the prisoners has related what he has had to undergo in the Castle. Nicola Muro was kept pinioned for five days, only one of his hands being loosened when he was to feed, dry bread and water merely being allowed him. The wife of Giovan Battista Sersale was kept for five days in solitary confinement.† Gaetano Errichiello, having to be shaved and the hair of his head cut, was made to sit on

* This fellow is now dead. He was one of the most blood-thirsty villains that ever lived, allowed by the police to torment and insult honest people with perfect impunity.

† In Segreta. She had committed no crime, and was not accused of any thing.

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a chair in the midst of a square surrounded by armed soldiers who told him they had orders to shoot him . . . I have also learned that some of the prisoners were often called before the Inquisitor *, who said to them,—"to avoid confusion let us make some additions to the "former examination, and unite the whole into one." The accused, unaware of the consequences, consented: the first examination was torn up, and another substituted under the same date; thus many statements appear as made at an early period although made later, and thus very long, well digested, studied, correct, and even elegant declarations appear in the proceedings.' (*Settembrini*, pp. 21, 22.)

He does not stop here; but we must. It costs us much to have to translate such passages and to repeat such details, but the truth ought to be known, and those held up to scorn who claim it as a privilege of Conservatives such as they are, to behave like barbarians. Settembrini at the end of his 'Difesa,' has the following words, which we beg of our readers to peruse attentively, and judge what chance there is for innocence when the accused cannot even see all that is alleged against him:—

'If,' says Settembrini, 'I had been able to get a copy of all proceedings, and if I had had time and means of reading them, perhaps even in this dark and loathsome den, where I am buried without seeing a ray of sun, where I feel my mind half gone, and my body worn out by sufferings,— perhaps I might have argued the whole of the points, and made observations on the whole of the proceedings.'

He wrote this in April, 1850: he was condemned to death in February, 1851.

We have not, however, as yet completed the statement of facts which make the blood boil; and restraining our indignation, we must continue our narrative.

From what has been stated, it will be perceived that persons are imprisoned without legal authority, proceeded against without respect for fairness or rather for truth in any shape or form, and brutally treated. But the time of their defence will come, our readers will suppose. In the first place, the cause of their arrest, the crime imputed to them, and the names of the accusers are kept for an indefinite period of time, or even altogether, concealed from the prisoners. What Settembrini says of himself, is the rule, not the exception. Nisco begins his 'Costituto' in the following manner:

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* *i. e.* the magistrate who was charged with the proceedings which are by law required before trial. He interrogates the persons accused, as well as the witnesses, and has an unlimited power of doing harm. Of course the man picked out for such a duty is a particularly unprincipled scoundrel.

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'It is very surprising that after fifteen months passed in the various prisons whereto I have been dragged, I find myself now for the first time in the presence of magistrates, and accused of having belonged to a fancied secret society, respecting which hitherto no one has ever asked me a single question.'

Poerio says,—

'I asked to be confronted with my cowardly and low calumniators, and I insisted upon knowing the proofs of the accusation; but my legal request was never granted, against the clear letter of the law.'

In October, the same Gentleman was removed from the prison of San Francesco to the Castle dell' Ovo, where he was placed in solitary confinement. Five days after, he was told by the Inquisitor that he was accused of a plot to upset the *Constitutional* Government!!! and of complicity in the crime of having revolutionary proclamations stuck up in public on the night of the 15th of September.

'I repelled, says Poerio, 'with all my might so foolish and so foul an accusation. I asked to see the pretended proofs of my guilt, ready to clear myself at once, and the Inquisitor was silent! I asked to be confronted with my vile accuser, being confident that I should be able to put him to shame in a moment as a mean and cowardly calumniator, and the Inquisitor continued silent. After seventy days of solitary confinement, during two months of which I was not allowed to see even my excellent mother, I have been kept in the Castle four long months; I have been at last dragged to the prison of the Vicaria, in which those accused of political crimes are mixed with those accused of any crime; for nearly two months my life is wasting away in one of those rather dens than prisons, where ten or twelve human beings are heaped together and stowed away like pigs, and I have not been yet able to learn what it is that is falsely alleged against me, and what is the name of my dastardly calumniator.' (*Atti*, p. 78.)

But even when the offence laid to a man's charge is shown to be an impossibility, when the pretended proofs fall to the ground of themselves, the accused are not only not in better condition, but may be in a worse. Poerio was accused of complicity in the affair of the proclamations posted on the corners of the streets when he was in prison. To connect him with those who acted out of prison, the Director of police, Peccheneda, wanted to induce one of the accomplices, Carafa, who had seen a copy of the proclamation, to say, that he had spoken of it to Poerio before the night of the 15th of September, when the proclamations were passed: the worthy Peccheneda promised Carafa that he would be immediately out of trouble if he lent himself to his views. But this was asking from Carafa to prove, what was impossible, because it appeared from the prison

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registers, that he had never been to see Poerio after the day, when, by surprise, he himself was shown the proclamations. The vile scheme fell of itself; but is it not manifest that Peccheneda must have hated, and persecuted the more, the man whom he had failed in making a victim in the manner which he proposed? As to yielding to conviction, it was not a thing to be thought of as regarded Peccheneda. 'All my unanswerable 'arguments,' says Poerio, 'did not shake the Prefect's immov- 'able persuasion of my *knowledge* of that vile affair, and he 'spitefully dismissed Carafa, saying, "Sir! You will ruin your- '"self! Well! I leave you to your fate."'

The scheme of the pretended letter of Dragonetti addressed to Poerio, which is only partly related by Mr. Gladstone, will show how useless it is to hope for justice or to trust to the best defence where such infamies as that can be committed. We shall translate Poerio's own version of this affair:—

'A letter was forged purporting to be written and signed by the Marquis Dragonetti of Aquila. This letter was entrusted to a compeer in Aquila, with a request that he would post it and direct it to me at Naples. But the schemer of this atrocious villany wanted, in carrying it into execution, to pay the utmost respect to the Constitution, in which it is written that no letter should be opened. For this purpose the letter to me was enclosed in a second one, forged in Dragonetti's name like the first, directed to an imaginary person at Naples, with a request that this imaginary person should *deliver immediately the enclosure to the Baron Carlo Poerio.* Having done so, the writer trusted to the chapter of *accidents* for the rest; and by the merest *accident* he was wonderfully assisted in his doings. The family name of the imaginary correspondent of Dragonetti, as *chance* would have it, was that of an obscure officer of police, who, however, bore a different Christian name from that given by the forgerer to his imaginary correspondent. To this police officer, on his going to the post for his letters, was by *chance* delivered, *in mistake*, the letter just arrived from Aquila. The poor police officer had scarcely perused it when he saw that he had got his namesake's letter in mistake; but there was no remedy; as he had opened the letter he could not return it. Yet having seen those terrible names, Dragonetti and Poerio, the poor unhappy clerk trembled and was horrified at thinking himself, even for one moment, the possessor of a correspondence which could be but of a revolutionary and treasonable character. The honest man had no peace till he had deposited that pestiferous letter in the pure hands of the police. And the police, vying with the happy writer of the letter in zeal for the observance of the Constitution, anent the inviolability of letters, drew up a most regular memorandum of the event; and, resisting the culpable inclination of prying into my secrets without my consent, it respected the seal of the letter addressed to me, took charge of the document, and ordered my arrest.' (*Poerio*, pp. 39, 40.)

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What followed, Mr. Gladstone tells better than we could, and we shall therefore let him relate it: —

'On the sixth day, [from that of his arrest, Poerio] was brought before the Commissary Maddaloni; and a letter, with the seal unbroken, was put into his hands. It was addressed to him, and he was told that it had come under cover to a friend of the Marquis Dragonetti, but that cover had been opened in mistake by an officer of the police, who happened to have the same name, though a different Christian name, and who, on perceiving what was within, handed both to the authorities. Poerio was desired to open it, and did open it, in the presence of the Commissary. Thus far, nothing could be more elaborate and careful than the arrangement of the proceeding. But mark the sequel. The matter of the letter of course was highly treasonable; it announced an invasion by Garibaldi, fixed a conference with Mazzini, and referred to a correspondence with Lord Palmerston, whose name was miserably mangled, who promised to aid a proximate revolution. "I perceived at once," says Poerio, "that the handwriting of Dragonetti was vilely imitated, and I said "so, remarking that the internal evidence of sheer forgery was higher "than any amount of material proof whatever." Dragonetti was one of the most accomplished of Italians; whereas this letter was full of blunders, both of grammar and of spelling. It is scarcely worth while to notice other absurdities; such as the signature of name, surname, and title in full, and the transmission of such a letter by the ordinary post of Naples. Poerio had among his papers certain genuine letters of Dragonetti's; they were produced and compared with this; and the forgery stood confessed. Upon the detection of this monstrous iniquity, what steps were taken by the Government to avenge not Poerio, but public justice? None whatever: the papers were simply laid aside.' (*Gladstone*, p. 19.)

As we have seen, one of the accusations was, that several of the persons, who were to be brought to trial, had plotted the murder of the President of the Court who was going to try them. This President laid before his brother judges his 'scruple' whether he ought to sit in judgment or not? thereby showing that he felt his own weakness, and the indecency of his continuing to take part in the proceedings. This President is Navarro or Navarra, a man who boasts of having condemned to death 3000 persons! The Court held that there was nothing in his 'scruple.' Mr. Gladstone relates how, on the prisoners objecting to be tried by that President, the Court declared the objection 'frivolous and vexatious.' This monstrous decision was confirmed on appeal, the counsel as well as the parties who applied for justice on this head being condemned to a fine of one hundred ducats. But this is not all. We learn from Settembrini (Difesa, p. 24.) that the two advocates who argued in support of the prisoners' exception to Navarra — 'the most

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'zealous Navarra' as he is officially and ominously designated by the public prosecutor — became the object of a *per*secution as foul as the rest; and that one of them — Giacomo Tofano — was thrown into prison, whilst the second — Gennaro di Filippo — was obliged to fly the country. Navarra presided over the Court, the witnesses of the accuser were perjured, those for the defence not heard, the counsel imprisoned: could the result be other than what it was?

There is one fact more which we beg to mention with respect to this abominable tragedy. The persons tried were accused of acts importing high treason committed in 1848. Their trial began so long after, that many of the witnesses were admitted to depose, as to certain facts, according to their own impression, the circumstances essential to constitute the crime having been forgotten by them, owing to the long time that had elapsed since they were said to have occurred. Thus that pre-eminent villain Jervolino, — who deposed that he had been admitted to a secret Society, which we firmly believe never to have existed, — when asked for the signs, oaths, &c. constituting the criminal essence of the Society, declared that he had forgotten them, owing to the time that had intervened; and the judges received his evidence, admitted his apology for not entering more into details, and deprived the innocent victims of his calumnies of the means of testing his credibility, and of showing what was the real nature of the Society of which he spoke. The accuser — a spy — was left to judge of the nature, and therefore of the criminality, of certain acts which he was unable to specify. Moreover, facts thus vaguely charged could not possibly be contradicted. The trial — that is, the mockery of what was paraded before the public as a trial — began about a year after the accused had been imprisoned for acts committed, it was said, a year before the time of their arrest. That trial took place before a *special* court, instituted partly under the pretext of a *speedy* administration of justice; it lasted exactly EIGHT MONTHS, from the 1st of June, 1850, to the 31st of January, 1851. The indictment consisted of several intricate counts for each of the persons accused; and these counts, cunningly framed, were to be supported by a variety of documents and of such written evidence as we have had occasion to specify in the course of this Article — that is, reports of spies, evidence of what was said by third parties not before the Court, secret reports of commissaries of police, &c. In the 'Atti' we find reference given to TWENTY-FIVE *volumes* of such documents and written evidence, collected *ex-parte* before the trial. The judges, as they are called, retired to consider their judgment on the 31st of January, 1851; they

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deliberated during the rest of that day, the whole of the night of the 31st, and during part of the 1st of February; on the morning of which day — after twenty hours' discussion — they pronounced their sentence. Will any man of common sense believe it possible that justice can be administered by such means, and where such is the manner of trying political cases?

On the morning of the 1st of February, whilst the judges were still deliberating, Settembrini, who fully expected to be condemned to death, as he eventually was, addressed to his wife the most touching, noble, and manly letter that we can conceive it possible to write under such circumstances. It breathes the serenity of mind of innocence, the resignation of a Christian, and the affection of an attached husband and father, as well as the calm reliance on truth of a martyr. Conscious of our inability to render all the feeling, the delicacy and graceful elegance of the original, we lay it before our readers, certain that competent judges will find our praises both of the sentiments and of the style amply deserved.

'1° Febbraio, 1851, ore otto del mattino.

'Io voglio, o diletta e sventurata compagna della vita mia, io voglio scriverti in questo momento che i giudici stanno da sedici ore decidendo della mia sorte.

'Se io sarò dannato a morte, non potrò più rivederti, nè rivedere le viscere mie, i miei carissimi figliuoli. Ora che sono serenamente disposto a tutto, ora posso un poco intrattenermi con te. O mia Gigia! io sono sereno, preparato a tutto; e quello che più fa meraviglia a me stesso, mi sento la forza di dominare questo cuore ardente, che di tanto in tanto vorrebbe scoppiarmi nel petto. Oh guai a me se questo cuore mi vincesse! Se io sarò dannato a morte, io posso prometterti pel nostro amore, e sull' amore de' nostri figliuoli, che il tuo Luigi non ismentirà se stesso; morirò colla certezza che il mio sangue sarà fruttuoso di bene al mio paese, morirò col sereno coraggio de' martiri, morirò, e le ultime mie parole saranno alla mia patria, alla mia Gigia, al mio Raffaello, alla mia Giulia. A te, ed ai carissimi figliuoli non sarà vergogna che io sia morto sulle forche; voi un giorno ne sarete onorati. Tu sarai striturata dal dolore, lo so; ma comanda al tuo cuore, o mia Gigia, e serba la vita per i cari figli nostri, ai quali dirai che l' anima mia sarà sempre con voi tutti e tre, che io vi vedo, che io vi sento, che io seguito ad amarvi come vi amava, e come vi amo in quest' ora terribile.

'Io lascio ai miei figliuoli l' esempio della mia vita, ed un nome, che ho cercato sempre di serbare immacolato ed onorato. Dirai ad essi che ricordino quelle parole che io dissi dallo sgabello nel giorno della mia difesa. Dirai ad essi che io benedicendoli e baciandoli mille volte lascio ad essi tre precetti: riconoscere ed adorare Iddio; amare il lavoro; amare sopra ogni cosa la patria. Mia Gigia adorata! eran queste le gioie che io ti prometteva nei primi giorni del nostro amore, quando ambedue giovanetti, tu a quindici anni con invidiata

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bellezza, e con rara innocenza, ed io a venti anni pieno il cuore di affetti e di speranze, e con la mente avida di bellezza, di cui vedeva in te un esempio celeste, quando ambedue ci promettevamo una vita d' amore, quando il mondo ci parea così bello e sorridente, quando disprezzavamo il bisogno, quando la vita nostra era il nostro amore? E che abbiamo fatto noi per meritare tanti dolori, e tanto presto? ma ogni lamento sarebbe ora una bestemmia contro Dio, perchè ci condurrebbe a negare la virtù per la quale io muoio. Ah! Gigia; la scienza non è che dolore; la virtù vera non produce che amarezze. I miei nemici non sentono la bellezza e la dignità di questi dolori. Essi nel mio stato tremerebbero: io sono tranquillo perchè credo in Dio, e nella virtù. Io non tremo; deve tremare chi mi condanna, perchè offende Dio.

'Ma sarò io dannato a morte? Io mi aspetto sempre il peggio dagli uomini. So che il Governo vuole un esempio, che il nome è il mio delitto, che chi ora sta decidendo della mia sorte ondeggia tra mille pensieri, e tra mille paure: so che io sono disposto a tutto.

'Sarò sepolto in una galera, con un supplizio peggiore e più crudele della morte? Mia Gigia, io sarò sempre io. Iddio mi vede nell' anima e sa che io non per forza mia, ma per forza che mi viene da Lui, sono tranquillo. Vedi, io ti scrivo senza lagrime, con la mano ferma e corrente, con la mente serena; il cuore non mi batte. Mio Dio, ti ringrazio di quello che operi in me: anche in questi momenti io ti sento, ti riconosco, ti adoro e ti ringrazio. Mio Dio consola la sconsolatissima moglie mia, e dàlle forza a sopportare questo dolore. Mio Dio proteggi i miei figliuoli, sospingili tu verso il bene, tirali a te, essi non hanno padre, son figli tuoi, preservali da' vizj: essi non hanno alcun soccorso dagli uomini, io li raccomando a te, io prego per loro.

'Io ti raccomando, o mio Dio, questa Patria; dà senno a quelli che la reggono, fa che il mio sangue plachi tutte le ire, e gli odj di parte; che sia l' ultimo sangue che sia sparso su questa terra desolata. Mia Gigia, io non posso più proseguire, perchè temo che il cuore non mi vinca. Addio, o cara, o diletta, o adorata compagna delle mie sventure, e della mia vita. Io non trovo più parole per consolarti; la mano comincia a tremarmi. Abbiti un bacio, simile al primo bacio che ti diedi. Danne uno per me al mio Raffaello, uno alla mia Giulia; benedicili per me: ogni giorno, ogni sera che li benedirai, dirai loro che li benedico anche io. Addio.'

The writer of this noble and pathetic letter was what is called pardoned; that is, his life was not taken at once, but he was condemned to a lingering death among the horrors of Neapolitan prisons, so well and so correctly described by Mr. Gladstone. For the Neapolitan Government it is not enough to take life with the daring of the assassin; life is taken with studiously refined and protracted cruelty; the victims are not openly dispatched, for that would deprive their pitiless persecutors of the exquisite pleasure of seeing them die by inches

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in cheerless solitude, unattended by friends, by parents, by relations: sinking slowly under the accumulated weight of moral as well as physical torture. For it is torture to bury human beings in dark underground dens, not seldom below the level of the sea by which they are surrounded: it is torture to tie two human beings together, and never, never for one moment relieve them from each others' presence; it is torture to stow away living human beings in cemeteries*: denying them what, in the name of decency, human beings require, not to live the life of unclean brutes. These and many more too revolting to enumerate, are the kinds of torture inflicted on men of education; gentlemen by birth and by habits; on persons to whom their sovereign has appealed in time of need for assistance and advice, which they have given both in their public and private capacity; on men of honour, by whom degradation is a thousand times more keenly felt than the loss of life; and, what is the climax of atrocity, innocent men basely and foully doomed to destruction by the Government from which they have a right to expect protection.

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* In 'The Examiner' of the 23rd of last August, appeared the following translation of a letter, of which we have seen the original, and the authenticity of which is indisputable. For obvious reasons the names and the precise day when it was written, are omitted:—

'Dear A.....—I am astonished on hearing you never got any 'letter from me, as I have written three. I am, however, confident 'you will now have got them, and learnt my present not enviable 'situation. I bear it all with that resignation which I hope will 'never abandon me.

'This is a place of aggravated punishment, and it is surprising 'why, without any fault of ours, or rather why, in spite of most 'favourable reports, respecting us, we have been brought here.

'The prison is horrible; we sleep on the bare ground, and it is 'only out of compassion that we have a coverlet. The place in 'which we are confined was formerly a cemetery, and it swarms 'with all sorts of vermin. Every comfort is forbidden, and we are 'not treated like human beings, but like pigs. I bear my misfortune 'with tranquil resignation, and with inward confidence in Divine 'Providence.

'I beg you to send me twelve ducats and some clean linen by.... 'I have been four days without change of shirt, as we are forbidden 'to have any box wherein to keep linen. Chairs, lights, and tables, 'as well as beds, and all the necessary conveniences for the night, are 'likewise forbidden.

'Life itself is not safe in this place. The day before our *happy* 'arrival one of the prisoners was murdered with twenty-seven wounds 'from a dagger.....

'Ischia, March, 1851.'

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The truth of these charges, undenied and undeniable, stamps on the forehead of their perpetrators and their abettors a mark of infamy, which will last so long as truth and humanity are not banished from the world. We do not consider that the single exception of one Mr. Macfarlane, who has had the audacity to deny some of the facts which Mr. Gladstone relates of his own knowledge, requires that we should modify our assertion that these damning charges stand undenied. That the facts stated by Mr. Gladstone are undeniable it is for us superfluous to observe. What Mr. Gladstone states as a fact will be believed by all civilised Europe, were the whole of the Neapolitan Government and of its myrmidons to deny it. And if a proof had been wanting of the system of fraud and falsehood on which that Government rests, and of the utter want of principle and common honesty among its agents, that proof would have been supplied by Mr. Macfarlane's mendacious pamphlet. 'The Examiner' has shown, with a closeness of reasoning and terseness of argument worthy of its old reputation, that the advocate and the defence stand on a par with the clients and the cause; in which the Neapolitan Government has concurred, by adopting that defence, and causing it to be diplomatically communicated to other Courts as an answer (!) to Mr. Gladstone's overwhelming statements.

We find, moreover, in 'The Times' of the 23rd of September an abridgment of the official 'defence' of the Neapolitan Government; and the 'defence' is worthy of that Government; for it rests wholly on such barefaced falsehoods that the task of exposing them is not only heavy but disgusting. The statements of Mr. Gladstone are of two kinds: those of facts within his own knowledge, and those of facts he has heard on credible authority. Among the former there is this: 'I have seen,' says Mr. Gladstone (we are happy to quote from the TWELFTH edition of his letters),

'The official doctors not going to the sick prisoners, but the sick prisoners, men with almost death on their faces, toiling upstairs to them at that charnel house of the Vicaria, because the lower regions of such a palace of darkness are too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional men should consent to earn bread by entering them. . . . The filth of the prisons is beastly. The officers, except at night, hardly ever enter them. I was ridiculed for reading with some care pretended regulations posted up on the wall of an outer room. One of them was for the visits of the doctors to the sick. . . . I have walked among a crowd of between three and four hundred Neapolitan prisoners: murderers, thieves, all kinds of ordinary criminals, some condemned and some uncondemned, and *the* politically accused, indiscriminately. . . . This swarm of human beings

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all slept in a long low vaulted room, having no light, except from a single and very moderate-sized grating at one end.'

To these precise statements of an English gentleman hear the answer of the Neapolitan Government: —

'It is notorious that this prison (the Vicaria) is conducted in a very regular and judicious manner. In case of illness medical assistance is immediately procured, and it is an insult to the distinguished character of the physicians of Naples to allege that they perform their duties in the manner that Mr. Gladstone says, which, if true, would render them a disgrace to humanity.'

Mr. Gladstone has not, therefore, seen what he says he did! To such an answer we cannot condescend to make a reply.

Mr. Gladstone had heard that the number of State prisoners in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was from 15,000 to 20,000; and in its defence, the Neapolitan Government, on the 15th of September, has the courage to repeat what its worthy advocate, Macfarlane, had the impudence to state six weeks before, namely — that the prisoners were only 2024. This gross untruth was so ably exposed in 'the Examiner' of the 16th of August, that we cannot do better than transcribe the passage from that newspaper: —

'The first skirmish in which facts are used is one to which we direct close attention. Thus speaks Mr. Macfarlane: — ' " The right honourable gentleman affirms that 'the general ' " ' belief is, that *the prisoners for political offences* IN THE ' " ' KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES are between fifteen or ' " ' twenty and thirty thousand,' and that he himself believes ' " ' that twenty thousand is no unreasonable estimate.' Now, ' " *the police reports sent to me from Naples prove* that the total ' " number of these state prisoners is two thousand and twenty- ' " four! I will admit that even this is a deplorable number; ' " but when it is considered that there was a revolution at ' " Naples, a sanguinary revolution *in Sicily*," &c. &c. " That ' " there may be no mistake, my Lord Aberdeen, I lay before ' " you the Neapolitan prison returns, which are officially signed, ' " and are indisputably correct." The tables follow. These are 'the tables, in which "I have not translated the Italian." That 'there may be no mistake we, then, will furnish one line of 'translation, and expose the coarse fraud over which, when 'cloaked under an unfamiliar language, it was hoped that the 'eye might skip. The triumphant preface, and the war-dance 'around Mr. Gladstone after the quotation of a statistical-'looking column, might divert men very fairly from a suspicion 'that all was not right. But now what are these boasted tables?

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'They are an account "*Degl' imputati politici, presenti in giu-*
'"*dizio, presso le G. C. speciali, de' Reali Dominj continentali*"
'—of the *accused*, now present *to be tried*, by the Special Gr.
'Courts *of the continent!* In reply to Mr. Gladstone's estimate
'of all prisoners for political offences in the kingdom of the Two
'Sicilies, it is attempted to delude the English public with a list
'only of those prisoners who are awaiting trial, excluding every
'man tried already and condemned; and even this, not a list of
'all the accused, but only of those who will be tried before
'Special Grand Courts; and not even all those included, but
'only those who will be tried before the Special Grand Courts
'*of the continent.* Sicily is conveniently dropped, and no ac-
'count is rendered of "those lovely islands scattered along the
'"coast (we quote Mr. Gladstone), whose picturesque and
'"romantic forms delight the eye of the passing voyager, igno-
'"rant what huge and festering masses of human suffering they
'"conceal."'

As to poor Poerio, it is false that he was imposed on the Crown by the Clubs as Minister, as is now asserted in the official 'defence' of the Neapolitan Government: so utterly false, that not only the King would not accept his resignation, when offered, but he sent to him the Duke of Mignano, to request he would withdraw it. After he had ceased to be minister, Poerio was urged by the Duke of Balzo, the Queen Mother's husband, to attend a meeting of leading political men on the state of the country, which meeting Poerio attended on condition that he should not have to take office. Many times subsequently his Sicilian Majesty has sent to him Captain Carrascosa for advice on knotty political points: even after the 15th of May, 1848, since which time the King has been rid of Clubs, and of every opposition whatever, Poerio was asked, in the King's name, by Carrascosa, for his opinion in writing on the political state of affairs, which opinion Poerio gave. And at a still later period the King was pleased twice to express himself most graciously to Poerio in person with respect to his conduct while he was Minister. To the allegation that Poerio was condemned on other evidence than that of Jervolino, we distinctly reply that it is of a piece with the other assertions of the Neapolitan Government,—judges, police, and agents of all sorts; and we shall say no more after such specimens of a Government's official defence.

That the diplomatic body 'consider' Poerio guilty, as the correspondent of 'The Times' says, we have no doubt. Can Austria, Russia, the Pope, and, what is much worse, despotic and unscrupulous republican France, say otherwise? We know

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French agents who, not long ago, have informed their Government, from Naples, of some of the very facts since brought to light by Mr. Gladstone, and who now, having removed to another latitude, are shamelessly contradicting what they then stated; not less eager to efface their former statements than to disavow their former principles. Such are St. Gennaro's miraculous powers!!! Honourable men may look on this jugglery with silent contempt, but they cannot forget: *Non tam in potestate nostrâ est oblivisci quam tacere.*

The fact is, that in every thing, great and small, high and low, the persons now at the head of affairs at Naples cannot act, speak, or write, without a violation of truth. The principle of that Government is falsehood, which is resorted to even when truth would serve as well; but truth is an element of government unknown to that Cabinet. An instance of this occurs in the work by the pseudo O'Raredon, the entire title of which we have given at the head of this Article. The whole consists of a tissue of declamations and misstatements about England, Ireland, our Government, above all respecting the Lords Minto and Palmerston, Sicily, Naples, and the rest of Italy. This might have been printed, either anonymously or with the real authors' names, avowedly at Naples, and in Italian. But then there would have been something of truth in the publication, and that the Neapolitan Government could not brook. Therefore the book purports to be written in French by an Irishman, blessed with the uncommon name of P. C. O'Raredon, and printed at Geneva by Cherbuliez, — every one of which statements is false. The clumsiness of this forgery is equal to that with which the letter of Dragonetti to Poerio was forged. The style of printing is Italian, — or more correctly speaking, Neapolitan; — the numberless errors of orthography are evidence that the book was not printed where French is the language of the country*; the still more numerous errors in English and English names, prove clearly that not even an Irishman could have committed them, and the Italianisms which abound in every line betray the Ausonian authorship of this absurd libel. In the very first page we find, 'L'époque du 1848 . . . . est déjà entré dans le domaine, 'de l'histoire.' The phrase 'du 1848' is pure Italian 'del 1848,' and not at all French; and no French printer would allow such a blunder as 'époque . . . . entré' to pass. We open the book at hazard, and we find, —

* We hope that M. Cherbuliez, whose name has been so unwarrantably used, will have been able by this time to meet with a copy of this production, disgraceful to a printer of his deservedly high reputation.

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'Bientôt la dépense des ministères fut commandée sous la désignation de budgets, avec les annotations propres à éclairer l'emploi des déniers publics .... Le roi soutenait (chose dont il y a bien des témoins) avec une sagacité merveilleuse les réformes les plus raisonnables, comme si les finances avaient été l'études de sa jeunesse. Avec les vrais principes de la matière, il fit bientôt que les dépenses ne dépassassent jamais les moyens, et surtout qu'ils ne fussent employés à des futiles dissipations.' (P. 72.)

Now here 'budgets' is a blunder, and an absurdity applied to 'la dépense' only; 'denier' has no accent; 'l'études' is a discordance, and '*des* futiles' is an error, instead of *de*. We mark only such errors as no French printer would commit. 'Les 'annotations' and the 'soutenait' are both Italianisms, and not French, in the sense here used. In the next page we find in two lines 'agravant' instead of 'aggravant,' 'privilége' instead of 'privilège,' and 'rabaissa le tariff,' which is not a French but a purely Italian phrase. It is still more amusing to see Lord Minto repeatedly called 'Sa Grace,' as are also Lord Palmerston and Lord Mount-Edgecumbe, who is sometimes designated as Lord Mounth-Edgecumbe, and sometimes as Lord Edgecumbe; the Duke of Wellington *per contrà* being only *Lord* Wellington. Sir H. Bulwer and Admiral Parker are both 'Lords;' the 'Whigs' are 'Wighs;' Lord Lansdowne is repeatedly 'Landsdowne;' and so on. The following passage is decisive on the point of Irish authorship. O'Raredon, speaking of the sulphur question, informs us, that 'Notre *Attorney and Sollicitor-General* lui-même se prononça 'pour le roi des deux Siciles.' (P. 236.) The authors of this wretched performance are a M. Cantalupo and one Peter Ulloa. Peter, we are told, is a judge; nothing more likely, that being the body of men which seems to have at Naples an inexhaustible stock of taletellers and forgerers. The original contriver of all this has been, we are informed, the famous, or infamous Pecheneda, Director of Police, than whom no man, even at Naples, has invented more falsehoods to deceive his king, and torment and ruin his fellow-subjects.

The gigantic trial of the innocent persons accused of belonging to the Society l'Unità Italiana is but one of many by which it is intended to sacrifice to party spirit and to foul passions the lives of the *élite* of the nation, mixing with them some persons of less note. Thus very recently some persons of inferior station, whose crime was that of having shouted, towards the end of 1848, 'Long live the Constitution' have been tried. We don't know the particulars; we only know that twenty-six persons have been condemned to various punishments.

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the mildest of which was TWENTY-FOUR years' imprisonment in irons. And let it be observed, that all those found guilty, whether present or *en contumace*, are condemned *in solidum* to pay the expenses and damages; under which head comes, for instance, the injury done to property by the king's troops; so that under this pretext the property of a man so condemned is seized by the Government. At times, however, the Government plunders capriciously without any pretext. A few days ago a Neapolitan gentleman of fortune, formerly a Member of Parliament, and now an exile, came over to see the Exhibition. On his return to Paris, where he has taken up his abode, he found letters informing him that the Government had seized his property. He is thus reduced to absolute want, without the slightest intimation of the reasons which have induced the Government to commit this new spoliation. Acts like this are of daily occurrence.

One of the monster trials now, we believe, in progress, is that of persons accused of having taken part in the affair of the 15th of May, 1848, when a long and sanguinary fight took place in the streets of Naples, which terminated in the complete victory of the King's troops over the people. Naples was treated by the brutal soldiery, as it was formerly the custom to treat a place taken by assault. How that deplorable collision began, and by whom it was brought about, is fiercely disputed; for us it is enough to know how it ended. Nine days afterwards — on the 24th of the same month of May — the King, of his own accord, and without any Minister's signature, published a proclamation, in which he not only assured the Neapolitans of his determination to carry out the Constitution, but he called on them to trust to his honour, to his religion, and to his oath, assuring them that he was only bent on effacing, as far as possible, even the remembrance of the fatal 15th of May.* On the 17th of May more than six hundred persons, arrested with arms in their hands, had been released. About one year after that royal proclamation and this act, several persons, among them some of those set at liberty on the 17th, were arrested again; and now, nearly three years and a half

* The words are most solemn: Fidatevi con effusione di animo della nostra lealtà, della nostra religione e del nostro sacro e spontaneo giuramento, e vivete nella pienissima certezza che la più incessante preoccupazione dell' animo nostro è di abolire al più presto, insieme allo stato eccezionale, e passaggero in cui ci troviamo, anche, per quanto sarà possibile, la memoria della funesta sventura che ci ha colpiti.

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after the imputed crime has been so solemnly forgiven — after that most ample act of oblivion on the part of the King—these persons are to be tried.

We cannot believe that this is done with the King's knowledge. No individual, however lost to shame and to honour, would allow himself to be held up to everlasting infamy by even the appearance of consenting to so barefaced a violation of his pledged word. This is, however, what the Neapolitan Government do with respect to their King; than whom no man has had more reason to pray to be preserved from his friends.

Among these dangerous friends Mr. Baillie Cochrane has forced himself. In his 'Young Italy,' this gentleman has done his best to represent His Sicilian Majesty as capable, not only of dissembling his real feelings for the purpose of imposing on simple folk, but of the gross and vulgar deception of gaining credit to himself by gratuitously promising to act one way—and then acting just the contrary. The facts, as related by Mr. Baillie Cochrane, are these. On one of those 'cold, harsh, bitter mornings, not uncommon at Naples,' and which we presume to be one of the many causes why Englishmen in particular, who neither rise early nor travel to misinform themselves, prefer the soft, genial, and refreshing London fogs to the Neapolitan climate — on one of those mornings Mr. Baillie Cochrane walked out to keep himself warm, and called upon the King at Caserta for the purpose of giving him a little wholesome advice. His Majesty being at home, was most graciously pleased to listen to the lecture on statecraft, which the M.P. for Bridport was generous enough to volunteer to deliver to him. The eloquence, elegance, and power of reasoning which, abroad, distinguish the honourable member, produced their effect on the King, who kept awake nevertheless, and who promised to follow the advice gratuitously tendered, — namely, that the political prisoners should be kept separate from other offenders; and that the Government should not promote petitions against the Constitution. His Majesty threw in, of his own accord, strong hopes that a partial amnesty might be soon conceded. Mr. Cochrane apparently had not the courage to suggest such an act of justice rather than mercy. 'So far, so well,' as he phrases it. Now mark, gentle reader, the result of this interview: —

'To my very deep regret,' says Mr. Cochrane, 'I have heard from Naples that the political prisoners have been only removed to a much worse place; that their communications with their families have been still more restricted; that the few who were released were men quite unimportant and would have been discharged at any rate; and what gives countenance to several other reports is, that within the last few

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weeks, I see by the papers that the Constitution has been virtually abolished.' (P. 277.)

There must be some mistake here. We have a better opinion of Mr. Baillie Cochrane than to suppose that he would proclaim how he was stultified and yet give no sign of that manly indignation which a gentleman so treated, by no matter whom, must feel. Mr. Cochrane, we know, is not incapable of indignation: he gives vent to it in most unmeasured terms against the unfortunate, the fallen, and the oppressed, whom he misrepresents and insults. On the other hand, even he must be aware that no one has painted His Sicilian Majesty's character in blacker colours than he has done. According to his version of the interview, the King not only deceives but does it from habit — wilfully and deliberately, and when, as on this occasion, he might, with more dignity and less trouble, avoid committing himself in so indecent a manner.

Mr. Cochrane's imagination outweighing both his memory and his judgment together, nothing can be conceived more fanciful than his historical narratives — not even his poetry and his novels; and this may induce His Sicilian Majesty, and his real friends, to forgive Mr. Cochrane for his version of a conversation, which, if correct, would be most disgraceful to that Sovereign. Of Mr. Cochrane's inventive powers, we might multiply instances. Mr. Cochrane describes Garibaldi at Rome, as if he had taken his picture, although he never saw him; he places before us the scene of the meeting at which Rossi's murder was decided upon, as if he had attended it; and yet he invents meeting, actors, and every other circumstance which he relates. Of Rossi himself he writes as if he had been his most intimate friend or rather better. For, although it is evident that he has read the biography of Rossi, to which he never once refers, written by one who *was* his friend, M. Mignet, yet his imagination prevails against M. Mignet and facts. Much of it may be owing to the slight acquaintance of Mr. Cochrane with M. Mignet's language, which is French. A gentleman who does not know that l'Académie de Génève means the University of that place, and who tells us something very absurd about 'the ordres des jour' of Napoleon, is not likely to have understood M. Mignet on those points on which he contradicts him point blank. But however slight his knowledge of French, Mr. Cochrane knows much less of Italian, as may be seen from his quotations. These facts being undoubted — and had we space we might produce conclusive and ludicrous proofs of them — we have only to remark, that were it not for his matchless imaginative faculty it would be difficult

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to comprehend how Mr. Cochrane could collect all the absurdities of which he has made a book, and how he could hold conversations, not only with the King, but with the mountaineers of Italy, who, we suspect, understand English no better than Mr. Cochrane does any other language.

There are some statements in Mr. Cochrane's book respecting Lord Minto, worthy of notice not only as being poetical, but as having been pointed out as such to Mr. Cochrane before he published them, — and he having, nevertheless, persisted in giving them circulation as facts. Mr. Cochrane states (p. 75.), that it was not long after his arrival at Rome, before Lord Minto became intimately acquainted with Masi (whose name, as usual, Mr. Cochrane misspells, calling him Massi), Prince Canino, and M. Sterbini. Now this statement is unfounded. Lord Minto received, with the courtesy due to his birth and rank, the Prince of Canino, whenever he was honoured with a visit from him — which was seldom; but he had no intimacy either with the Prince or with M. Sterbini, from whom he received but one visit. With respect to M. Masi, we distinctly aver that Mr. Cochrane was positively and especially told, before he published it, that his story was untrue. Dr. Pantaleoni of Rome, whom Mr. Cochrane consulted respecting his publication, and to whom he submitted some of his notes, told him, and wrote to him, for fear of mistake, that not only was it not the fact that Lord Minto had any intimacy with M. Masi, but that Dr. Pantaleoni himself having asked Lord Minto's permission to present M. Masi to his Lordship, Lord Minto declined to receive that gentleman on account of his extreme political opinions. Dr. Pantaleoni, who has just left England, has repeatedly related this anecdote in our presence, and we challenge Mr. Cochrane to gainsay its correctness. When a writer is capable of such mistakes, his statements sink so low that it is too much to expect that matter-of-fact persons will stoop, we will not say to contradict, but even to notice them. To prove, however, that we are not too severe with Mr. Cochrane, we shall inquire into some more of his tales about Lord Minto.

Mr. Cochrane writes, 'On the 15th of November, about a 'fortnight after Lord Minto's arrival, the Council of State was 'nominated; and to celebrate this event there was a procession 'to the Quirinal of all that was most democratic, to which the 'representatives of the Great Powers were anonymously in- 'vited to attend. In the evening a grand banquet was given 'at the Théâtre d'Apollon, at which the Ministers, the Council 'of State, and, most important of all, Lord Minto, were pre-

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'sent. The people rose and cheered Lord Minto, when the 'arch-agitator, the modern Rienzi,—Ciceroacchio, entered his 'box, and was welcomed by the English Minister.' (P.75.) Before touching on the facts of the case, we assure Mr. Cochrane that there is no 'Théâtre d'Apollon' at Rome—an Italian City where they speak Italian: there they call 'Teatro d'Apollo' what the French translate 'Théâtre d'Apollon.' Mr. Cochrane occasionally writes French, just as his prototype spoke prose, without knowing it. At page 87., mistaking French for Italian, he puts some familiar French phrases into the Pope's mouth upon addressing the Prince of Teano, one of his Ministers. As to the facts of the case, we beg to inform Mr. Cochrane that if he had asked well-informed and educated gentlemen instead of inquiring of the *valets de place*, he would have learnt that the procession of which he speaks, far from being a procession 'of 'all that was most democratic,' was a most striking pageant, to which the splendid State equipages and the gorgeous liveries of the highest Roman Nobility gave that dignity of aristocratic magnificence seldom, if ever, equalled out of Rome. The statement that Ciceroacchio entered Lord Minto's box, and that he was welcomed by his Lordship, is as true as the rest of Mr. Cochrane's nursery tales. It is as true, for instance, as what Mr. Cochrane says a little further on (p. 78.):—'On that 'same 1st of January, a deputation, consisting of Sterbini, 'Canino, and Massi, had an interview with His Holiness.' Instead of Sterbini, Canino, and Massi, read Corsini (the Senator of Rome), who, in fact, waited on the Pope on the 1st, and Doria and Borghese, who waited on him on the 2nd. Mr. Cochrane's informant must have been a wag who, seeing how much terrified that gentleman was by the names of Sterbini and Co., amused himself by frightening him out of his propriety: in which he fully succeeded.

Mr. Cochrane, that *Arbiter elegantiarum*, has ventured to say of Lord Minto, that he wrote like the paid hireling of a party (p. 76). Such language is worthy of the book in which it appears; and in order to show that its author deserves equal credit for his candour and for his taste, we shall give one more extract from his 'Young Italy.' It runs thus:—'The 'events of that memorable day [the 1st of January, 1848] 'are described by Lord Minto in the following dispatch:— '"Lord Minto to Lord Palmerston, Jan. 13, 1848. '"The new year has opened inauspiciously, with twenty-four '"hours' uneasiness, and *ill humour*, produced by *ill-advised* '"*proceedings* on the part of the *authorities* at an *imaginary* '"*danger*." No paid hireling of a party could have written in

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'a more partizan spirit.' Any one would conclude, from Mr. Cochrane's words, that the whole dispatch consisted of the above few lines; whereas it fills more than one page and a half of the Blue Book (Affairs of Italy, part 2nd, p. 39.). Lord Minto, in his real dispatch, gives a detailed account of the events that passed under his own eyes. Mr. Cochrane not only suppresses this account, but conveys the impression that it never existed, and substitutes that of his *valet de place*. Not satisfied with thus misleading his readers, he cannot help turning into bad English the correct language of Lord Minto. The passage stands thus in the Blue Book: — 'The new year opened here inauspi-'ciously with four-and-twenty hours of uneasiness and ill-humour, 'produced by ill-advised proceedings on the part of the public 'authorities against an imaginary danger.' There are no italics; Lord Minto does not speak of 'proceedings *at*,' but of 'proceedings *against*.' In fact, he writes English. We can forgive Mr. Cochrane mistaking French for Italian and being ignorant of both; but as to English — and chiefly as to a gentleman's English — we would say to him in Cicero's words: — Non enim tam præclarum est scire Latine, quam turpe nescire; neque tam id mihi oratoris boni, quam civis Romani proprium videtur. Having done with Mr. Cochrane, we beg to return, before concluding, to our main subject.

We confidently hope that the publication of the above facts relating to the Neapolitan Courts and Police will have due weight with His Sicilian Majesty, to whom, we are willing to believe, they are unknown. It concerns the honour of his Crown as well as his own, to put an end to practices unworthy of him as a Christian, a king, and a man. We hope also that such conservative powers as are not pledged to foster Red Republicanism and Socialism, and to systematise injustice, unfairness, brutality, and plunder, will condemn as immoral, as well as impolitic, a system of government which seems invented for the annihilation of virtue and of truth, in order to insure the momentary triumph of crime and of falsehood; and, eventually, to render the very name of Monarchy hateful to the world. We implore men of all parties, of all nations, of all creeds to raise an unanimous and unmistakeable cry of abhorrence in the name of outraged humanity against deeds to which pagan tyranny, oriental despotism, and African ferocity can hardly find a parallel.*

* We were painfully surprised at finding recently in a highly influential publication what appeared to be apologies for the conduct of the Neapolitan Government, and the natural tendency of which

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ART. VIII.—1. *The two-fold Protest. A Letter from the Duke of Argyll to the Bishop of Oxford.* London: 1851.

2. *Acts of the Diocesan Synod held in the Cathedral Church of Exeter.* By HENRY, LORD BISHOP OF EXETER, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, June 25, 26, 27 of the year of our Lord 1851. By Authority. London: 1851.

A SHORT year has elapsed since the Pope startled the whole Christian world by the publication of a bull establishing a territorial Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. The agitation

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undoubtedly must be to encourage that Government to persist in its barbarous course. It is stated that a person who had made inquiries at Naples, avows 'it to be his opinion, that Poerio was guilty of the 'charges brought against him, of conspiring against the state, and 'that he did form part of a secret political society for that purpose, 'though he denied belonging to the association termed the "Unità 'Italiana."' The question is: was Poerio proved to belong to *this* society? It is also said, 'that the loose and rambling style of Poerio's 'own defence, accompanied as it is with certain avowals of his 'opinions for the reconstruction of Italy, by no means establishes his 'innocence.' Nothing can, in our opinion, be more pithy than Poerio's defence, dated the 8th February, 1850. The *Conclusioni*, or speech of the Attorney-General against him, being of December of the same year — are, therefore, *subsequent* to *that* defence — the only one of which we have ever heard, and which Poerio wrote *impromptu*, at the moment of his *constituto*, before he knew what the Attorney-General might urge against him. The avowal of his opinions is a proof of his innocence; if guilty of that of which he was accused, he would not have made a parade of opinions which it was his interest to conceal. Ostensibly, Poerio was not tried and condemned for his opinions, nor was it for him to establish his innocence, but for the accusers to establish his guilt. Poerio did show that the chief witness brought against him, Jervolino, was a government spy, and that he was perjured; and on this most important point Mr. Gladstone distinctly states, that he *heard* that man's evidence canvassed at the trial, and that from what he himself heard he had no doubt that Jervolino was guilty of perjury. This is not relying on Poerio's defence only, as Mr. Gladstone is accused of having done by those who cannot have had the same means of judging of the credibility of this Jervolino, the main witness; neither can they have seen more of the evidence on which Poerio and the others were convicted than such *extracts* as the Government has thought proper to publish; yet it is on these slight and unsatisfactory grounds that the misery of those unhappy men is likely to be aggravated; and this too, when at the same time the possibility of Poerio having been unfairly con-

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which it created has produced some important results, and seems destined to produce more. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill has become the law of the land: and we wait to learn from experience what effects it will have in repelling the aggression of the Pope. But it meets a part only, and that the smallest part, of the ecclesiastical dangers which beset the country. The storm which last autumn raged in so many public meetings was the outburst of a feeling of dissatisfaction and alarm long pent up, of a sense of danger within our lines, which had been rendering the country for a considerable period restless and unhappy. On every side there broke forth fierce denunciations against a treason which was betraying the Established Church of England. In the insolence and advances of the foreign invader men saw proofs of confidence in the disorganisation of the garrison he was attacking. It was a grievous thing to find the Pope re-asserting his hated dominion over this free land: but it was far more irritating to discover that he was cheered on by incessant defections of the defenders of that Church which our ancestors had raised to protect us from his assaults. Shame, fear, and anger convulsed the minds of the English nation: and these emotions found frequent vent in language suited to their intensity. And what have been the results? Has the awakened consciousness of danger led to the repairing of our defences, to the restoring the fidelity of our troops, to the taking adequate securities against further defections? Is the position of the Church of England safer and sounder than it was a year ago? Is there less danger of the clergy becoming deserters to the Pope? Are the causes which have produced these secessions weakened or removed? Have the people of this country ground for thinking that her pastors will no longer be the very men who shall seduce their flocks to Rome? These are questions of fearful interest: it deeply concerns all to ascertain what has been, or can be, done.

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victed is admitted. If it be doubtful whether he has been *fairly* convicted, can there be any doubt that he ought not to have been condemned? True, the barbarity of the punishment is disapproved of, and yet it is observed, in extenuation, that Poerio is not chained day and night to a common malefactor 'as has been alleged.' No one had ever alleged this but Macfarlane, who invented the allegation for the purpose of contradicting it. The cruelty of the punishment consists in keeping two human beings chained day and night together; were they brothers or the most intimate friends, it is an indecent and revolting cruelty: no more than this was ever alleged; and this never has been or can be denied. The letter inserted above, from 'The Examiner,' proves what sort of treatment the prisoners receive at Ischia, whatever may be stated to the contrary.

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The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill is the sole tangible product of the excitement. It is obvious that it gives no protection against conversions to the Church of Rome. It is a measure of self-defence against aggression from without by a foreign Power,—a protest by which the nation vindicates its right to be the sole dispenser of honours and titles within its own limits: it is simply a repulse of an attack on the sovereignty and independence of the country. As against the *religion* of Rome it says and does nothing at all. It will not prevent a single conversion which, without it, would have taken place. The causes which swell the ranks of the Romanists with seceders from the English pale are left untouched by it: it is levelled against the political action only of the Papal Court. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to cure the Church of England of the malady which is consuming her. A demonstration of feeling has been made. It can no longer be said, though the prophets prophesy falsely and the priests bear rule through their means, that 'my people love to have it so.' The people of England have manifested, with impassioned warmth, the depth and soundness of their Protestant faith: and some amount of discouragement and repression may be produced by this exhibition of sentiment. But it would be a fatal mistake to suppose that the progress of Popery can be arrested by the tumultuous cheers of excited numbers. The Church of Rome knows when to oppose, and when to bend before the storm. Her faith is on the end. Her patience is not to be wearied out by delay or disappointment, and no violence can subdue her activity. Her policy is infinite in resources. She knows how to subjugate nations by a single sweep of power, or to undermine them by an incessant stream of individual conversions. If Rome is to be driven back, she must be assailed in her fundamental principles: she must be met by a full and brave counter-assertion of the truth. We must have faith in Protestantism: we must appreciate its principles and embrace them thoroughly, or we are lost. This our Protestantism, however, has been shaken—shaken in its hold on the affections and understandings of the clergy. It is openly repudiated by many: others, who have not quite cast it away in their hearts, are ashamed to confess it before men: it is held feebly, and still more feebly avowed.

Do then, we ask, the events of the past year furnish us with any brighter hope for the future? We have indeed chased away some of the anxieties which pressed upon our imaginations. We have learned that the people of England are Protestant still. This is something: for there is always an advantage gained by dissipating an imaginary prestige of success.

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Not that this proof of our Protestantism will make the Church of Rome one whit the less persevering or less confident: but it may weaken the inclination so commonly felt to side with what is thought a rising cause. But if nothing more be done: if no progress is made in diminishing the religious and other influences which Rome brings to bear on the minds of men, the vehement protests of last autumn may be but the convulsions which precede death. Lord Shaftesbury indeed promised much. Amidst enthusiastic applause he gave a pledge, that, if the Tractarian treason were not rooted out by the bishops, the laity of England would take up the work in earnest, and obtain safety by an efficient Church reform. The Tractarian disloyalty remains, and Lord Shaftesbury makes no move. We are not bringing an accusation against Lord Shaftesbury. For though our difficulties might be partially removed by legislation, heavy indeed would be the responsibilities which would lie on a real church-reformer. To attempt a reform worthy of the name would be to put the whole Church of England into the crucible: and for this, neither the statesmanship, nor the religious intelligence and feeling of the country, are yet prepared. In our judgment, therefore, Lord Shaftesbury acted more wisely in suspending than he would have done in fulfilling his pledge. Only let us distinctly recognise our real position, — that no bar has as yet been opposed to the advance of Popery, either within or without the Church.

At the same time, it must be admitted that the Tractarian or Anglo-Catholic party has sustained a serious discouragement. The agitation of the public mind has decided the waverings of not a few important persons among the Tractarians. Whether it has been that their doubts had become ripe for resolution, or that the reproaches of Protestants have drawn their attention more forcibly to the ambiguity and untenableness of their position; whatever may have been the immediate cause, they have renounced the communion of the Church of England, and have been reconciled, as it is termed, to that of Rome. Two consequences have followed this act. In the first place, the eyes of many have been opened to the tendency and ultimate effects of Tractarian principles. But a second and a not less impressive result has ensued: the Tractarians have been made to feel distrust of themselves and their position. A party which loses its leaders by continual defections, just in proportion as they are distinguished by learning, ability, and earnestness, must have its confidence shaken, as to the soundness of its views and its power of sustaining them. What can be more damaging to a cause, than to be abandoned in unbroken succession by those who have

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fought at its head with the sincerest enthusiasm, and have enjoyed the best opportunities, and have possessed the greatest capacity, for appreciating its merits? A disquieting suspicion of the hollowness of their position has come over the most honest of the Anglo-Catholics: fresh secessions are taking place: and men of equal ability cannot be found to fill up the gaps which have been thus made. Who, among the foremost of the Anglo-Catholic school, except Dr. Pusey and a few of his immediate friends, if even these are to be excepted, can be now considered safe by the Anglo-Catholics themselves?

But we must not fall into the enormous blunder of inferring from the fact of a certain amount of disorganisation having overtaken the Anglo-Catholic party, that the mischief has been destroyed at its root. The eminent men, who have left it for the Romish communion, possessed, if not greater sincerity, at least a clearer intellectual vision and a higher consistency of thinking, than the mass of their former associates. Their condemnation of the Church of England is evidently not acquiesced in by the main body of those whom they have abandoned. As a party, they must be startled and disturbed by the secession of their leaders; but it will not drive the majority of them from their opinions. Any explanation of the fact will be accepted rather than the true, but most unpalatable one, that the principles of Anglo-Catholicism are incompatible with those of the Church of England, as a separate body from the Church of Rome. The parties in question are exposed to the strongest motives which can act on the mind of man to shut their eyes, if possible, to the cogency of the reasoning of which the practical conclusion is secession. If they admit the validity of the premises and the argument, they impose upon themselves the most painful duty of abandoning the religion in which they were bred, and in which they found so much to satisfy their spiritual natures. If they conceded the accuracy of the logic, but escape its force by impugning the premises, they would be compelled to renounce their principles and replace them by the odious doctrines of Protestantism. So they adopt neither the one nor the other of these reasonable, but distressing courses. They keep their understandings in a twilight of ambiguity, neither disowning the principles, nor yet choosing to observe what they involve. The Anglo-Catholic Clergy not only naturally cling with extreme tenacity to a theory which singularly exalts the clergy, but they also find, in the charm which that theory has for clerical minds generally, a support to which they are not fairly entitled, and which is not very creditable to those from whom they obtain it. There is a sound sweet even to many Low-church ears in

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opinions which represent episcopally ordained clergymen as the successors of the Apostles, and separate them so flatteringly from Dissenters, by the possession of the awful power of being alone entitled to give efficacy to the Sacraments. Hence a want of heartiness in many of its adversaries in pushing Anglo-Catholicism home: a faintness of resolution in pressing the inmost principles of Protestantism. This secret sympathy is of great value to Anglo-Catholics. It gives them boldness in the enunciation of their views. They are saved by it from a deadly strife of antagonistic principles. By its help they are enabled, in meetings of the clergy, to assume that their doctrines are those of the Church: they feel that they will not be closely challenged, and thus are left apparently in possession of the field. No wonder, in such a state of things, that a sufficient number remain behind to keep each other in countenance, and avoid being driven from their pulpits, by an overwhelming sense of insincerity, in the steps of their more logical and consistent chiefs.

Meanwhile, the consequences to the nation are most disastrous. The stream of conversions to Popery flows on, fed by waters which flow from the Church of England. The garrison appointed to guard the city, though they do not dare to open the gates, undermine the walls so as to let in the enemy. And great indeed is the calamity of subjection to Romish bondage. Our fathers found it insufferable; and we ourselves have had a foretaste of its misery already. Who that has experienced the misfortune of seeing his sons or daughters becoming Papists has not felt that he has lost them altogether — that they are his no longer—that they have become the property of the Confessional, of the Priest, of the Roman Catholic Church? And how, in most cases, have they been lost? — by a cruel abuse practised upon their piety. They listened reverently to the pastor, to whose care their Church had confided them; and from him they imbibed doctrines which they were told were the strength and foundation of that Church, but which, on reflection, were seen to command the transfer of their allegiance to Rome.

This then is the grievous malady under which we now suffer. Anglo-Catholicism cannot refute the reasoning of its departed chiefs: yet, undeterred, it perseveres in the same teaching with the same activity, we might say with the same audacity, as ever. It occupies our parishes, our pulpits, our universities, and our sees; and from this vantage-ground does the work of Rome more effectually than Rome could do it herself. Rome would have to make her advances as an open adversary against men who were on their guard. Anglo-Catholicism seizes on confiding hearers, who are thinking only of the Church of Eng-

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land, whilst they are being inoculated with the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Among the clergy it lifts up its head proudly, and summons the priest, as it styles him, to assert that dignity with which Christ has invested him. The younger clergy eagerly put faith in the grandeur which they are told belongs to them. They announce themselves as the appointed mediators between God and man, the dispensers of absolution and pardon, the holders of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The tone of the whole profession thus sets in strongly in favour of clerical prerogative. Protestantism is fast becoming an object of shame, except where an uncorrupted laity sternly reminds its ministers of those truths which they were ordained to defend.

The evil is intolerable. Let Papists preach Popery freely with all their might; but let a Protestant Church preach the Protestant faith. Above all, it ought not to be made a nursery for rearing converts for transplantation to Rome. The evil must be cut off at its source. Now that source is not religious dogma. What Englishman of our days has forsaken the Church of England because he has become convinced of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or Purgatory, or Mariolatry, or any other religious tenet peculiar to Rome? The indifference to pure doctrine, which has characterised this movement, has been most remarkable. Theological dogma neither attracts nor repels the minds which are agitated by this movement. They do not fly to Rome to gain a religious truth: nor do those tenets of that Church, which seem most revolting to common sense, cause their steps to falter as they cross the frontier between the two Churches. No dissenter, accordingly, has gone over.

'It is well known,' says the Duke of Argyll, 'that the individual corrupt doctrines of the Romish Church have not been generally — not perhaps in any case — the causes or sources of conviction. On the contrary, it is notorious that these have often been hindrances — impediments in the way of that passage through which so many have advanced from "Oxford to Rome." The worship, or honour, or whatever it may be called, paid to the Virgin, for example, has, to the very last, been a cause of difficulty and doubt; and this, and other such points of doctrine and practice, have only at last been accepted in submission to one great law of spiritual bondage, under whose yoke the victims had passed before. And what, let me ask you, is that law? Ask some of those to whom I allude, how they have overcome all those objections to the Romish worship and teaching, which you have often heard them express so strongly? Ask them, how they could acquiesce in practices which they used to call, as you now call them, "idolatrous?" You will always get one answer, —"the au-"thority of the Church."'

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It is wholly a question of the legitimacy and authority of the two corporations. The thoughtful disciple learns from Anglo-Catholicism principles which teach him that to continue in the Church of England is to remain outside of the Church of Christ; thereupon he carries out the lesson of unreasoning obedience, which has been diligently inculcated upon him as the essence of piety; and resolves to submit to the true Church first, and then inquire for and believe her doctrines afterwards. The Romanist and the Anglo-Catholic concur in warning him at the peril of his soul against trusting his reason in religious matters except for one single act of private judgment: our reason was endowed with spiritual light, say they, for the single purpose of discerning the notes of the true Church. He has learnt from Anglo-Catholic teaching what those notes are: his reason shows him that the Church of England does not possess them — that they apply to the Church of Rome only. His duty becomes plain and peremptory: he must get safety (where alone it is to be had) in the one true Church. Why should views of doctrine embarrass him? The apparent reasonableness of Protestant opinions may be the effect of that separation from Christ which alarms him: and the apparent absurdity of Catholic dogma may be imputable to the blindness of that reason, from which he has been instructed by his Anglo-Catholic pastor never to accept his creed. When a man has once been persuaded that religion depends on the authority of the Church — and this is the Anglo-Catholic teaching — he will be little influenced by doctrine in determining which is the true Church: and instead of judging of the tree by its fruits — of the Christian character of a Church by the faith it professes — he may possibly rather be attracted by the very repulsiveness of its doctrine, as a proof of its mission to subjugate the understanding by supernatural truth.

'Why, — in spite of enormous doctrinal differences,' — asks the Duke of Argyll,—'is Rome the only refuge to which men leaving you are forced to go? Simply because, on the principles from which they start, the authority of a priesthood is more essential than the truth of its doctrinal teaching — or, which comes to the same thing — the truth can only be judged of under the guidance of its authority.'

These facts enable us to perceive that the source of the mischief is that theory of ecclesiastical polity which is commonly known by the name of Church Principles. This is the lever with which Anglo-Catholics pull down the Protestant fabric of the Church of England; this the instrument by which they enrich Rome with spoils gathered from her communion. Church Principles, we are aware, is a comprehensive term, including certain views of theology as well as of ecclesiastical polity: in

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using the phrase, we restrict its meaning to the latter element only, as being the cause of the defections we are deploring. Church Principles, so understood, determine the relation of each man to Christ by his relation to the Church; and then define the Church by such marks as destroy the legitimacy of the Church of England. The Tractarian movement had for its leading object the inculcation of this ecclesiastical theory. It is the very core and essence of Tractarianism. On its first appearance the movement seemed to aim only at asserting the inherent independence of the Church; but it did this on principles which involved a great deal more. It might have taken up the same ground as the Free Church of Scotland and the Archbishop of Dublin, which was a ground perfectly consistent with Protestantism, furnishing for the foundation of the Church's independence the natural propriety and expediency of a Christian Society managing its affairs by an organisation of its own. The Tractarians preferred to build on the basis of the doctrine of a Christian priesthood and the apostolical succession; and two types successively displayed themselves in their architecture. The first process was Anglo-Catholicism, which proceeded to alter and re-model the old edifice, pulling out many stones from its foundations, and substituting for them others hewn out of the quarry of tradition and priestly supremacy. The more intelligent, however, soon perceived that the ancient fabric had thus been loosened, and that, being no longer safe or stable, it threatened to crush them beneath its ruins: so they resolved to clear it away altogether, and replace it by a building of foreign materials and architecture. In other words, Tractarianism developed the Anglo-Catholic theory of Church Principles; and then its best men pronounced it untenable within the Church of England. Most painful was the struggle; every resource which genius, learning, ability, and deep love could command, was vigorously used to obtain stability of intellectual conviction and quietness of conscience within the Church of their birth: slowly, reluctantly, in not a few instances amidst intense anguish, they came to the conclusion that the Church of England could not stand the test of Church Principles. They saw at last that, if Church Principles were true, no honest seeker for a Church founded on those principles could consistently remain within the Church of England. The competency of these men to try and judge this great question no one can gainsay. Loving sons of their first mother, reverential and even passionate admirers of her services and her doctrine, creators of an organised party which expounded and defended the Anglo-Catholic theory with an energy and dialectical

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talent perhaps unrivalled since the days of Plato; cheered by the enthusiastic support of an ever-increasing host of disciples, successful, to the astonishment of all the world, against the strongest tendencies of our age, and rapidly becoming the chiefs morally, if not hierarchically, of the English clergy,—Newman and his fellow-seceders had every human motive for continuing in that Church in which they were so great, and every qualification for carrying out Anglo-Catholicism to victory and triumph.

Si Pergama dextrâ
Defendi possent, etiam hâc defensa fuissent.

No other cause can be conceived for abandoning a position so dear to natural and religious feeling, except utter despair of reconciling their principles with those of the Church of England. The more profoundly they felt the spirit of those principles, the more irresistibly were they impelled to abandon a Church which contradicted them. Upon Church Principles they judged that the Church of England was not the Church of Christ: we re-echo the judgment, and we say that they judged rightly, and that the authority of the sentence thus pronounced binds every logical and consistent Anglo-Catholic to give up his principles, or to follow them out to Rome.

We shall now proceed to show the correctness of this sentence by an examination of the Anglo-Catholic theory. It boasts to be Anti-Protestant, and it gets rid of the principles of Protestantism by the substitution of others which are their logical and spiritual contradictories. Now, the two cardinal principles of Protestantism, which, at the Reformation, overthrew the Church of Rome and are the foundation of every Protestant Church, are these: the sole and paramount supremacy of the Word of God, as interpreted by private judgment; and the inherent right of every separate society of Christians throughout the world to institute for itself its own form of Church government. Protestantism does not assert that all forms of ecclesiastical polity are equally good, nor that the judgment of any one man is as trustworthy as another's in the exposition of Scripture; but it does maintain that the faith professed by each Church rests ultimately on the interpretation which that Church has, independently for itself, put upon Revelation, and that the full participation in the benefits of Christianity is not attached to any particular form of Church government. The negation of these two propositions is the essence of Anglo-Catholicism; and the question to be decided is, whether they are embodied in the constitution of the Church of England.

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It is of the utmost importance to confine the discussion to this issue. The Anglo-Catholic constantly strives to divert attention from this cardinal point, by contrasting Protestant theology with the so-called Catholic doctrines; such as the sacramental theory, the absolution of priests, and the like. He finds it easier to paint in glowing colours the creed of the fourth and succeeding centuries, than to give a clear and cogent reason why we are bound to adopt it on the sole ground of authority; indeed, he is ever very impatient of being asked for such a reason. Yet this is the one vital point of the controversy. Catholicism or Protestantism is right precisely according as such a reason can or cannot be given. Assent is demanded to Catholic doctrines by both Romanists and Anglo-Catholics in the name and on the authority of the Church, independently of any insight of the understanding into their truth. In this case then, it is clearly our primary obligation to ask, what the Church is, and what is its title to lay down authoritatively the standard of religious truth.

What then is the Anglo-Catholic theory of the Church? It teaches that there is one Universal and Apostolic Church, an outward and visible society, whose essential characteristic is unity. Membership with this Church is the condition for obtaining the privileges of the Christian religion, of which the sacraments are the chief. These sacraments are possessed exclusively by the Church; and to it Christ has also given power and authority to declare the truth. Moreover, Christ has instituted in this Church a special corporation, perpetuating itself by the specific and inviolable law of succession from the Apostles through episcopal ordination and imposition of hands; and this order of men are first, priests, mediating between Christ and His people, with the right and power of sacrificing, dispensing the sacraments, absolving, and judging of doctrine; and, secondly, the sole legitimate rulers and governors of the Christian Church. Such are the main elements of the Anglo-Catholic theory. It holds much in common with the Roman; although it fails utterly in some of the essential requirements, which Rome early saw to be necessary for constituting a consistent and logical whole, and which with unscrupulous courage she has claimed and assumed in her doctrine of ecclesiastical polity. This is so indisputable, that, instead of wondering that so many of the English clergy who have embraced this theory of the Church pass on into the Church of Rome, our wonder is that any should have stopped upon the road. For there is in truth no half-way house. And if the premises of the necessity of such a Church with any such attributes are once granted, there

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is no escape from the straightforward arguments of Bossuet, in his *Conference avec M. Claude, Ministre de Charenton, sur la Matière de l'Eglise.* 'Il ne faut que savoir qu'elle est celle qu'on 'ne peut jamais accuser de s'être formée en se séparant; celle 'qu'on trouve avant toutes les séparations; celle dont toutes les 'autres se sont séparées.' Arguing upon these admissions, Bossuet claims no superiority for himself in the discussion, but what is common to the most ignorant Catholic over the most subtle Protestant: 'Je soutiens au contraire, que cet avantage est 'tellement dans notre cause, que tout ministre, tout docteur, 'tout homme vivant succombera de la même sorte à de pareils 'arguments.'

Now, in respect of the claim of exclusive right to all these prerogatives thus advanced for Episcopacy, we assert emphatically that the burden of proof lies clearly and undeniably on the Romanist and the Anglo-Catholic. No one disputes that the Roman and English Churches possess a lawful government, or that their clergy are lawful ministers of Christ. But when it is pretended that the Episcopal is the only true Church; that its clergy alone are true ministers; that every other Christian society is without a lawful ministry, a lawful government, and lawful sacraments; then there arises a manifest obligation to produce a charter conferring such exclusive titles; an explicit, positive, peremptory charter. Nothing short of such a charter can bar out Protestantism; for Protestantism being a vindication for the whole Christian community of rights which confessedly belong to it, unless appropriated to others by a distinct and positive enactment, is *necessarily* the true theory of Church polity, so long as such an enactment is not produced. The same law applies to ecclesiastical as to civil society: *melior est conditio defendentis.* The right of each Society to govern itself needs no proof; it holds good till it can be shown that a superior authority has taken it away. A Church may choose to govern itself according to the apostolical model, be it Episcopal or Presbyterian, not feeling itself at liberty to make any change in what has received direct apostolical sanction and may be presumed to be an emanation from apostolical wisdom; but, in the absence of a direct apostolical command, it cannot do this on the ground of exclusive right, so as to unchurch other Churches which have not retained that model. Apostolical precedent may be an excellent recommendation in favour of an ecclesiastical polity; but the obligatory character of that precedent for all times, its exclusive legitimacy, its suitableness to the circumstances of any particular age, are all questions lying within the discretion and determination of each Christian

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community. The divine right of kings or bishops can be sustained by express charter alone: none such could be found for kings, and the doctrine has been exploded from the civil world. The exhibition of such a charter alone can save episcopacy from the same fate. And such a charter must not consist of mere presumptions and possibilities: it must convey an explicit and absolute title, derived either from the positive declaration of Christ and His Apostles, or else by *necessary* deduction from the very nature itself of the Christian religion.

The Romanists felt that the demand could not be evaded: but they also found it impossible to procure such a charter from Scripture upon the principles of the ordinary interpretation of language. They next appealed to the practice and belief of antiquity; but neither did these bear out their claims with the distinctness and positiveness required. An endless amount of vague and obscure statements, and yet more the strongest diversity of opinions, presented themselves in the writings of ancient Christians. There still remained the vexatious necessity for producing an objective standard, a principle of selection: the definite and peremptory charter was still not forthcoming. The doctrine of Infallibility could alone fill up the gap in the argument and supply what was needed; and with true logical and practical instinct the Church of Rome boldly and unreservedly pronounced itself infallible. This infallibility furnishes the requisite rules for the unerring interpretation of Scripture and tradition; and the interpretation thus determined is easily made to furnish every title-deed necessary for the Church. Private judgment and the freedom of individual thought are effectively got rid of. An infallible oracle silences diversity of interpretation: to differ is to rebel, and is met, not with argument and refutation, but with chastisement and expulsion.

The logical unity of this theory is perfect: its issue with Protestantism simple and direct. Catholicism or Protestantism is established, according as the tremendous claim of infallibility is established or overthrown. In the assertion of that infallibility, however, the Romanist has firm, logical standing-ground. The Protestant treats Popery as a gross corruption of Christianity; the Roman Catholic rebuts the charge by pleading supernatural revelation as the authority for his religion. The controversy thus ultimately turns on the evidence which can be produced for a fact; and whilst the Protestant pronounces that fact to be most gratuitously assumed and to be utterly destitute of proof, the Roman Catholic may still reply that to *his* understanding the evidence for it is satisfactory.

Far otherwise is it with the unfortunate Anglo-Catholic.

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The denial of infallibility puts him out of court. Many a wistful glance have Anglo-Catholics cast towards infallibility; and frequent have been their attempts to insinuate, for they dared not to affirm, the tenet. The Church of England rejects it. In her articles she proclaims the fact that the Church has erred. Her separation from Rome, and the Anglo-Catholic's un-Catholic isolation from almost all Episcopal Christendom, rest on the declaration that the Church has been fallible. Every member of the Church of England, therefore, is debarred from the use of that argument without which the long array of the ablest controversialists which the world has seen has found the proof of Church Principles impossible. Need any thing more be said to show the hopelessness of the Anglo-Catholic's position? He cannot get his proof from Scripture; he must try to extract it from the Primitive Church; but to do this he is compelled to employ the very principles which the Church theory was framed to exclude. He must be a Protestant, and act as a Protestant, and work with the Protestant instrument of private judgment, in order to obtain from the chaos of ancient writings a doctrine which shall cast out Protestantism and all its processes as false and Anti-Christian.

Here we might take our stand, and regard the Protestant doctrine as fully established by the absence of every thing like an exclusive charter for Episcopacy. Nothing more is required to prove that an Episcopal Church possesses no superior right over any other, and that the doctrines of the Anglican Church are based upon an act of private judgment (whether performed by individuals or a body of clergymen), which declares them to be consonant with the Word of God. But we will go further, and will show that the Church of England is by positive act, by her history and constitution, distinctly committed to the two cardinal principles of the Protestant doctrine of ecclesiastical polity.

In applying the Catholic theory to the Church of England, we are at once met by the startling fact that she is not in communion with the other branches of the Episcopal Church: that unity, the great note signified by the glorious title of Catholic, is wanting. We next discover that this unity did exist at a former period: that the Church of England broke it by an act of separation, when she withdrew her allegiance from that divine corporation of which she formed a part, and erected herself into an isolated and independent Church. This mighty event, the Reformation, the Church of England solemnly recognises to be her charter, whilst it is denounced by the Church from which she broke away as schism and rebellion. Now as this

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latter society is acknowledged by Anglo-Catholics to be indisputably a part of the true Church, and as it possesses an overwhelming majority of that united episcopate which ruled the united Church previously to the Reformation, it is extremely difficult for the Anglo-Catholic to repel this sentence of schism and rebellion, upon the doctrine of One Universal and Visible Church. Accordingly the Reformation has been all along a stumbling block of offence to Anglo-Catholics. Every effort is made to disparage its importance. It is denied to have been a Revolution: to have formed a constitutional era in the English Church; to have originated a new government, or established new principles, or founded new rights. It is painted as a passing outburst of violence; as a transitory suspension of the regular order of the ecclesiastical world, similar to the parenthesis of the Commonwealth in the civil history of this country. But, alas! the analogy soon fails. The interruption of the Monarchy was succeeded by its restoration; whilst the results of the Reformation continue. The new dynasty created by it still rules the Church of England. She isolated herself from the Universal Episcopate then, and she is isolated still. The Reformation, therefore, odious as is the task, and irreconcilable as it is with the Catholic theory, must be justified; for how else can the sanction of legitimacy be obtained for that constitution which the Reformation called into existence, and whose legality the Anglo-Catholic is compelled to profess? He is, therefore, obliged to do two things. He has first to make out the Reformation to have been a formal and regular act of the divinely appointed authorities of the Church: and he must modify the theory of unity and of the Catholic Church in such a manner as shall make it fit with the altered form which the Church of England received on that occasion.

First, then, he must transform the Reformation from a Revolution into a Reform Bill. The favourite engine by which this conversion is effected is an artful insisting on the identity of the English Church before and after the Reformation. The Anglo-Catholic asserts that one and the same Anglican Church has existed ever since the time when Christianity was first introduced into Britain: that consequently that Church was in no sense the child of the Reformation: that her purity, indeed, and her independence had been compromised by the usurpation and oppression of her sister Church of Rome: but that she became awakened to a sense of her doctrinal and ecclesiastical degradation, and with a noble energy, and by an act carried out in her own name, and by her own Apostolic right, effected her restoration. This statement, however plausible it may sound, is

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delusive: for under cover of an ambiguity it begs the very question at issue. There are two senses in which the identity of the English Church may be asserted. According to one of these senses, there is an identity of the Christian people, of the Christian society before and after the Reformation. That event was not a conversion from heathenism to Christianity: but a change in the government, and an alteration of the creed, of a pre-existing Christian community. The community itself, the body of Christians of whom it was composed, remained the same: the men who made up the Reformed Church of England were the same men as had constituted the Roman Catholic Church of England. This identity is contested by no one: it is affirmed by the Anglo-Catholic; and is the very key-stone of the Protestant's argument. For the real question to be determined is the legitimacy of the Church of England and its source. The Protestant builds his Church on the exercise by the Christian society of England of its right to govern itself: the pre-existence, therefore, of a body who could exercise such a right is necessary to the proof of its actual exercise. Had the Church of England been founded at the Reformation, like the primitive churches, by missionaries, who also organised its government, the Protestant might not have had it in his power to appeal to a distinct assertion, on the part of English Christians, of their prerogative of framing an ecclesiastical constitution for themselves: but, precisely because there was such a continuous Christian society, and also a radical change in its constitution, he is entitled to maintain that the new government did not derive its authority from the sanction or decree of its predecessor. He may now proclaim with confidence that the Reformation asserted in the ecclesiastical the same truths which centuries later civil revolutions have established and are establishing in the secular world, — the nullity, namely, of divine right and the supreme sovereignty of society over all its concerns and relations. In both cases the process is the same; and in both the identity of the society whose government was altered is the logical condition of the inference that, in the absence of all other title, the will of the society to be thus governed alone imparts legitimacy to the new order of things.

The identity, then, of the English Church, in this sense of the word, will not save the Anglo-Catholic theory or the divine right of Episcopacy; for this identity is the ground-work of the opposite doctrine. But it suggests a second and very different meaning, which conveys a thoroughly false notion, though well suited to the Anglo-Catholic's purpose. This insinuated identity is identity of government; a strict and unbroken continuity of the rul-

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ing authority, whereby the new institutions obtain the sanction of lawful and duly authorised power. Thus the Anglo-Catholic derives the legitimacy of the doctrine and constitution of his Church from the sanction of an established corporation, to which he alleges the high commission of ruling and teaching has been exclusively delegated by Christ. That corporation, he says, has been the sole fountain of legality and right in the English Church, from its earliest existence down to this day: and the Reformation was the work of this divine legislature. Many grievous obligations are hereby imposed on the Anglo-Catholic. Like the Romanist, he is first of all bound to prove that Christ formally deprived each Christian community of its natural right, as an organised society, to govern itself, and vested the supreme rule of faith and conduct in a special and self-perpetuating corporation. We have seen that for sustaining this claim the production of a peremptory charter is indispensable; and that no such charter has been or can be produced. But supposing this difficulty to be removed, the Anglo-Catholic is next bound to prove that this divine corporation is not one integral body, issuing its decrees in its collective capacity for all Christendom, with some central organ of unity, of whatever kind; but is an aggregate of separate and isolated parts, each part possessing completely all the powers attached to the corporation: and having proved this he must go on to show, that all that was done in England at the Reformation was done by the locally supreme government of the English Episcopate. He must maintain that the Catholic Church is an assemblage of co-ordinate national unities, each sovereign within its own sphere of action; and then further, that the reformed constitution of the Church of England, her separation from the Church of which she formed a part, her articles, her laws, her tribunals, were all the products of regular and deliberate enactment by her divinely instituted rulers.

Both these propositions are unfounded, and incapable of being defended. Such a description of the organisation of the Church is, as we shall show presently, incompatible with the Catholic theory: and the assertion that the Reformation was the work of the English clergy is as ridiculous as it is historically untrue. No historical fact is more certain than that the reformed faith and new constitution of the English Church were forced upon the clergy by a power which they had neither the strength nor the courage to resist. The Reformation was carried against their will, in spite of their opposition, and in defiance of their convictions. The terrors alone of a præmunire coerced them into the admission of the revolutionary principle that the King's Majesty is, under God, the Supreme Head and Governor of the

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Church of England. It was King, Lords, and Commons, who denounced the usurpation of the Pope, and severed this realm and Church from his dominion. The Bishops, the successors of the Apostles, were almost to a man opposed to the revolution in religion: and their opinions in favour of the old doctrines remain on record to this day. The present model of the Church of England owes its birth, in the reign of Edward VI., to Acts of Parliament, and to Royal Commissions issued under the authority of statutes passed by that King and his father. The Statute 31 Henry 8. gave the King and his son power to issue proclamations about religion: and 'this,' says Dr. Cardwell, 'was the foundation of the great changes in religion in 'the nonage of Edward VI.' Royal visitations and injunctions in the same reign, unsanctioned by any spiritual authority, effected numerous and most important innovations in religion. Act of Parliament in 1547 alone ordered the giving of the cup to the laity. The Ordination Service, a most vital part of the English ritual, was an emanation from the King's pleasure and private judgment, for it came forth from a committee of six prelates and six others *nominated by the King*, under a power conferred by Parliament. Parliament further commanded that this service, when put forth under the Great Seal, should be alone used: and the Bishop of Worcester, one of this committee, was committed to the Fleet by the King's Council, 'because he obstinately denied to subscribe the book 'for making of bishops and priests.' It was Parliament which conferred on 'the King, his heirs and successors, power to visit 'and reform all heresies, errors and abuses, which in the spiritual 'jurisdiction ought to be reformed.' The State, that is Parliament, made the Crown, in the Court of Delegates — a body which was to be chosen, at the King's pleasure, from any class of men, lay or clerical, without limitation — supreme judge of doctrine and of every ecclesiastical cause, with power to judge and deprive any bishop or archbishop, for heresy, or any other spiritual offence. That Court of Delegates, thus instituted by the State alone, continued to be, down to our own day, the highest spiritual tribunal of the Church of England: and it was the same authority of the State alone which substituted for it the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, with an equally extensive jurisdiction, except so far as it has been restricted by the law of the land. The clause of the Twentieth Article, which ascribes to the Church 'power to decree rites or ceremo-'nies and authority in controversies of faith,' was added by the authority and command of Queen Elizabeth alone, and did not even obtain the sanction of Parliament, when the articles were

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ratified in the thirteenth year of her reign. The Prayer Book itself, so dear to Anglo-Catholics as the Palladium of English Catholicity, had no other authority for a century than the private judgment of Parliament; and but for the political accident of the existence of the Commonwealth, which disestablished the English Church and compelled its re-enactment at the restoration of the Monarchy, would have remained to this day without the sanction of Convocation. And, lastly and decisively, when the Church of England was formally constituted by the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth, the whole Episcopate, save one, refused to recognise that Church, and preferred to lose their sees rather than authorise her legitimacy and her faith.

These facts are decisive. It is certain that the reform of the Church of England was *not* the act of the English Episcopate, and that the opinions and the authority of that divine corporation, from which alone the Anglo-Catholic derives ecclesiastical legitimacy, were utterly overruled and set at nought in the constructing of that Church. And the conclusion is irresistible, that either the Church of England is no Church at all, or else that the lawfulness of that, as well as of all other Churches, must flow from some other source than the existence and the sanction of a divinely appointed instrument of government.

In order to parry this fatal blow, the Anglo-Catholic sometimes replies, that no prejudice can accrue to the title of a regular authority from the oppression of an external and illegal force. Granted: but neither must the acts and appointments of that illegal violence be accepted as legitimate. Violence can never confer legitimacy. Institutions originally set up by violence are often sanctioned afterwards by the acquiescence of society and by their *de facto* establishment and discharge of the functions of government. If this title is rejected, and the silent ratification of the governed is denied to be an authority capable of imparting complete legitimacy, then the institutions remain as illegal as they were on the day of their revolutionary creation, and it will be the duty of every man to restore the previous state of things as quickly as possible. The Anglo-Catholic, therefore, is welcome to repudiate the authority of the revolution carried out at the Reformation, if he will fairly accept the conclusion involved in his premises, that the Church of England, the Church of this day to which he belongs, is incapable of defence upon the Catholic theory — that her articles, her formularies, and her doctrines, have no other foundation than the will and private judgment of an oppressor and usurper — and that it is the duty of every Englishman to return to that Romish communion from which violence and revolution alone expelled him.

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More frequently, however, the Anglo-Catholic insists on the ratification given subsequently by Convocation to the acts of the Reformation. This defence is equally worthless. It begs the question. Convocation must first establish its own legitimacy before it can claim authority to enact a change of government. First of all, it must show that both *de jure* and *de facto* it was all along the one sole, and lawful organ of government of the English Church. Will even the Anglo-Catholic undertake the proof of this proposition? But let us waive for a moment our objection to the title of Convocation. We know that whatever sanction Convocation gave to the new institutions before the reign of Elizabeth — and it was partial only, extending to but a few of the proceedings of the Reformers — it gave under coercion and against the religious opinions of the Episcopate generally. It is clear that to accept such a sanction as conferring legitimacy, would be to reduce the divine rule of Episcopacy to a hollow sham: for what could be the value of the authority imparted to a new organisation of the Church and new formularies of faith by men who held that organisation to be a rebellion, and that faith to be false and contrary to Catholic truth? And as to the confirmation given by Convocation in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II., it is more worthless still; for it amounts to nothing more than a declaration of their own legitimacy and orthodoxy by the very men whom the Revolution had raised to office and power in the place of the lawful rulers, whom it had driven out by force. What would the assertion by William III. and his Parliament, that they were the lawful governors of this realm, have been worth, *upon the principles of divine right*, against the claim of James II. and his son?

We have now shown that the Church of England did not receive *de facto* her polity and her creed from the divine oracle of the Episcopate, but from the private judgment of the Christian society as represented in Parliament: and we arrive at the important conclusion that she is not built on a foundation of Church Principles, but on the Protestant dogma of the inherent right of every Church to shape its own Church government for itself. We now go further, and assert that *de jure* the clerical hierarchy, even if it had had the will and the power, would not have had the right upon Church Principles, of separating itself from the community of which it had formed a part. The English Episcopate, an insignificant minority, severed itself from the vast majority of the Catholic Episcopate. Minorities refusing submission to majorities must of necessity take their stand on some principle higher than the authority of the whole

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collective body. To what principle then does the Anglo-Catholic appeal?

Let us suppose the Episcopate to have assembled in holy Synod, deeply convinced of the corruption of Rome, and firmly resolved to shake it off. They are Anglo-Catholics: whatever they do, they must preserve Catholic principles inviolate. By what ingenuity shall they dispel the fearful perplexity which meets them at the outset of their deliberations? How shall they find a principle, which shall condemn the majority of Apostolical bishops of error, shall justify a breach of an established unity, and yet shall save them from falling headlong into the Protestant abyss of private judgment? To the bar of what tribunal shall they summon the Church of Rome? Not to that of truth and reason: for it is a court fatal to the accusers and the accused alike. The Bible lies open before them: the folios of tradition are at hand: but where and who is the interpreter? How answer this trying question—and answer it they must, before they can get a basis for their proceedings—and yet keep the Catholic faith? How condemn Rome without demolishing the Catholic theory altogether? They hold that there is One Universal Church: how can they rend it into fragments and destroy one by conversion into many? for this is the import of what they are doing. They are not excommunicating heretics—a sentence which Rome will soon fulminate against them with perfect consistency of logic; *that* were an easy matter compared with splitting the catholicity of churches acknowledged to be apostolical. At the very moment when they are breaking away from Rome, they call her a true and living member of Christ: are they not, therefore, dividing His mystical body into pieces? Gerson and Pierre d'Aillé, and other illustrious reformers, purified the Christian world by General Assemblies of the Catholic Church: why not appeal to such a judge? Alas, they know that the forthcoming English Church, with her articles and her headship vested in the civil power, can never obtain the sanction of an Œcumenical Council. And even such an authority, if obtained, might be excepted to as insufficient: for Cranmer might remind them that 'the divines 'of Paris held that a Council could not make a new article of 'the faith that was not in the Scriptures.' In this extremity a foundation has been found for Anglo-Catholicism by a consummate master of the Catholic theory. A living bishop has proclaimed it to a real Synod.

'What was done at that time,' said recently the Bishop of Exeter, 'was plainly this, that here we had been holding errors in common with Rome. The Church of England was a Church,—it was a branch

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of the Holy Catholic Church,—and every branch of the Holy Catholic Church has a right to rid itself of the errors which it formerly may have held. The Church of England did rid itself of these errors which it held in common with the Church of Rome: but as we admitted the Church of Rome to hold all the articles of the Christian faith, we did not separate ourselves from *them*. . . . It was Rome that separated from us.'

What a blow is here dealt to the Catholic theory! what a sentence of failure is passed on the institution of Christ! The divine model of government has not realised the great objects for which it was framed. The Apostolate has not kept the faith pure, nor protected Christians from error, nor preserved the Christian worship uncorrupt. The one Universal Church is admitted to have been universally in error: to have universally shared that human weakness which was supposed to have been the peculiar misfortune of Protestant principles. Who shall maintain henceforth that the Episcopal polity, which has thus signally failed, was endowed with exclusive legitimacy by Christ, and expressly too for the sake of accomplishing those great ends, truth and unity, which the chief of Anglo-Catholics admits to have been *not* accomplished?

'Every branch of the Holy Catholic Church,' says the Bishop's theory, 'has the right to rid itself of the errors which 'it may have formerly held.' What right? Protestantism maintains that not only every Church, but also every single Christian, has a right to rid himself of his errors. Is the bishop disposed to admit the extreme right of private judgment? Very far from it. His meaning is, we presume, that a single Christian would have no right to pronounce his errors to be errors: he has no power to distinguish authoritatively between truth and error. A Church alone can do that; and a branch is a full and complete Church, and may judge of the truth of doctrine and act upon its convictions. By this theory, the one Catholic Church is converted into many independent Churches: it becomes a number of branches without trunk or root; in truth no tree at all. One faith, one government, no distressing doubts between conflicting declarations of the faith, no uncertainty of interpretation, no rivalry of sects, no collision of authority, no diversities of worship,—this is the sublime unity which Catholic principles promise. And what is the substitute which the Bishop offers in the name of Anglo-Catholicism? Not unity of government, for the Church of England is a pure isolation: nor unity of worship, for what can be more diverse than the Greek, the Roman, and the English rituals?—nor unity of doctrine, for the Anglican charges all the great Episcopal Churches with

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grave error, and is in turn anathematised by them as heretical: but similarity, similarity of outward structure, of form and ceremonial, coupled with a complete diversity of authority and doctrine; episcopates resembling one another in the transmission of an external form, but holding opposite creeds, teaching antagonistic views, and launching out fierce denunciations of schism and heresy against each other. Such is the picture exhibited by independent Episcopal Churches; and such is what Anglo-Catholicism must accept as the normal state of the one Catholic Church.

But what are these branches thus invested with co-ordinate sovereignty? National Churches, replies the Anglo-Catholic. Is he unconscious that to erect National Churches into integral Church units involves the very essence of Protestantism? A nation is a purely secular division, determined by geographical and political limits: and neither geography nor the State can, upon Church Principles, decompose the unity of the Episcopate into organic parts of the Church. Church Principles tell us that Christ's kingdom is not of this world: that the Church is a spiritual power, and her title derived from heaven. She owns no earthly superior within her own sphere: her constitution is divine. How then can a political and secular combination furnish the Catholic Churchman with a basis for parcelling out the spiritual power into organic elements, each element being endowed with the full prerogatives of the whole body? How can a perfectly foreign and heterogeneous principle — the division of the world into States — take the one Catholic Church to pieces, divide its rulers into separate groups, and establish the law, that the government of this one Church and the determination of its faith are the prerogatives of each group, each severally for itself? All limitations which emanate from the State have the State for their ground and principle: the State, and nothing else, is their authority. Upon the Anglo-Catholic theory an assembly of national bishops can be nothing more than an aggregate of so many independent persons, with no controlling or binding supremacy of a majority, with no obligation spiritual or ecclesiastical imposed on any one to submit his will and opinions to the judgment of his colleagues. If such a synod, calling itself a National Church, constitutes itself into an organic whole, and as such performs acts, not of administration only but of sovereignty, it is clear that these acts of the united body will possess only so much authority as can be conferred by the law or principle which associated them into a collective unity. That law can only be either the State, or their own schismatical erecting of themselves into a separate Church. It is impossible

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therefore for the Anglo-Catholic theory to furnish a legitimate title to National Churches. They disappear under the destructive influence of that theory. Protestantism claims for National Churches, as societies of Christian men, the right of self-government: Rome recognises National Churches as subordinate organs of administration: the Anglo-Catholic alone can assign no legitimate place to a National Church,—though without a satisfactory theory of National Churches he has neither authority for his faith, nor any Church at all. Upon the Anglo-Catholic doctrine, there is not and cannot be an organic Church of England. We appeal to the Bishop of Exeter himself. In an address recently made by him to the clergy of his diocese, the Bishop says,—

'I need not tell you that the bishop and his clergy with his people are a complete Church: perhaps in some respects more to be recognised as such than a National Church, because we all know that a Diocesan Church is the appointment of God Himself. A National Church we believe to be in full accordance with the gracious will of God, carrying out under His direction His great views: but still it is not appointed to us in Scripture. I look upon that as a human institution—upon our own Diocesan Church as a Divine institution.'

Here we have a very decisive, and, as we think, irrefutable statement, that National Churches are no constituent and organic parts of the divine polity of the Church. They are human institutions: their authority is purely human; and, as united bodies, they cannot bind a single dissentient bishop to a single doctrine, nor even to membership with their communion. What possible principle can bind him to recognise in the voice of his colleagues the oracle of God's Church? He can plead his own divine commission received directly from Christ. His plea may be overruled so far, that he may be compelled to submit himself to a general council of *all* who have received a similar commission, as the lawful organ of unity. But what can oblige him to allow any human power, least of all the State, to combine a small number of bishops together, and to impart to such an arbitrary combination one particle of divine authority? National Churches have often been carried away by feelings and doctrines which accidental or political causes have made locally prevalent: they have again and again been condemned for heresy. Would an orthodox bishop, who refused to join in that heresy, be open to the charge of resisting God's will as expressed by the Church? Certainly not, replies the Anglo-Catholic; he is repelling heresy. Well then, each bishop, according to this reply, is a final and *independent* judge of truth and heresy; he may resist the unanimous judgment of all his

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national colleagues. But, if so, how shall the National Church be prevented from being split into as many churches as there are dioceses in the land? What is its principle of unity? Adherence to Catholic truth, the Anglo-Catholic answers: it is the duty of every bishop to adhere to it. But what is Catholic truth? how is it to be determined? By Catholic consent. But who shall say what Catholic consent has ruled? Plainly each bishop for himself, since each is authorised to call that heresy which his colleagues are propounding as truth. And this holds true of every synod from the days of the Apostles down to our own. In every age and in every Church, according to Church Principles, the private judgment of each bishop is sole and absolute judge of every thing, even of the law of doctrine itself by which his own opinions are to be tried. Can the theory of private judgment be carried farther? It is a pure mystification to talk of 'the Church' having defined the faith, or 'the Church' having settled this or that doctrine, and so on. The decrees of Œcumenical Councils are the only utterances which the Church can possibly be said to have made: and for our own parts we do not envy the man who shall undertake to prove that a real Œcumenical Council, such as the Catholic theory requires, has ever existed. But, however that may be, this much is certain, that the voice of the Church in every age, with the exception of the few decrees of such councils, if there have been any, is nothing more than the opinions of a certain number of Christians, formed by their own private judgment, or that of their bishops. Men are easily impressed by the sound of such awful abstractions as 'the Church,' and readily believe in the existence of a mysterious but substantive body, possessed of a real and definite organisation, and performing many corporate acts; but it is a pure illusion, in the sense in which it is spoken of by the Anglo-Catholic. There is a Church of Greece and of Syria and of Scotland now, as there was a Church of Jerusalem and Antioch and Ephesus of old; and there is a Church of Rome, which, by a marvellous combination of art and violence, sustained by a most astounding perseverance, has subjugated other Churches, and usurped a lawless dominion over a large part of Christendom. And there is a Catholic Church also, the great company of Christians throughout the world, of every nation and language, worshippers of the same God, believers in the same Saviour, acknowledging the same Scriptures, animated with the same hope of immortality; divided indeed into many societies, yet members of the same vast family, attesting the oneness of their brotherhood by the oneness of their common relation to Christ. But this is no organised corporation, no single institution of

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government or administration; it has no common organ of rule or doctrine, and the oneness of its faith is the oneness of truth only—of truth as separately and independently, yet unitedly acknowledged by each several member of the Universal Body of Christ.

If our argument needed confirmation, we could obtain it in abundance from the Bishop of Exeter. He has not been slow to carry the Anglo-Catholic theory into execution. The contempt which he has poured on the authority of his metropolitan, the reproach of heresy with which he has scornfully branded him, his arrogant and rebellious repudiation of the highest tribunal of the Church in which he is an officer, unequivocally attest the bishop's belief in the nonentity of the Church of England, as an organic whole: whilst, by claiming for himself a veto over the decrees of the synod of the Divine Church of Exeter, he has fully established the doctrine of the absolute right of private judgment belonging to every individual bishop.

But what shall we say of the laity? what rule is to govern *their* conduct? Anglo-Catholicism cannot require the perplexed layman to commit himself unreservedly to his clerical guides, because it admits that they may be leading him only into a development of error and corruption. What is a Christian man to do who shall think that either the clergy, as in the Romish Church, are progressively corrupting the faith, or, as at the Reformation, are clinging to error, and resisting the restoration of the truth? Rome escapes these embarrassing difficulties by asserting her infallibility. 'Hear the Church,' she cries; 'it 'cannot err.' But, in Churches admitted to be fallible, to demand of the laity, under the name of Church Principles, unconditional submission to the guidance of the priesthood, is to make these principles represent Christ to have willed that the laity should be spiritual slaves; and that with the certainty, as the *Anglo-Catholic himself confesses*, of being often the slaves of sin and error. Can so monstrous a proposition be entertained in the face of the enormous mass of Episcopal fallibility revealed by ecclesiastical history? And if our natural and religious feelings revolt against the religion to which Christianity would be reduced by such a doctrine; if they feel that such a system does violence to the spirit which breathes in every page of the New Testament, what other alternative is there (except we take refuge in an infallible Church or Pope) than to declare moral freedom to be the basis of all piety, and to claim for every man the right and power of repelling error and embracing truth? Even Anglo-Catholicism, if pushed home, must accept this solution of the difficulty, and pronounce its own condemnation by es

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tablishing the right of the layman to be the ultimate and supreme judge for himself of religious truth. Christ has commanded the layman to seek the truth, and none are louder or fiercer than the Anglo-Catholics in their invectives against heresy, as fatal to the soul and destructive of salvation. Anglo-Catholicism, moreover, has warned the layman that the word and sanction of a lawful Episcopate afford no certain guarantee against heresy: and therefore Anglo-Catholicism is compelled to confer the right, nay, rather to impose the duty, on the Christian layman, if he is to obey Christ's command, of summoning his own Episcopate to the tribunal of his conscience, and deciding whether it is holding or corrupting the faith. And if he can review the doctrines held by his Episcopate, it is impossible to refuse him the further right of determining in any case, whether the amount of error professed by his Church is such as may be silently submitted to, or ought to be protested against, or even got rid of by a positive secession from her communion. The higher power carries the less. To condemn a Church for heresy involves the duty, if need be, of separation from it. Anglo-Catholicism may perhaps strive to avert the conclusion so fatal to it,—that a Christian people may set up a new ministry, or that there may be more than one branch of the one Church in the same land,—by suggesting emigration to a country where a sound branch flourishes. An emigrant would be able to avail himself of what the Bishop of Exeter calls 'one 'of the foundations of Church communion.' 'If there is no act 'of idolatry,' says the Bishop, 'I hold it is the bounden duty 'of every Catholic Christian to communicate in the Church 'of the country holding the Apostolic doctrine and fellowship, 'wherever he is!' Emigration, therefore, would furnish a convenient escape to the layman, who was persuaded that the branch to which he belonged had fallen into 'idolatry and 'error:' but emigration is an impracticable remedy for a whole people. To abstain therefore from Church Communion altogether, with the loss of the sacraments and Church ordinances, —or to remain in communion with a clergy who are guilty of deadly heresy,—or to form a new branch or Church by secession, upon *both* the Protestant principles of private judgment and self-government—are the three final results yielded by the analysis of the Anglo-Catholic theory. Out of these three courses a Christian laity, under the supposed circumstances, must choose one. And the case is not imaginary. At this very day, thousands of laymen in the Greek and Romish Churches are probably convinced of the errors of their respective professions of doctrine; and ecclesiastical history ex-

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hibits still more striking instances of the same phenomenon in the past. In every such case, where reform is out of the question, one of these three courses had or has to be adopted by Christian laymen: and every one of the three brings Anglo-Catholicism to a *reductio ad absurdum.*

Rome, on the other hand, with consummate shrewdness repudiates the doctrine of National Churches, knowing it to be a quicksand on which the divine institution of the Catholic Church, as understood by Church Principles, cannot fail to suffer shipwreck. She acknowledges but One Universal Church, one society, one organ of government, a real unity of subordinate, and not, as the Anglo-Catholic pretends, co-equal and independent parts. Separation from the centre of unity she accounts to be separation from the Church of Christ. 'It 'is a great point in our controversy with Rome,' says the Bishop of Exeter, 'that we are not the parties that shook her 'off, but that Rome shook us off; and it is the point by 'which we justify our position much more than by any 'other.' Anglo-Catholicism must indeed be reduced to desperate straits, if it has no better shield to oppose to the assaults of Rome. Does the veteran and acute controversialist not perceive that when it became certain that England would not submit herself again to the dominion of the Pope, Rome had no other course than to excommunicate the Church of England; that the anathema she launched forth only shows how much more true and more profound is her conception of the idea of the Catholic Church than the Anglo-Catholic's? Not to have declared the Church of England guilty of schism would have been to abandon the ground of One Universal Church, to surrender the principle of unity, and to fall into the Protestant doctrine of National Churches. Rome was true to herself and her principles; she cut off the schismatic member from her communion, feeling that a sentence of excommunication was for her a *necessary* attestation that she held to the idea of One Catholic Church. When the Bishop, therefore, alleges that it was Rome which separated from us, he begs the question at issue between the two Churches, by assuming that the One Catholic Church is not a single institution of government, but an aggregate of co-ordinate sovereignties. If this representation of Church Principles be true, no doubt Rome was guilty of a breach of unity and charity by excommunicating us for vindicating our national independence as Christians; but if, on the contrary, it is false, then it was England that cut Catholicity asunder by the Act of Parliament which abolished the authority of the Pope in this realm; and Rome was not only justified in

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shaking off the Anglican Church, but would have betrayed the cause of Catholicity, had she failed to denounce what from her point of view she justly held to be rebellion. Her separation from the Church of England, instead of being an argument against her on Church Principles, is only a declaration on her part that the English Reformers had taken up Protestant ground, and had formally renounced the Catholic theory of the Church. The excommunication of England was the natural and necessary expression of the diversity of the views held on both sides. It is no logical refutation of Rome, nor any justification of Anglo-Catholicism, at the bar of Church Principles; it simply tells the Anglo-Catholic that Rome does not accept his theory of National Churches. Granted that the doctrine of National Churches is the true exposition of Church Principles, the breach of unity will rest with the Church of Rome; but, on the other hand, granted that this doctrine is Protestant to the very core, the responsibility of the separation falls wholly on the Church of England.

We know the Bishop of Exeter to be a clear and subtle debater, but we confess were we Anglo-Catholics we should tremble for the issue of a controversy which began with the admission that 'we did not renounce Rome, but we renounced Rome's 'errors.' He comforts himself with the thought that he has Bishop Jewell to support him, assuring us at the same time, with much *naïveté*, that the great Reformer made the same admission 'in the strongest possible way, and that it is the 'foundation upon which his Apology for the Church of England 'rests.' Is it that he chooses to ignore, or that he has yet to discover, that Jewell was a good Protestant, that he went to his Bible, and comparing the teaching of Rome with the teaching of Scripture, found them to be discordant, and preferring the Word of God to that of man, performed a sound act of private judgment, and cast off the errors of Rome? Does he think that he will get help from Jewell in his defence of Church Principles, when he shall be challenged by the Romanists to state what authority 'our bishops had for meeting and saying, '"There are certain errors which we renounce?"' Bishop Jewell's answer would be easy and Protestant, that of Bishop Philpotts would not be easy; we have proved that it would not be equally Protestant in essence; and we fear he would find it impossible to show cause why he should not either give up the theory of Church Principles, or renounce a Church which has cleared them away from her foundations.

In conclusion, we wish to say a few words in reply to an objection we have sometimes heard; that by exposing the

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hollowness of Anglo-Catholicism, we drive fresh converts to Rome. We do not deny that such an effect may be produced occasionally; but we hold that no danger which could arise from convincing men that their present position is untenable is to be compared with the very serious mischief which would be caused by the impression gaining ground, that the theory of Church Principles was incapable of refutation. The evil is too widely spread and too actively propagated to admit of being safely left to the silent good sense of the country. Some support too is due to the many who have to fight the battle within their own homes; some security should be provided for those who tremble for the defection of those they love best, first to Anglo-Catholicism and then to Rome. Moreover, there are not a few who would be saved from this fate, if they could be made to perceive, whilst their minds are still unbiassed, the full consequences involved in surrendering themselves to Anglo-Catholic teaching; many would embrace their Protestantism more firmly, and yield themselves to its principles with confidence, if they distinctly understood that a *Via Media* was a delusion, and that every man must either take his stand on Protestant principles or take refuge in the belief of an infallible Church. It is a matter of incalculable importance that it should be seen that neither the laws of Christ and His Church, nor those of the human understanding, admit of any third alternative. And lastly, if a justification is sought for what we have done, we can produce an admirable one in the solemn and wise, and instructive words of the Duke of Argyll:

'It is not simply that whatever errors may arise in such a Church (a Church founded on Church Principles) are stereotyped by authority, so that each becomes the basis of a new and more gross corruption: but it is that the Romish system of priesthood stands mentally and morally in close connexion with the Romish system of belief. It is, indeed, conceivable that such a priesthood might start with teaching a very pure and spiritual faith: but it is hardly conceivable that such a teaching should be long retained. It is impossible that such mechanical ideas of the structure and government of Christ's Church should not necessarily involve ideas equally mechanical of the nature and requirements of His religion. If there be such an outward visible presence in the world to which such powers are given, numerous and eager calls will be made upon its assistance and protection. Men will be delighted to find that they may walk by sight and not by faith — that is to say, by trust in men and things which they can see and follow, rather than by faith in things which are invisible and by conscious apprehension of their influence. Thus the people will be well pleased to magnify the office of the priest, and the priesthood will be ready to return the comforts which that office enables them to dispense. A bargain, as it were, is thus struck between them, from

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which both parties appear to gain. This is the very base line from which the Church of Rome has conducted its operations — this is the very essence of the condition of mind out of which the whole system of Romanism, in its worst features, was but a natural and inevitable growth. It is impossible that a reformed faith should be maintained in its most vital principles under the combined influences thus brought to bear both upon the priest and the people. . . . May the Church of England be saved from the consequences which that connexion (of the Romish doctrines with the ecclesiastical principles sanctioned in the Bishop of Oxford's Protest) threatens—by its nature and consequences being seen and understood *in time.*'

We cannot conclude this Article without expressing our cordial respect for the earnestness and depth of conviction, and our high admiration for the ability and sustained energy, with which the Duke of Argyll carries out the advocacy of Protestant principles. The Pamphlet, whose title we have prefixed to this paper, is as remarkable for the mental power it displays as for the soundness of its views and its insight into religious truth: exhibiting a most refreshing contrast with the other, with which we have associated it. By such weapons alone can the progress of Popery be repelled: and it must cheer all to whom the cause of Scriptural religion, and of moral and spiritual independence is dear, to find themselves so efficiently supported in its defence by one who combines great intellectual vigour with a warm faith in Protestant principles, and a manly fearlessness in avowing them.

ART. IX. — *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*, 1851. By Authority of the Royal Commission. Fourth corrected and improved edition, 15th September, 1851. London: Spicer Brothers, Wholesale Stationers; W. Clowes & Sons, Printers; Contractors to the Royal Commission. Price 1*s.* in the Building, Hyde Park, or 1*s.* 3*d.* at the City Office, 29, New Bridge Street, Blackfriars.

THIS volume may be said to bring down the history of Industrial Science from a period indefinitely remote to the very eve of its own publication: its teachings, like those of Biography, are by examples; it addresses itself to all our natural and artificial wants. Would you know where the richest ores, the costliest jewels, the largest diamonds or the rarest gems are to be sought; where the finest flax, wool, cotton — where the

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most useful inventions of every kind—the delicate balance that turns at the $\frac{1}{1000}$th of a grain, and the huge cross-beam that plays with the Britannia Tube are to be found—you must consult its pages. You will there learn where the choicest specimens of all and each of these—the master productions of nature and intellect —were assembled on a recent day,—where produced,—where fashioned, and by whom. With the impending dispersion of the collection which it chronicles, its curt descriptions, —though they assume somewhat of the elegiac character of the epitaph,— lose little of their intrinsic value. The bygone activity of the collective laboratories, libraries, and workshops of the world seem here transmuted into the pages of one small quarto volume.

Quid juvat innumeris impleri scrinia libris;
Unus pro cunctis—*parvulus* esse potest.

The form of its publication is in character with a range of subject so discursive. Published simultaneously in two places —at differing prices, by two unhomogeneous and abnormal publishers,—it is issued 'by authority,' and furnished by 'contract.' A very Ornithorhynchus paradoxus of literature, combining the body of an Encyclopædia with the feet of the most ubiquitous of guides. Its earlier editions were consulted with the same feeling of despondency with which one is wont to search the rubrics of that kindred sphinx of railway locomotion—Bradshaw—and in general with the like results.

Into the causes of this inceptive ambiguity, it is now needless to enter. The present edition is in a great measure free from the peculiarities which marked those that preceded it. When, however, Dutch contributors promise 'iron fire-offices,' that eventually prove to be fire-proof safes,—French chemists send mint, 'crystallised and peppered,' or 'cherry-cake' which by a mistake of *cerise* for *ceruse*, turns out to be white lead, or our American neighbours promise a 'horse-power' or 'power-loom 'lathe'—it is not easy for an editor to be at once complying and intelligible. Catalogues are seldom models of accuracy. The world has been amused before now with finding a mathematical work, 'De Calculo,' and 'Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy,' ranged under the head of 'Medical.' And indeed, as in the opinion of Barante, there was nothing about Madame de Genlis natural—except her children,—so there seems to be nothing half so natural about the volume before us—as its blunders. Few, however, who have enjoyed the privilege of consulting the original manuscripts, could have felt surprise, had the failure been even still more glaring. We are all aware of the difficulties of correct defi-

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nition. And it was little probable that anticipatory descriptions of probable achievements should not partake largely of a speculative character. The collective idiosyncrasies of eighteen thousand individuals of every class and nation, will always need indulgence. But could access be still had to the original documents, we feel perfectly assured that no body of evidence on the existing state of education among the producing classes — not only of this country, but throughout the world — could be obtained, more curious in itself or more characteristic of their mental habitudes, than that supplied by the original 'applications for space,' forwarded by the candidate exhibitors.

The statistics of this volume throw light upon the producing capabilities of our great printing establishments. From information supplied by the contractors, it would seem, that although the first complete impressions were only attainable at ten o'clock on the night preceding the 1st of May, yet 10,000 copies properly stitched and bound were duly delivered at the building in Hyde Park on the following morning. The two copies presented to Her Majesty and the Prince on that occasion had been furnished with their rich trappings of morocco and gold within six hours. The sale of this book, equal in quantity of matter to four ordinary octavo volumes, and published at less than the price of one, has been proportionately large. Upwards of 250,000 copies, about one-sixth of the estimated number of printed volumes that issued from the printing press within the three first centuries after the discovery of the Art of Printing, have been sold. The quantity of paper thus consumed amounted to one hundred and five tons, and the duty paid thereon to the sum of one thousand four hundred and sixty pounds; fifty-two thousand pounds weight of metal are employed in the type, which is kept constantly 'set up,' in order to make all needful alterations. These figures are so large, that we find it difficult to discover any middle term to bring the results they indicate home to our minds. But it may perhaps assist the imagination to reflect that if from any reason, or, indeed, many reasons, the whole of the earlier editions had been consigned in one vertical column to the bosom of the Pacific Ocean, the depth of the latter being generally estimated at 6000 feet, the present improved and correct edition would still form a lonely peak rising to the height of Chimborazo or Cotopaxi, exactly 18,000 feet above the level or the censure of the ordinary inhabitants of this earth.

But with these facts before our eyes, and recollecting that the average number of volumes in ten of the largest

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libraries of the world* exceeds but by one half the volumes thus pushed into circulation, we cannot feel much surprise that this book should, like Aaron's rod, have swallowed up the whole literary activity of the last twelve months, and that the ordinary book trade of the country should have been almost altogether suspended. Nor should it be forgotten that much of the knowledge and information—forming the staple of the book trade in ordinary times—has been forced into new and unaccustomed channels by the necessity for its rapid dissemination within the limited period of the illustrations remaining accessible. In almost all of our leading political journals, the new facts of science and art, dressed up with all the attractiveness of news, were related in a form that admitted of easy modification in their statement, and discussion in their bearing. That this lull is but the prelude to animated gales, we feel confident. The past few months have been a period of patient suspense or critical examination. We have had the things themselves before us; a knowledge of their qualities must precede any theoretic analysis.

It is also a most important fact, which seems to have been little regarded, that the leading scientific minds of Europe have been hitherto in a measure bound to silence and secrecy, from being included in the lists of the juries. But let this seal be once removed—let the critical reports of thirty sections, and at least one hundred and twenty sub-sections—giving the history of what has been, and is, and guesses at what ought and will be in every department of knowledge—and we have little doubt that a goodly array of commentaries, theories, systems in the old established form of full developed tomes,—besides all the lighter skirmishing of pamphlets,—will soon make their appearance. It is scarcely too much to predict that for every three lines in this Catalogue (the average length of a description) we shall soon see at least one or two works issue from the press, either questioning or discussing the merits there claimed, or the abstract principles involved in their statement. The wrongs, hardships, and injustice which have been hitherto tamely endured, by all whose contributions have been placed by the jurors in any other than the highest category of merit, will find a vent when these violations of all truth and reason become known.

That in the production of the present volume the contractors performed all their stipulated duties with the most praiseworthy

* Number of Volumes in 'Bibliothèque du Roi,' at Paris, 650,000; Munich, 500,000; Copenhagen, 400,000; St. Petersburg, 400,000; Berlin, 320,000; Vienna, 300,000; British Museum, 270,000; Dresden, 250,000; Milan, 200,000; Göttingen, 200,000; Bodleian, 160,000; Trinity College, Dublin, 100,000.

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exactitude can, we think, be hardly questioned; we would even go the length of admitting, that they have felt something of the dignity and importance of the occasion, and acted with spirit and liberality beyond perhaps what the pecuniary results justify; but we are not quite sure that the system of contract can be applied with any thing like safety, and except under the most rigidly controlling influences, to even this class of literature. This species of delegation has its advantages, and in the embarrassed state of the Exchequer of the Royal Commission at the period when the contract was entered into, such a step was no doubt both excusable and proper; but the extension of the system would have its dangers. Every step we advance in the secularisation of the clerkly office opens an inlet to influences dangerous to the interests of science. There is a certain degree of sacerdotal sentiment needed in the bibliopolist function. In the case of America we see books treated as mere merchandise; and the consequence is, that, though she has sent us whole quires of her newspapers, her booksellers have not ventured to send a single sample of their mutilated manufacture.

Against the system of contract generally, or its universal application to the other departments of the enterprise, we have nothing to urge. 'It has ever been found,' says Edmund Burke, 'the best way to do all things which are great in the 'total amount, and minute in the component parts, by a general 'contract. By a general contract with a person *in his own trade*, 'you are sure you shall not suffer by want of skill.' With respect to the monopoly of provision for the wants of the body, as compared with that for those of the mind, it is, perhaps, curious to observe, that their sale should both have produced so nearly the same amount. The original sum of 3,200*l.* paid for the privilege to print the Catalogue added to the Royalty of two pence on each copy, would amount on 250,000 copies sold to 5,200*l.* The sale of the Refreshment monopoly produced 5,500*l.*

Passing for the present from the Catalogue to that of which it supplies the argument, it may be, perhaps, convenient if we here at once state the point of view from which it is our intention to treat the present subject. It may be conveniently divided into three distinct branches:—the project itself; the manner of its realisation; its immediate effects and its probable influences.

It is unnecessary for us to dwell at any length upon the objects or the views entertained by the illustrious personage with whom, by common consent, the present Exposition has in a great degree originated. These have been already suffi-

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ciently explained in language to which no words of ours can lend additional grace or perspicuity. No great merit of originality attaches to the design; the only novelty consists in expanding an idea, often before partially realised, to a larger generalisation; the only praise in the unwavering fortitude with which, in the face of no ordinary difficulties, the original design was successfully worked out. And yet there is sometimes as complete a change produced by the simple addition of a few new sides to a project, as in the transition of the same carbon from the rhomboid of the dull graphite to the octohedron of the diamond,—from the brittle substance of the lead-pencil with which we trace the first dim outlines of our undeveloped conceptions to the adamant of the brilliant with which we beautify and elucidate light itself. To seize the living scroll of human progress, inscribed with every successive conquest of man's intellect, filled with each discovery in the constructive arts, embellished with each plastic grace of figured surface or of moulded form, and unroll this before the eyes of men, the whole stream of history furnishing its contingent,—placing Archimedes, Arkwright, Davy, Jacquard, Watt, and Stephenson side by side,—leaving the instructive lesson to be learned that always lies in the knowledge and example of great things done;—this is, indeed, no mean design, no infelicitous conception. It is only by such a cosmical comparison of the known agencies of science and art that we can gradually rise to a knowledge of the varied gifts and powers of Nature, or our own control over them: hereby alone can we hope with Faust,

> ' . . . to see the secret rings,
> Whose grasp the universe engirds;
> May know the force that works in things,—
> Not the mere sound that breathes in words.'

As a nation, we cannot claim the distinction of having originated this great lever of industrial progress; but we have at least given to the world the two philosophers, 'Bacon' and 'Newton,' who first lent direction and force to the stream of industrial science; we have been the first to give the widest possible base to that watch-tower of international progress, which seeks the promotion of the physical well-being of man, and the extinction of the meaner jealousies of commerce.

Such exhibitions have for the last half century been growing into popularity, and may now be said to have assumed a place by the side of the congresses of diplomacy, the synods of the Church, and the manœuvres and sham fights of our armies. It is perhaps more remarkable that Europe should be indebted to France for the first suggestion of the idea, than that the first

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essay of the inventors in 1797 — and the last in 1849 — should have been each totally or in part frustrated by the political turmoil of a revolution. In the other countries of Europe the census of domestic industrial power, and the census of population, have become formal government duties and an integral part of their administrative system, — prescribed with the same distinctness and carried out with the same regularity.

From the following extracts of a Circular * issued by the present French Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, it will be seen that a plan somewhat similar to the present was broached by him previous to the last Paris Exposition in 1849.

'At a time (said M. Buffet) when my colleagues in office and 'myself are busily engaged in doing all we can to give the Ex-'hibition, which opens on the 1st of June next, a character of 'public utility, it has occurred to me that it would be interesting 'to the country in general to be made acquainted with the degree 'of advancement towards perfection attained by our neighbours 'in those manufactures in which we so often come in competi-'tion in Foreign Markets.

'You will, therefore, first give your opinion on the abstract 'principle of exhibiting the productions of other countries; and, 'should you consider the experiment ought to be made, to enu-'merate to me officially the articles you consider would be most 'conducive to our interest when displayed in the ensuing Ex-'hibition.' The opinion given seems to have been unfavourable and the design abandoned.

In the history of our own extended scheme we recognise two distinct epochs; its early conduct in connexion with the Society of Arts, and its subsequent elaboration and completion under the powers of a Royal Commission; in both cases under the same president — the Prince Consort.

The early infancy of the scheme, whilst still under the fostering care of the Society of Arts, embraces the period from the year 1848, when it seems to have been first conceived, down to the 3rd of January, 1850, the date of the issue of the Royal Commission. The progress made in that interval was not inconsiderable, though many of the steps then taken were subsequently retraced. This portion of our narrative may be dismissed in a few words, and would perhaps hardly deserve even this passing notice, were it not that in one point — the character of the stimulant to competition — its influence is still felt. The Society had resolved on moving the world. It had, however,

* Report on the Eleventh French Exposition by M. D. Wyatt. London: Chapman & Hall, 1849.

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something more needful to seek than the mere πού στῶ. It must find its lever. This world-compelling power it hoped to discover in the distribution of large pecuniary prizes, amounting in the aggregate to 20,000*l.*

For the attainment of its end it relied on the joint influence of money and enthusiasm. In obtaining the command of the former it seems to have been more fortunate than in awakening the latter. In a country like this any scheme of magnitude rarely fails of commanding the needful capital for its inception, though it not unfrequently languishes from subsequent apathy, or the jarring of conflicting interests or political jealousies. After casting about for some fitting instrument, the Society concluded a provisional agreement with an enterprising capitalist, who, in consideration of the right to two-thirds of the surplus profits, consented to advance the needful sum of 20,000*l.*, and also to remove all pecuniary risk from the shoulders of the Society. It is impossible to deny that this willingness on the part of a private individual to undertake the risk, as well as his subsequent advances to meet the first expenses of the design, gave a consistence and commercial solidity to the project which well entitled him to the sum subsequently awarded on the cancelling of his agreement.

With the issue of the Royal Commission on the 3rd of January, 1850, the whole scheme assumed a totally different complexion. Few, if any, of the States of Europe would, we may hazard the prediction, have either contributed directly, or undertaken the expense and management of the transmission of the contributions of their subjects, had the organ of international communition been uninvested with the formal dignity of a State recognition. The control of the enterprise now passed, at least formally, into new hands, and a partial reorganisation of the governing body became necessary. It is a circumstance pregnant with significance far beyond any importance which may attach to the exposition of our industrial rivalries, that the list of Royal Commissioners actively engaged in the every day labour of the scheme, included the men of all parties, the heads of all factions, the Cæsars, Catos, and Ciceros of the State. We should perhaps be less inclined to appreciate the significancy of this circumstance, had we not been painfully impressed by the very dissimilar code of public action visible amongst our French neighbours. The recent cosmopolite fêtes at Paris were even less marked by the hospitality of the donors, or *brusquerie* of the military, than in the total void occasioned by the absence of every distinguished leader unattached to the dominant party. Neither at the Hôtel de Ville, nor at any of the banquets given

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by the functionaries, was it possible to recognise the face or name of any other than a political partisan of the existing Government. Neither M. Thiers, nor M. Mole, nor M. Guizot, occupied a place at the board round which the amateur Mandarin Hesing and the Russian and American Commissioners sat. This circumstance becomes the more striking when we recollect that the presiding Minister of Commerce, M. Buffet, was the same who, on the occasion of the last French Exposition, had endeavoured, as before stated, but in vain, to induce his countrymen to assent to a widening of the basis of the Exposition, so as to admit of other than domestic competition.

The Royal Commissioners, whilst reserving to themselves the right of deciding on all points of principle arising out of the complicated questions constantly recurring, delegated to the Executive Committee, the task of working out the details and discharging all the active duties of the administration. In this distribution of functions, and the acquisition of such an executive body, on whom, after all, the due realisation of every scheme must mainly depend, there seems to have been an amount of good fortune and felicitous arrangement as unusual in the constitution of public bodies, as it is in keeping with the marvellous prosperity which has hitherto, beyond all precedent, waited on this undertaking.

We think we shall be strictly within the limits of historic truth, if we assert that at the date of their installation, 3rd of January, 1851, the prospects of the new-born corporation were far from dazzling. It is impossible to deny that there existed considerable zeal, and even much lively sympathy, in many quarters. Sixty different places had been visited by a deputation, dispatched by the President of the Society of Arts, some time previously. Local committees had been here and there formed, and 4200 influential persons had, as we are informed, enrolled themselves as promoters of the scheme. But, unhappily for the Royal Commission, the zeal of their supporters evinced itself pretty much in the same way as that of the Irish Poor-Law Guardians for the chief board, in the propounding of the most enigmatical questions; and the sympathy of friends in tedious demonstrations of the futility, absurdity, and impracticability of the scheme. The design of the Royal Commission to organise local committees in every town, was not seconded by any great local enthusiasm. The chief difficulty, it would appear from the report of the first person dispatched upon this mission, 'is to 'find anybody that will listen to you at all on the subject.' One of the first towns canvassed, Rochdale, refused its co-operation in consequence 'of the recent defalcations of the

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'savings' bank of that town, and the consequent depression 'of spirits of the inhabitants.' From Cheltenham came grave doubts 'whether, as a fashionable watering place, it could be 'regarded as within the objects of the Royal Commission.' Hereford desires to be satisfied on abstract obligations, and, 'whether it is indispensably necessary that a town having a 'local committee should at least exhibit some one production.' Manchester would co-operate, provided satisfactory answers were returned to twenty-three different questions: 'Would 'the Royal Commission say how it intended to provide against 'two samples of the same or similar articles being sent in for 'exhibition? Where various towns have exactly the same kind 'of machines, is it intended to admit the same from different 'towns, or only one? if so, which? How many local committees are deemed desirable? 'What are the powers of the local 'commissioners? Are they to be delegate representatives of 'the local committees, or to have independent powers? Will 'local commissioners be allowed to be exhibitors?' Other towns had other scruples: 'Would a model of the docks and shipping 'of Liverpool be in accordance with the objects intended by 'the Exhibition. What is the total amount of subscriptions 'required in the judgment of the Commissioners? Is the subscription to be an absolute donation, or in the nature of a 'guarantee in case of deficiency? Will any expenses devolve 'upon local committees or local commissioners? if so, how are 'they to be met? Who was to pay for carriage? who for 'superintendence? who for insurance against fire, water, theft, 'and accident?'

It was not right nor reasonable to expect money, but anything else was at the service of the Commission. The local committees would, in short, aid them in the investigation of their theorems, assist them in the solution of their problems, would assent to all their axioms, but could not listen for a moment on the subject of postulates.

But if the prospect at home was cheerless and discouraging, there was surely little to excite hope or kindle enthusiasm in the aspect of affairs abroad. The same public journal that contained some moving homily addressed to the friends of brotherly unity on the blessings of peace, generally contained a no less exciting summons from half a dozen commanders to arms. The Commission invited the governments of the continent to mingle in idyllic brotherhood, at a time when both the governed and governors were engaged in a more rancorous contest from purely national motives than perhaps at any previous period. The very first dispatch of our Minister at Dresden, acknowledging

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the receipt of the communications of the Commission, announced the fact 'of Prussia having refused to take any part in the then 'forthcoming Exhibition in Leipsic, as not desiring to have 'anything to do with a government, like the Saxon, which had 'treated her so badly.'

On the whole the period of its first promulgation was one of general political convulsion, to which the annals of history happily offer but few parallels. From the Weser to the Danube, from the Belt to the Caspian, preparations for war were everywhere making. Denmark, Holstein, Germany, Prussia, Austria, Hungary, and Italy, bristled with armed men. The half extinct crater of Schleswig Holstein still sent up from time to time dense volumes of smoke. And hardly had the vivid glare of actual war passed away, when the flames burst suddenly forth from out the miniature volcano of deeply wronged Hessen-Cassel, scattering its burning embers throughout the length and breadth of the German Fatherland. Prussia had scarcely dismissed its soldiers, tired with the harassing duties of the internecine campaigns of Dresden and Rastadt, to their homes, when the voice of Radowitz, the soldier-orator, issued the hasty summons for all Prussians above the age of eighteen years, to fall into rank and prepare to renew the old hereditary struggles of the Houses of Hohenzollern and Habsburg. Austria, still reeling beneath the weight of repeated shocks, seemed to have permanently taken to its tents; its capital and provincial cities appeared no longer safe; and, indeed, to this day are in a state of siege. France, after running through every stage of political excitement, and testing every form of government, from monarchy to republicanism, dictatorship, anarchy, Napoleonism, seemed scared and enfeebled to inaction. All the seats of European commerce had been transformed into camps of armed men. We had ourselves, indeed, escaped actual embroilment; but hopes of alliance blighted, or the marked discountenance of ungrateful theories, had not failed to produce strong sentiments of estrangement amongst even our oldest allies. Then came the painful incident with the Austrian Field-Marshal, as if to mock the hope of a peaceful meeting of such jarring elements, which had lived in fierce conflict for so long a time.

We have yet to allude to an event that deepened the general gloom of the period, and deprived the Royal Commission of one of its most strenuous and efficient supporters. From the minutes of the proceedings antecedent to the royal patent, we learn that 'His Royal Highness stated he had recently commu-'nicated his views regarding the formation of a great collection 'of works of industry and art in London in 1851, for the pur-

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'pose of exhibition and of competition and encouragement, to 'some of the leading statesmen, and, amongst them, to Sir 'Robert Peel. . . . His Royal Highness judged, as the 'result of these communications, that the importance of this 'subject was fully appreciated.' The full import of these words was never thoroughly felt until the occurrence of that calamity which deprived the Royal Commission of the statesman, whose support abroad, even more than at home, was a tower of strength. It is not possible to over-estimate the value of the aid rendered, in liberal act and ready counsel, by the most worldly-wise of British statesmen to the labours of the Royal Commission. The minutes of the weekly meetings record hardly one at which the name of Sir Robert Peel is wanting — down to the very day of the fatal catastrophe on the 29th of June. He it was, we believe, who first suggested that the gold and silver medals, which had succeeded in supplanting the large money-prizes, should be abandoned, and bronze substituted. In the sitting of March 23. 1850, we find the following minute: 'The draft of a statement to be issued to the public was pro- 'posed by Sir R. Peel, and approved.' The introductory passage of this statement will be read, perhaps, with interest, as not uncharacteristic of the pen from which it flowed: — 'Her 'Majesty's Commissioners for promoting the Exhibition of 1851 'have had under their consideration the subject of the prizes to 'be awarded to exhibitors, and have resolved to take immediate 'steps for having medals struck of various sizes and of different 'designs, it being their opinion that this is the form in which it 'will, generally speaking, be most desirable that the rewards 'should be distributed. They will endeavour to secure the 'assistance of the most eminent artists of all countries in pro- 'ducing these medals, which will, they hope, be valuable as 'works of art of the highest class, besides serving as records of 'distinction in connexion with the Exhibition. They have '*decided to select bronze* for the material in which the medals 'are to be executed, considering that metal to be better calcu- 'lated than any other for the developement of superior skill and 'ingenuity in the medallic art, and at the same time most likely 'to constitute a lasting memorial of the Exhibition.' The foregoing is no bad example of the unrivalled skill of the writer in the use of the Optative mood—and the ability to fulfil the recent direction on a Florentine packing-case in Hyde Park, — 'This 'case to be posed with softness.' Such was the transition in the character of the prizes from large money rewards to simple bronze medals.

Having now indicated some of the moral difficulties with

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which the designs of the Royal Commissioners had to contend at the very outset, we have next to direct attention to the nature of the machinery by which these and subsequent influences of a still more disheartening character were successfully combated, and eventually overcome.

Whilst the Royal Commissioners, under the presidency of Prince Albert, held their weekly meetings, in the Palace of Westminster, the Executive Committee, first under the presidency of Mr. Stephenson and subsequently of Lieut.-Colonel Reid, sat daily at their offices in Palace Yard; both bodies communicating through a third, the Finance Committee, under the presidency of Lord Granville. Several committees of sections, consisting of the leading men in the departments of agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, were forthwith nominated, whose function it was to facilitate the subdivision of their respective departments into proper classes, and to act generally as consultative bodies on all matters of a technical character within their respective spheres. If we add to the foregoing two Special Commissioners, Dr. Lyon Playfair and Lieut.-Col. Lloyd, who acted as intermediaries between the Royal Commission and the Local Committees, we take in at a glance the whole official organisation. Nothing can be more simple than the business routine of these several bodies; and nothing can better demonstrate the power of a sound organisation to dispose with accuracy and dispatch of an otherwise overwhelming amount of the most complicated business. The letters were in the first instance opened by the Executive Committee, their contents noted, and the answers at once written upon their faces; these answers were then copied, forwarded, and an entry of the substance of both the letter and the answer made in the letter-book. No formal archives were kept. It may, perhaps, give some idea of the amount of business thus dispatched to state that the number of letters so received and answered by the Executive Committee amounted, on the 15th of September, to 39,000. Letters involving questions beyond the competence of the Executive Committee were brought before the Royal Commissioners, and replied to by that body. In all matters involving an expenditure of money, a monthly estimate was prepared by a financial officer, whose calculations of receipts and disbursements were duly controlled by the Committee of Finance. The most rigid economy was enforced in every department. The slender prospects of the Commissioners' exchequer seem to have deterred the chairman and the majority of even the Executive Committee from accepting of any salary for their laborious exertions. It would almost seem as if the members of this body

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had taken vows of poverty, which the sparing contributions of their supporters well enabled them to keep inviolate.

The sources of revenue from whence all expenses were defrayed consisted in the subscriptions of the local committees and of the affluent supporters of the scheme. These funds came in at all times tardily, but at the outset with especial meagreness. They amounted in the aggregate to 67,000*l.* including the royal donation of 1,000*l.* and that of the prince consort of 500*l.* In addition to their other cares, the constant demands on a failing exchequer, to meet the large and growing building and other charges, were a source of painful uneasiness up to the very opening of the Exhibition, and until the large subsequent receipts relieved all anxiety on this score. So inadequate were the early resources to meet the demands upon them that it was found necessary for certain members of the Commission to take the larger share of the pecuniary responsibility upon themselves, and form a guarantee fund to meet the exigencies of the scheme.

Having concluded this brief outline of the constitution of the governing body, we now come to the building itself: and first as to its site. The Royal Commission had, from the very outset, selected Hyde Park as the most fitting locality. Their choice lay between the place eventually decided on, and a locality not far distant, more to the north-east, which has since received all the suffrages of Mr. Babbage.* It seemed decreed that their predilection for Hyde Park should encounter the same sinister fortunes as all their earlier aspirations. It is unnecessary to more than allude here to the hostility which the suggestions of the Royal Commission encountered. The topography of the metropolis was thoroughly explored; its capabilities, intra and extra-mural, rigidly weighed; numerous sites pointed out, which, if they did not fulfil any of the fancied requirements of the projectors of the scheme, at least compromised none of the great vested interests of good society. Battersea Fields, the Isle of Dogs, Victoria Park, Wormwood Scrubbs, and other devious localities, seemed less objectionable. The obstinacy of the Royal Commission and two divisions in Parliament eventually prevailed. The deluge of public animadversion began to subside; the windows of the firmament of Prince's Gate were closed: and on the 30th of August the peaceful messenger of the Royal Commission returned bearing the investitory branch from the Woods and Forests marking the Ararat of the Queen's

* The Exposition of 1851: by Charles Babbage, Esq. London: 1851.

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Drive as the resting place for the future Ark. The Building Committee called for designs. Two hundred and forty were sent in, with what results will appear from the following extracts of the minute dated 16th May, 1850:—

'We have the honour to report that we have examined the 'numerous plans so liberally contributed by native and foreign 'architects in accordance with the public invitation. . .

'We have, however, arrived at the unanimous conclusion, that 'able and admirable as many of them appeared to be, *there was 'yet no single one so accordant with the peculiar objects in view,* 'either in the principle or detail of its arrangement, as to war- 'rant us in recommending it for adoption.

'In some of the least successful of the designs submitted, we 'find indicated errors and difficulties to be avoided, whilst in the 'abler and more practical of them, there are valuable concep- 'tions and suggestions which have greatly assisted us in finding 'the plan we have now the honour to lay before you. . . .

'The principal points of excellence we have endeavoured to 'attain are: — 1. Economy of construction. 2. Facilities for 'the reception, classification, and display of goods. 3. Facilities 'for the circulation of visitors. 4. Arrangement for grand points 'of view. 5. Centralization of supervision. 6. Some striking 'feature to exemplify the present state of the science of con- 'struction in this country.'

This 6th requirement the plan so found sought thus to attain:

'In order that the building, in which England invites the 'whole world to display their richest productions, may afford, 'at least in one point, a grandeur not incommensurate with the 'occasion, we propose, by a dome of light sheet iron, 200 feet in 'diameter, to produce an effect at once striking and admirable.'

This plan, however, was, it would seem, as unanimously rejected by the public, as those of the public had been by the Committee. This must be regarded as decidedly the most critical juncture in the affairs of the Royal Commission. They had, already on the 17th of March, notified their intention of opening the Exhibition on the 1st of May, 1851, and on the 16th of July they had so far progressed, as to have arrived at the somewhat startling conclusion, that they had exhausted the constructive talent of Europe, and their own, and in vain.

It was in this dark hour when the fortunes of the Royal Commission seemed most desperate, that Mr. Paxton entered on the stage. In the midst of fruits and flowers, and the princely seclusion of Chatsworth, he had heard of battles, and he longed to follow to the field some warlike lord, and of such, in and out of the Building Committee, there was rumoured to be no lack.

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It was not, he tells us, until the war of words was raging with great fierceness, that the thought occurred to him of making a design which would obviate all objections. He was just then constructing a palace for that most remarkable plant, the Victoria Regia. He came to London, stepped over the ground to ascertain its length and breadth; saw Mr. Cole of the Executive Committee; within nine days had his plans digested, and matured under the advice of Mr. Stephenson, and Mr. Barlow; had communicated with Fox & Henderson; found in Lord Brougham the warlike lord he sought, 'who from that time 'forth never uttered one word against the building, but became 'its warmest supporter.' Within a few weeks Mr. Paxton's plan was accepted, and in course of realisation. We have here given Mr. Paxton's own history of his design. Some doubts have been at various times raised respecting that gentleman's claim to be regarded as the inventor of the most characteristic features of the great structure. Mr. Paxton, the accomplished designer of the Crystal Palace, is perhaps himself not aware of the extent to which it might be possible by antiquarian research to trench upon his glories.

It has always been regarded as the immemorial duty of the critic when sitting in judgment on any work aiming at unusual novelty of conception, to examine with watchful eye the muniments of such claims; and the scrutiny has generally, some how or other, eventuated in their negation. The jealous muse of criticism has usually deemed it her first duty to remove whatever laurels may have been placed by other hands upon the hero's brow, as a preliminary to the award of that crown which it is her peculiar province to bestow. We have seen that 240 different designs had been contributed by various persons; eighteen of which, three English and fifteen foreign, were considered deserving of special honorary mention. Among these was one, that of M. Hector Horeau of Paris, of which the Building Committee made a still more special honorary mention. M. Hector Horeau had been a competitor for the construction of the recent Temple of Industry erected in the French capital. His design for the Hyde Park structure is thus described in the 'Builder' of the 15th of June, just *one month* before Mr. Paxton had announced his plan. 'M. Hector Horeau's design is for a 'building mainly of glass and iron,—a winter-garden in fact,— 'and displays much ingenuity. The iron-ribs of the roof are 'arranged so that, for the whole of the building, although of 'varying span, only three castings, it is said, will be necessary.' In this description, we find included almost all the features of the present Crystal Palace; so much so that it would be hardly

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considered an imperfect description of the building as it actually stands. Let us add to this, that among the other contributors of designs, was one, Mr. Courtney, whose plan for the internal arrangement of the space would correspond pretty accurately with the existing distribution. In the Exhibition itself a model will be found of the building intended to be erected by Messrs. Turner of Dublin. This structure was also to have been exclusively of iron; and is honoured likewise with special mention, conjointly with that of M. H. Horeau, in the Report of the Committee. With respect to the latter it is noteworthy that the designer, like Mr. Paxton, had been conversant with the necessities of horticultural architecture, having built the great palm-house at Kew. We shall subsequently see what influence this 'floral style' is, in the opinion of one of the most distinguished foreign architects of the day, likely to exert on the mind of a designer.

It is far from our intention by the foregoing observations to deprive Mr. Paxton of the exclusive merit attaching to the originality and the wholeness of his most happy design. We only desire to indicate the dangers of antiquarian research, and with the more willingness, as the subjects of our commemoration seem to have hardly come in for their fair share of public acknowledgment. Happy ideas know no limitation of time or place, and are more likely to occur contemporaneously than apart. The discoveries in art and science have been especially simultaneous in modern times. The last-found planet—the Galvano-plastic art, and the Daguerreotype,—each discovered in distant countries at the same moment,—are each an instance of a simultaneity, that is at once a guarantee of our intellectual progress, and a consequence of the wide-spread activity of human thought. Mr. Paxton is undoubtedly, both by the entirety of his plan, and his numerous ingenious contrivances in detail, as completely the father of the Crystal Palace, as Caxton is the father of the English printing press, even though Gutenberg may have preceded him. He found the building of brick and mortar, and left it of glass and iron.

On the rejection of the plan of the Building Committee, and their adoption of the design of Mr. Paxton, certain modifications became necessary to meet the more than druidical reverence of modern Britons for the frondent shade of certain trees. Some of these had, indeed, leaped from their roots at the well-known voice of the Magician of Chatsworth. One, however, remained, and at every attempt to lacerate its boughs a voice issued—

> .... gemitus lachrimabilis imo
> Auditur tumulo,—

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from the gallant Polydorus of verdant Lincoln — a very arboreal *estatica* — realising the bleeding miracle of the poet of Mantua, and at least as genuine as those of Rimini. A fitting site had been now found for the great choragic 'Lanthorn' of Industry. The execution of the design was entrusted to Messrs. Fox and Henderson. These gentlemen belong to a race of modern ediles, such as Rome never saw, peculiar to this age, and in some measure to this country. These are the men of tubes and tunnels, true descendants of Jubal and Tubal Cain, excelling workers in brass and iron. They level hills, turn the course of streams, rear structures with a celerity and ease that shame the Pharaohs. Like the Roman ediles they are an essentially popular element, but have like them raised themselves to the Patrician order, occupy chairs of greater dignity and power than the *sella curulis* ever conferred; and include in their order one, whose achievements at the Menai Straits raise him to the rank of Pontifex Maximus, — the last step to which the Roman ediles, as we are informed by history, attained. The costliest among the golden and silver splendours of the world's show, is the pictorial shield which displays the 'jus imaginum,' and recognises the merit, of one of this order — Mr. Brassey; and the tales of the munificence of this Giant of Causeways mock all belief. The gift of 10,000*l.* to relieve the distresses of a partner's widow is one among these legendary narratives, but with more of truth, we believe, than generally characterises a legend. On the marvels wrought by the constructors of the Crystal Palace it is needless to descant. In seven short months they reared an edifice, which by the common consent of all men and nations is of a more thaumaturgical character than any of the varied wonders it includes. There is something so simple and characteristic in the following statement of the fashion in which these men do extraordinary things, that we must make room for the description, given in our hearing by Mr. Fox, of the mode in which he sought to realise the nature of his task to his own mind. 'When our tender was accepted,' said the speaker, 'I walked out in the evening and paced the length of 'Portland Place. I found this street corresponded exactly with 'the site in Hyde Park; the houses on either side were nearly 'the intended height of the sides of the building; the street 'was about one fourth of the width; I then felt that it would 'indeed be a *big* place. Feeling that the same man should draw 'the plans and execute them, I made all the working drawings 'with my own hand, and watched over their execution to the 'last.' We need not here advert to the difficulties interposed by the apprehensions of well-meaning advisers, — the shortness

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of the time allowed, the unusual wetness of the season, or the combinations of the workmen. An army of nearly two thousand men were constantly employed in rearing this fabric, and to the power of discipline and organisation to which they were subjected is it alone attributable that the work was done, well done, and done within the stipulated time. Those who desire a more intimate acquaintance with the extraordinary resources which were here brought to bear, may be referred to the accounts given in the many professional works which have appeared on the subject. It might amuse but it could have no real utility to recapitulate the various objections from time to time suggested during the progress of the works, to the scientific principles adopted, and supposed to be violated in its construction. It is more satisfactory to reflect that dynamic principles in themselves novel, and opposed to received doctrines of metallic vibration, tension, elasticity, expansion, have been now fully established, beyond all cavil, and by the severest of tests. It is due to Mr. Cubitt, the Chairman of the Building Committee, to state, that he assumed much of the responsibility and shares the merit of these results. Before dismissing this subject we must make room for an anecdote which may not be altogether out of place, as happily defining the difference between the power of realising a conception of abstract beauty, and the working out of a great practical design. Professor Kiss, of Berlin, the author of the much admired Amazon group was so struck with the mechanical wonders of the building, that he sought an opportunity to express to the constructor, through the medium of an interpreter, his sense of astonishment and admiration of his extraordinary achievements. When the artist had given vent to the fulness of his feelings in the genuine outpourings of a German artist's heart; 'Tell him,' was Mr. Fox's epigrammatic reply, 'I can *make* this'—pointing to the building—'but I could not *do* that'—pointing to the group. In this *make* and *do* lies just the difference between constructive talent and creative genius—manufacture and art.

The following extract relates to this branch of our subject. The original Paper emanated, we have reason to believe, from the pen of a writer, himself the architect of one of the most admired of modern edifices—the late Dresden Opera-house; and its remarks on the structural peculiarities of the building are of a character sufficiently interesting to excuse our translation and insertion of them here. The unhappy political convulsions of the year 1849 proved equally fatal to the high professional position of its author, and the graceful monument of his genius. The Paper was written on the eve, and amidst all the bustle and preparation of the opening:—

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'When the busy din around us threatens to overwhelm our 'senses, how gladly do we seek composure by allowing our eyes 'to rest on those trees, which the building still encircles with its 'net-work, and the axe has spared! How charming! as stimulated 'by the busy scene around them, they seem hastening to strip off 'the last cinctures that confine their blossoms, and with their 'fan-like forms fill out the lofty canopy of the transept, blending 'their verdant foliage with the bars of its airy lattice-work. 'What a contrast between the noisy scene below, and the ma-'jestic silence with which nature completes her works. The 'whole picture breathes all the youthful yet antique life and 'freshness of a Pompeian fresco. It does honour to the architect 'who has so successfully brought his work into such entire unison 'with nature; and, considering the character and conditions of 'the problem to be solved, it is hardly possible to conceive a dif-'ferent, not to say a better, solution—the best criterion of a happy 'conception. Perhaps none other than a horticultural artist 'could have succeeded in devising so fitting a cradle for a project 'whilst yet in embryo. The first suggestions of fancy are ever 'shapeless and gigantic; they shrink into form, and condense 'as they become matured, in this inverting the laws of organic 'development.

'The simple problem was to portion off such a space from the 'open air, as should include a world of bazaars, and protect them 'from the influences of the weather; all else was vague and un-'decided. As yet no statistics existed to determine the relative 'exhibiting requirements of the several States. The building 'must, therefore, possess a certain degree of elastic expansibility; 'and consequently no limiting configuration, such as that of the 'circle or the square, was admissible. Instead of any compact 'relation among the interior members, it must offer capabilities 'of easy partition and be fashioned in the spirit of a huge en-'campment.

'For the fulfilment of such a task, the artist, who had already 'provided for the similar requirements of his exotic plants, pos-'sessed some facilities. Structures of the latter class identify 'themselves in a measure with living nature; their walls and 'roofs invisible to the eye, and the more slender and impalpable 'their parts, the more suited to their purpose.

'Little was needed to render this class of structure adapted to 'the present purpose. Here, too, no architectural embellishment 'must compromise the internal requirements, and consequently 'all conventional rules and decorations must be laid aside. Much 'light is needed, but sunshine injurious; a *velum* must, therefore, 'shroud the glassy *hypæthros*; or rather, it was necessary, in an

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'artistic point of view, that the latter should fall with a graceful 'swell within the roof; and had the glass been stronger this would 'have been feasible. In that case the slender columns would 'have become the bearers of the primitive *velum*, which would 'have completely harmonised with the suspended draperies and 'figured carpets, that hang perpendicularly between the columns 'and fill up the intercolumnar spaces; and thus, in our age of most 'complex knowledge, we should have seen in this marvellous 'building the original type of the most primitive form of archi-'tecture unwittingly realised. Out of the canvass stretched on 'poles, the Egyptian flat roof grew; and the original perpen-'dicular partition, the suspended carpet, is the prototype of all 'the rich panellings, paintings, or other plastic decorations, in 'wood, stone, or metal, which in after times supplied the place 'of the original woven fabrics. The numerous trophies and 'ornaments suspended from the columns and girders, point to the 'original motives in the decoration of all columns and beams. 'The *velum* now wanting might be in future supplied by stained 'glass, and in the ornamentation of the draperies, machinery can 'be brought to bear with less detriment to refined taste, than has 'been unhappily the case in other branches of the decorative art. 'Who does not feel that iron arabesques and ornaments produce 'a feeling of disgust? and is it not perhaps a sign of a revival of 'better taste, that architecture ventures to exhibit the simple 'effects produceable by those materials, the ornamentation of 'which is susceptible of extension by mechanical means, and 'thus leaves the field open to future improvement? This primitive 'simplicity of the work seems to constitute its architectural im-'portance. On the other hand, a complete revolution must take 'place in English manners before the glass roof can find adoption 'in private dwellings or religious edifices. It would lead to the 'introduction of courts and the Italian Palazzo style, as has long 'since taken place in Russia.

'In conclusion, a word as to the transept, which now merely 'serves as a covering for trees; and the necessity for which is not 'sufficiently obvious from any reference to the internal economy 'of the building. Here must be the seat of the Areopagus that 'awards the prizes, the only stable point in the midst of a build-'ing elsewere subject to indefinite expansion. As to the exterior 'it is needless, for the reasons already assigned, to make much 'comment. To buildings of this character it has hitherto been 'found impossible to give such a configuration as can be taken 'in at a glance, and therefore satisfy the requirements of a 'strictly æsthetic feeling.'

On the subject of internal decoration all opinions seem favour-

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able to the system of colouring adopted. Though naturally propitiated by the prevailing 'buff and blue,' we cannot assent to the axiom of Mr. Owen Jones: that these colours should always be wedded with the 'crimson'—our own hopes and tastes are adverse to such a necessity as a law. But we gladly summon up this native hue of modesty in the artist's cheek, by comparing the results achieved under his supervision, with those of a rival. Speaking of the late building in Paris, the valuable Report to which we have already referred, remarks:—

'Both externally and internally, there is a good deal of tasteless and unprofitable ornament; all the pilasters are papered and painted in a species of graining to imitate light oak, and even the ceiling is covered over with the same work. Large carton pierre trusses apparently support the timbers, and a painted bronze bas-relief fills the tympanum of the pediment at the principal entrance. The architecture of the whole is mesquin, although the gigantic scale of the building necessarily elevates the general effect into something of impressiveness; not however to the extent which the same outlay might have produced.'

The concluding remark of the foregoing extract induced us to make some calculations on the relative cost of the two buildings, which we have here ventured to compare; and the result is in so far very satisfactory, as it establishes the advantage in point of economy of our own building over its Parisian rival. The French structure covered a space of about five acres, or just one fourth of that in Hyde Park. The sum paid for the temporary or three months' use of the materials—timber, with a roof of zinc, was about 18,500*l.* So that the cost per square foot amounted to 1*s.* 3*d.* As the superficial area, including the galleries, of the Hyde Park building may be assumed at about twenty-five acres, and the sum agreed to be paid for a year's use of the materials is 78,000*l.*, or about 1*s.* per foot, there is an obvious saving in favour of Mr. Paxton's design.

We must now return to the Royal Commission, who have by this time taken up their abode in the building itself, awaiting its completion. The task of organisation had been pushed forward successfully throughout the country. Local committees had exhausted their stock of queries—most of which had through the lapse of time answered themselves. Manchester redeemed its character by liberal contributions. The banquet of Mayors had gone off with éclat. Influential exhibitors in forty towns had, on the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel, been induced to apply for space, whose example acted pretty much like the mirrors, which our transatlantic neighbours insert in their newly

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invented rat-traps in order to stimulate by the terrors of competition the avidity of the candidates for the caseous bait. Many of the public Journals gave in their adhesion. The Morning Chronicle, gifted with a keener foresight than many of its contemporaries, on the dawning success of a cause, of which it had through good and evil report been an unwavering supporter, striking into a new path, opened its columns to such foreign contributions, both French and German, as the interesting one of the Dresden architect, an extract from which we have presented to our readers in an English garb. Applications for space, vertical, horizontal, and lateral, began to pour in from home and distant committees. Professor Johnson, 'on the part of 'some of the States near the Rocky Mountains, craved a little 'time for the transmission of their goods.' The sale of the Catalogue-right and refreshment monopoly produced larger amounts than had been anticipated. On the whole, the prospects of the Commission had become considerably brighter. Two questions, however, remained unsolved,—the publication of the prices, and the terms of admission for the public and exhibitors.

The first of these questions has been discussed at considerable length by Mr. Babbage in the work to which we have already alluded. On the abstract principle of its being desirable to know the cost and every other particular respecting the articles exhibited, there has never, as far as we are aware, existed any difference of opinion. The difficulty seems to have been the attaining a correct knowledge of the prices; and the obstacles have been two-fold, — the unwillingness of the retail-trader to have the prime-cost made known, and the unwillingness of many manufacturers to state the real price of their fabrics. In an undertaking of an altogether voluntary character, a compulsory disclosure of any information studiously withheld is not feasible. There are also, as regards the present Exhibition, two elements of price of which Mr. Babbage seems to take no note— custom-duties and agio. We, for our part, should have been glad to have seen the tariff of each country suspended in each department, and the protective duty which it enjoys marked on each article. To complete the idea of price as regards the casual visitor, it would have been necessary to state the duty at which it is admissible into the country to which the importer belongs. It would be necessary to state, in addition, the transport expenses, and the quantities and the time in which the article could be delivered. For an intending purchaser these calculations are a matter of course— but still not made without considerable difficulty. In many of the cases which have come under our own immediate notice, with every desire on the part of the seller to obtain a

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purchaser, it proved impossible to give the information desired. Let us take an example. The price of the American reaping-machine of Mr. Mac Cormick, which has attracted so large a share of attention, is stated to be 28*l*. If a German desire to purchase one of these implements, he is informed, that he must wait until a patent has been obtained in the State to which he belongs, and the required machine constructed there, as the customs duty on a single machine would be nearly 10*l*. in the Zollverein. The cost of carriage of such a cumbrous implement from the United States precludes the possibility of its being supplied from thence. The price is, for the present therefore, wholly unascertainable. Let us take another example. Suppose an English purchaser desirous of buying some of the remarkably cheap cloths exhibited from Brünn in Moravia, the low price of which is said to have tempted one of the jurors of this class to abandon the office of inquisitor in Hyde Park for a more practical test in Brünn itself. We will suppose him to have made a purchase to the value of 1200 guldens. These 1200 guldens, if paid in English gold, are at present equal to about 1000 guldens, or in the ratio of about 12 to 10, such being the present rate of exchange, but so fluctuating, that within three months it may easily rise or fall 10 or even 20 per cent. Practically speaking, we do not think that it would have been possible to add much more to our knowledge of prices than is conveyed in our own priced lists, and the priced catalogues which several of the foreign countries, such as Belgium, Spain, Russia, Austria Turkey and the States of the Zollverein have published. In many articles, chemicals for instance, the price is quite illusory, as it would be found that but very small quantities could be obtained at anything like a useful commercial price.

The general question of admission of exhibitors and visitors, which at one time threatened to assume an alarming aspect, found a solution which must be considered as reconciling the interests of all concerned. Exhibitors, both home and foreign, were admitted gratuitously, and the graduated scale of entrance fees charged to the public seems to have met with general approbation. The issue of season tickets was a happy idea, conducive to the comfort of the holders and the revenue of the Commission's exchequer.

We have now disposed of the most important preliminary questions which so long agitated the public mind. There were still many who, like the worthy parishioners of Marylebone, viewed the rising structure with the feelings with which the inhabitants of the Scæan Gates of Ilium may be supposed to have regarded the great Trojan horse, which was to bring a

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foreign foe within their walls. But the contractors plied their hammers,—

> Instar montis equum divinâ *Paxtonis* arte
> Edificant;

Many of the foreign commissioners, of the foreign goods, and foreign workmen had arrived. Now began the duty of assigning to each country its proper limits. We believe the suggestion of a geographical distribution according to the terrestrial relations of each State originated with the Chairman of the Executive Committee. This happy idea of assuming the transept as the equator, and proceeding according to Mercator's projection solved many difficulties. But still it is little known how the political feelings and passions of the great world were mirrored in this microcosm. The intrigues and *tracaseries* of diplomacy were as actively displayed on the miniature chart of the Executive Committee as in the cabinets of kings. The cave of Æolus itself could have hardly afforded the gallant Chairman greater facilities for testing his 'Theory of Storms' than his own narrow chamber. To this day the question of Schleswig-Holstein remains undecided, after having given rise to the most stormy and animated protocols. The official recognition of Algiers as an integral part, not mere adjunct, of France by Captain Owen, was demanded with a degree of insistance that might have startled Pinnock or my Lord Palmerston. Whether Holland be styled Holland or the Netherlands; whether Turkey be Turkey, and Egypt be called Egypt, may seem a matter of no great difficulty. Whether the proper style be Norway and Sweden or Sweden and Norway may appear of little moment. But all these are questions which occupied much of the time of the distributors of the territorial limits. The partition of Poland itself has hardly provoked more discussion than the struggles of Prussia and Austria to absorb the small kingdom of Saxony. Spain actually refused to exhibit unless provided with an entrance distinct from that of Portugal; and the transposition of the Imperial furniture court of Austria from a southern to a more northern latitude seemed pregnant with consequences as grave as those attending the transfer of the Court of the Emperors from Rome to Byzantium, and actually led to a blockade of the Austrian consignments for a week in the port of Hamburg. Every change in the political horizon made itself distinctly felt here, just as the curious Chinese mirrors reflect on their surface the grotesque images at their back.

Under the conjoint influences of time, the firm suavity of the Executive Committee, and perhaps the sense of a common

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danger from the slight leakage of the roof, the heat of these topical animosities gradually subsided. In the English divisions all proceeded smoothly. The admirable classification, according to the minute and exhaustive system of Dr. Lyon Playfair, well adapted as the basis of the future Census and Custom-house returns, worked with the most satisfactory speed and tranquillity. One class of objects alone proved an exception. Wigs — once so venerated — sued now in vain for a place for fitting display. There were four several categories, under any one of which, consistently with a strictly scientific distribution they might be classed. 1. Raw products; class IV. animal substances used for personal adornment; wool, hair, bristles: 2. Manufactures, class III. articles of clothing, as hats, caps, bonnets; 3. skins, furs, feathers, and hair. It seems, however, that none of the superintendents of these several classes would admit their claims as paramount. The result was, that whilst some were to be found in class 16. leather, including harness and their antipodes boots and shoes, others eventually settled down into class 2. chemicals, and dyes. It is further worthy of remark, as indicative of some strange, perhaps hereditary, inquietude of this class of articles, that we find their single exhibitor in the Russian department, a French hair-dresser at Odessa, actually petitioning the Russian Commission to induce Her Majesty to postpone the solemn opening on the 1st of May for the space of three days, to enable him to get his six interesting wig-blocks in becoming order for the occasion.

We must not omit alluding to one happy result of those political convulsions on the Continent of which we have already spoken. Pending the internal arrangements and subsequent display, the demand for persons acquainted with foreign languages was, as may be supposed, unusually great. This want was in a great measure supplied by the large number of political refugees, whom the late convulsions had domiciled in this country. It is at once a curious and instructive fact, that the vast majority of those who formed the immediate *entourage* of the royal personages visiting the Exhibition, consisted of men who, having been condemned for democratic opinions in their respective countries to imprisonment for life, or even to death, had eluded the vengeance of the laws and the vigilance of the police. Indeed, it seems improbable, had it not been for this singular source of supply, that the labours of the Foreign Commissioners would have been completed so early, or at all, except at an enormously increased pecuniary sacrifice. In no case, however, have we heard of any evil consequences arising from this source, and in but one of the subsequent dismissal of

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an official, on merely political grounds. We may here further state that of the twenty foreign interpreters, whom the Commissioners of Police, from obvious considerations, deemed it prudent to appoint previous to the 1st of May, sixteen were dismissed within a very short period, their services being altogether unneeded, as hardly a single case occurred calling for their intervention, notwithstanding the vast concourse of foreigners, who crowded to our shores.

In all their relations with the several Foreign Commissioners, the Executive Committee seem to have acted on the same sound principle as in their intercourse with the local committees at home; leaving the widest possible latitude of action to each, and refusing in all cases the responsibility of interference in details, when not compromising the fundamental principles of the general design. The prudence of this course will be fully appreciated when it is recollected that some of the members of the Foreign Commissions were, from long habit, prone to an ostentatious display of power in their respective spheres. Often irritated from an incapacity to explain or receive explanations, ignorant of our language and habits, — sometimes under the influence of strong prejudices — occasionally mortified by the absence of those marks of courtly distinction, which form the cherished objects of their ambition; they were occasionally not indisposed to escape the responsibilities of a task in itself arduous, by throwing upon the measures and conduct of the Royal Commission and Executive Committee, the responsibility of a failure, which seemed the more probable from the sinister accounts that had reached them before their arrival. We are inclined to think that had these several bodies been better linguists, they might have proved less efficient commissioners, and have wasted in sterile controversy the time needed for action. A marked feature of this period was the number of questions constantly arising on abstract principles; whether, for instance, in the composition of the juries, the most eminent representatives of different branches of manufactures should be assigned to their own or to other branches. It was warmly contended that by making the successful adopters of varying systems judges of forms of procedure differing from those pursued by themselves, you incurred the risk, some maintained the certainty, of their never agreeing to any joint award; so that to insure a practical result you must take a less interested, though worse-informed body. On this and similarly vexed points, Free Conferences were held, but with little result. Two great State federations had already formed. France, Russia, Austria, Saxony, on one side; Prussia,

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Bavaria, Switzerland on the other; each with their respective adherents. On one occasion the weaker party resolved on a deputation to Lord Granville, whose affability and fertility of resources secured each suitor at least the semblance of success. The Noble Lord, in this instance, is believed to have yielded *sive dolo, seu,*—rather to the numbers than the arguments of the petitioning body. It subsequently appeared, however, that this embarrassing unanimity arose from a feeling on the part of the dissentients, that the dignity of their several States, irrespective of the opinions they represented, required their presence on all such occasions.

As we have mentioned the subject of the juries, it may be as well to offer a few remarks on their constitution and on their peculiar function—the recognition of merit. A glance at the long array of distinguished names comprised in the list of jurors, both home and foreign, is sufficient to satisfy us of the fact, that the ablest judges in each department of knowledge occupy seats in the great Areopagus of science. Of the ability of the judges there can be little doubt; for their impartiality their mixed constitution affords a powerful guarantee. Individual instances of equivocal qualification, and even of the playful irony of chance may, and, we believe, have occurred. Accident or malice has given circulation to the mistake of a member of the jury on 'Chemical and 'Pharmaceutical Processes and Products,' who admired the huge rock-crystal of the Duke of Devonshire as an interesting specimen of Alum. In another instance, we have discovered more direct evidence of fallibility still more amusing. Among the Chairmen of Group D,—Metallic, Vitreous, and Ceramic manufactures—we find the name of the Hon. Horace Greeley, whose aristocratic appellative has more of the perfume of Belgravia than Hoboken. In a communication headed 'Editorial Correspondence, London, 'May 15th,' we find the following passage, which, coming from one of the Chairmen of Group D, contains views on a subject upon which all Englishmen feel peculiarly sensitive—architectural decoration—so novel and soothing to our British pride, that we must regret their partial acceptance.

'The *Buildings* here, says the honourable writer, are gene-'rally superior to those of our city of New York—more sub-'stantial, of better materials, and more tasteful. There are, I 'think, as miserable rookeries here as anywhere; but they are 'exceptions, while most of the houses are built solidly, faith-'fully, and with a thickness of walls which would be considered 'sheer waste, in our city. Among the materials most exten-'sively used is a fine white marble of a peculiarly soft, creamy 'appearance, which looks admirably until blackened by smoke,

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'and time. Regent Street, and several of the aristocratic 'quarters west of it, are in good part built of this marble; but 'one of the finest, freshest specimens of it is St. George's 'Hospital, Piccadilly, which, to my eye, is among the most 'tasteful edifices in London. If (as I apprehend) St. Paul's 'Church, Somerset House, and the similarly smoke-stained 'dwellings around Finsbury Oval, were built of this same 'marble, then the murky skies of London have much to answer 'for.'

Whilst revelling in the anticipation of the effect of such statements as the foregoing, our feelings were doomed to experience a rude shock. A communication in the same journal some days later, from an envious New York citizen, stated, on the authority of a ten years' residence in London, that the 'fine white 'marble, with the soft creamy appearance,' of the Hon. Chairman, was, in reality, but *mud painted.* We have looked for the editorial rejoinder, but we regret to say, in vain. Such isolated instances of human fallibility, though they teach the great lesson of humility, can never shake our faith in the old Gothic axiom of our ancestors: 'to whomsoever God giveth an office, to the 'same doth He give the necessary measure of wisdom;' and we shall look with the same reverence on the Institutes, Pandects, and Novels of Physical Law, when once promulgated by the Council of Chairmen in the collective Reports of the Jurors, as we have been long habituated to regard the digested labours of the old Byzantine Jurists embodied in the Justinian code. It is also right to bear in mind, that from the frequency of Industrial Exhibitions in recent times, there is a regular class of practised Judges rapidly forming,—men who derive as much advantage from this practical acquaintance with the subjects of their theoretic studies, as they confer benefit on industrial science, by the loftiness of their views and the wide range of knowledge which they bring to bear on the problems of commercial life. We cannot help regarding this circumstance as of the highest importance, since it has the twofold effect of enabling them to readily distinguish what is really new, and rapidly circulate a knowledge of all that is valuable in such discoveries.

We have now reached the 1st of May. On that day the Royal Commission redeemed their pledge, and reaped the well-deserved reward of all their cares and anxieties. We must leave it to the memory or the imagination to paint the splendours of a pageant more brilliant than any spectacle of modern times. The effect of the dazzling scene was rather heightened than diminished by the mystery that still hung round several of the Foreign departments. America had unfolded her homely

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stores — so rude and practical that no aid of decoration could or need impart much external attraction. And here let us do an act of justice by stating, that the apparently disproportionate space occupied by the United States, which has been the subject of so much raillery, had been spontaneously assigned, not demanded. France was much in arrear; but France has never known the art of colonisation. One of her Commissioners remarked on the day of the inauguration: 'You, English-'people, have succeeded because you are without experience; 'you do what is necessary — we, what we have done before.' Much painful anxiety had been felt by Lieut. Colonel Reid, as Commander-in-chief of the allied forces, from the tardy movements of the Zollverein, but M. Consul-General Hebeler and his Prussians succeeded, like Blücher, in arriving in time. Russia had not yet opened her rich malachite portals to the public gaze; nor had the Odessa contributor quite succeeded to his own satisfaction in developing his capillary attractions; but even the empty pedestals gave promise, and the rich velvet draperies of the Imperial Chamber spoke of the splendours to come. Hamburg and Switzerland exhibited the punctuality and business-habits of their commercial populations, equally with our own exhibitors; and the other Foreign States were in very tolerable order.

Every road leads to Rome: — but we must not dwell on the crowds nor the wonders that attract them. The commercial value of the latter is less than the fears of our London shopkeepers represented them. You could buy all Prussia for about 45,000*l.*; Saxony for 30,000*l.*; the whole Zollverein for 100,000*l.*; and America and Russia for about 36,000*l.* each! Leaving to some future Hesiod to chronicle the Ἡμέραι καὶ Ἔργά, we shall introduce a few statistical tables illustrative of the most striking peculiarities of the undertaking.

The most singular feature in the internal economy of the Hyde Park structure is the number of its different Departments, and the magnitude to which each has swelled. Within its walls we have had a constant population equal to that of a populous city. It has its post-office — its branch bank — its telegraph — its miniature railroad — its little army — its police. Its cafès and table d'hôtes provide for the wants of its local and wayfaring inhabitants. It has made other adequate arrangements for decency and health, of which the great neighbouring metropolis is so glaringly neglectful. The following Table shows the numbers and occupations of the ordinary local population: —

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Correspondence - -	7
Post-Office - -	2
Finance - - -	9
The Admittance Department.	
Superintendent - -	1
Assistant Do. - -	1
Clerk - - -	1
Season Ticket takers -	6
Money takers - -	18
Door-keepers - -	21
Juries - - -	9
Messengers, Office-keepers, and Boys - -	23
Variously employed -	9
Carry over - -	107

Brought over - -	107
Interior Staff.	
Superintendents, Clerks, &c. - - -	30
Classmen - -	89
Porters - - -	7
Sweepers - - -	36
Messengers - -	2
Refreshment and Retiring Rooms - - -	28
Fire Department - -	7
Sappers - - -	200
Police - - -	400
Customs - - -	12
3 Refreshment Rooms -	264
Total - - -	1182

The above table exhibits the comparatively small amount of the force employed in the attainment of results, the magnitude of which incurs no risk of not being duly appreciated by the five million of visitors.

We have no room for various statistical tables illustrative of the many curious results which the concentration of seductions so powerful as those of the Crystal Palace produce on our social economy. They are in several respects both novel and interesting. One of the most responsible and difficult duties of the Executive Committee was the effort to evolve from pre-existent sources, some approximate estimate, whereby to guard, as far as human foresight could, against dangerous contingencies. The industry of one of this Executive Committee, Mr. Wentworth Dilke, succeeded in obtaining a vast collection of statistical details as to the numbers, conduct, and habits, of the visitors to the most frequented of our public sights. We are indebted to the painstaking researches of this gentleman for the following figures, which we throw into a tabular form to facilitate comparison.

Greatest number of Visitors on any one day at following places: —

Greenwich Fair (Easter-Monday) -	150,000
Greenwich Railway (Easter-Monday) -	23,889
Vauxhall, Admission One Shilling, largest number	21,000
British Museum (Easter-Monday) -	21,005
Exhibition of Cartoons, Westminster Hall	34,732
Exhibition of Oil Painting, Westminster Hall	29,572
Covent Garden Bazaar, highest number -	11,000
Ten of largest Theatres, about - -	30,000

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It will be observed that none of the above can be regarded as quite analogous to the Hyde Park Exhibition. As an instance of the importance which matters apparently trivial attained on this occasion, it will be observed, that the daily receipts from the custody of umbrellas, walking-sticks, and wearing apparel, although conducted on the voluntary system, amounted frequently to 25*l.*, although the charge was as low as two-pence.

The following Table shows the actual receipts to the 25th of Sept. inclusive: —

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions - - -	67,205	8	10
Season tickets - - -	67,610	14	0
Receipts at the doors - -	304,018	12	6
Catalogue contract - -	3,200	0	0
Refreshment contract - -	5,500	0	0
Retiring rooms - - -	2,104	5	10
Washing places - - -	396	2	2
Taking charge of umbrellas -	573	17	6
Medals struck in the building -	658	15	10
Weather charts sold in building -	5	5	8
	451,273	2	4

The highest amount received at the doors was on Saturday, the 24th May, the last five shilling day prior to the commencement of the shilling days, being 5078*l.* The lowest amount received on any day, except the two 1*l.* days, was on the first shilling day, being only 920*l.*

The largest amount received in shillings was 3502*l.*, on Tuesday, 15th July (St. Swithin's Day). On the Friday of the same week 3762*l.* was taken in half-crowns, being the highest amount after the commencement of the shilling days.

The following are the highest amounts received: —

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
Saturday, May 24	5078	at 5	0	Tuesday, August 5	3236	1	0	
Friday, „ 23	4095			Monday, July 28	3194	1	0	Eclipse.
Thursday, „ 22	3797			Tuesday, June 17	3191	1	0	
Friday, July 18	3762	2	6	Tuesday, „ 24	3186	1	0	
Wednesday, May 21	3512	5	0	Tuesday, July 8	3169	1	0	
Tuesday, July 15	3502	1	0	Friday, „ 11	3145	2	6	
Tuesday, May 20	3360	1	0	Thursday, „ 17	3023	1	0	
Wednesday, „ 21	3338	1	0	Monday, June 23	3016	1	0	
Thursday, „ 29	3308	1	0	Monday, August 4	3006	1	0	
Tuesday, July 22	3236	1	0					

The amounts received each day at the retiring rooms vary from 3*l.*, 7*l.*, and 8*l.*, to 28*l.* Receipts for taking charge of umbrellas, &c., from 9*s.* to 25*l.*

In the absence of reliable data to guide their conduct, the

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Committee seem to have adopted the principle of leaving the public at large, in a great measure, to consult for their own safety; and the result has fully justified the propriety of this course. The number of daily visitors has been subject to far less violent fluctuation than could have been expected; and the daily returns appear to indicate, as a law, that the maximum power of any Exhibition with us to attract shilling visitors must be somewhat about 50,000 daily. But, perhaps, the most remarkable, as it is the most satisfactory feature in connexion with these large bodies of people, is the fact that on no occasion was the slightest tendency to disorder perceptible, and that not one single instance of wilful damage to any of the articles exhibited has been reported to the Committee.

Incidental to this great occasion, it is very satisfactory to reflect, that owing to the adoption of a happy suggestion of the Prussian Minister, Chevalier Bunsen, very simple and adequate arrangements were made to enable the subjects of Foreign States to examine our great national monuments and public establishments without confusion or difficulty. Each Embassy issued cards, on which the leading objects of attraction were marked upon a miniature chart, together with the rules to be observed in visiting them. It is also well deserving of the highest praise, that foreigners were admitted to view our great private industrial establishments with a degree of liberality and courtesy that has much elevated our national character in the eyes of the world. We have, in a measure, to thank this Exposition for our being no longer regarded as a nation of *boutiquiers*.

The conduct of the Police has been the subject of well-merited encomium. We have heard a distinguished Foreigner declare, that the civility and intelligence of our police, and the number of our water-omnibusses (river-steamboats) were the objects that most excited his surprise. A plan had been discussed by the Foreign Commissioners of opening a penny subscription among their countrymen to mark the universal sense of all foreigners of the exemplary conduct of our constables; nothing but the formal difficulties prevented, as we believe, the realization of this idea.

The primary characteristic of this great enterprise has been the comprehensiveness of the scheme and the world-embracing character of its appeal to the industrial energy of nations. We have been compelled to allude to the melancholy political complications which, occurring at a juncture so critical, had nearly compromised its realisation; but it would be wrong to omit observing, that it found everywhere throughout the civilised world a degree of favour, on its very first promulgation, and

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met with a degree of support from Rulers and their subjects that argued well for the intelligence of the age and the inherent soundness of the plan itself. The dictates of civilisation are everywhere alike. 'Different degrees of refinement and not of 'distance, mark the distinctions among mankind. Savages of 'the most opposite climates have all but one character of im-'providence and rapacity; and tutored nations, however sepa-'rate, make use of the very same methods to procure refined 'enjoyment.'

Nations, in truth, in their intercourse with one another know but the two great languages—of war and commerce. And in obedience to some subtle law of national affinities, there seems to be an irresistible impulse among States to cultivate intimate relations either martial or mercantile, through the medium of cotton bales or cannon-balls; the latter being often but an alternative—*on se bat — faute de s'entendre.* Nature, which abhors Dictionaries with the intensity of a Scaliger, provides those two-fold symbols of communication peaceful and aggressive,—of which the Hyde Park Building furnishes so varied a repertory,—as a counterpoise to the barbarising influences of diverse tongues. The Birmingham hatchet, with one end of which the Cherokee Indian scalps his enemy, whilst with the other he placidly smokes his dried leaves, becomes the harbinger of civilisation, just as the gibbet, seen by the French voyager on a desolate coast, assured him of the milder manners of the inhabitants.

Voluntary isolation is now regarded as a crime, and the great Powers of the present day are constantly casting about on the world's chart in search of some land, hitherto jealously guarded against all intrusion. They seem to resent such reserve, as a slight on the co-operative tendencies of the age, and on the comity of nations, and hasten to chastise the pride, which isolation has at once engendered and rendered feeble. We seek out the rude Islanders of the Pacific and barter our varied wares for the oil of the sperm whale, and, by its light, plan new schemes of conquest and colonisation. On the banks of the Senegal and the Gambia we contend with France in cultivating the friendship of the native kings, converting their royal realms into factories of gum or the juice of the palm nut; and we tempt King Dahomey to deck with the industrial products of his slaves a stall in the World's Fair in Hyde Park.

It has often been a subject of regret that on so few of our ancient maps do we find the great commercial routes laid down, by which the amber-merchant in the east, and the tin-merchant in the west, travelled in search of these so sparingly scattered

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minerals; — such routes marked side by side with the itineraries of the great conquerors could not fail of suggesting interesting comparisons. We should be enabled to trace back the civilisation of the world to the motives of its first disseminators, and measure the relative influence of gain and glory on the destinies of Empires. How often has it happened that some trivial article of commerce has changed the face of kingdoms. England may be said to owe her great Indian empire to a free-trade feeling in 1620 in favour of pepper. For her Chinese trade and prospects, she is in a measure indebted to her preference of tea to opium. And it would be indeed hazardous at present to predict the wondrous social effects which lie still concealed in the flocculent bulbs of the bombax gossypium and the other species of the cotton plant.

It would be well could we at the same time indicate those changing lines along which the crusades of creed have swept. The same impulse that carried the followers of Mahomet from Mecca beyond the Pyrenees, still carries the Mormon over the Rocky Mountains; and as science is indebted to those Arab philosophers for the uses of the alembic, we may perhaps derive a similar advantage from the followers of the Californian prophet, in learning new uses of the crucible. But the influences of religious enthusiasm have ever been more of a qualifying than a direct character, and have always partaken as largely of the commercial as the military quality. Where the pilgrim halted the pedlar bartered; and the great fairs of Germany seek their origin, as the term *Messen*, or Masses, still indicates, in those mediæval gatherings of the pious, for the joint purpose of assisting at the holy offices of the Church, and supplying their other than strictly spiritual wants.

In estimating the future influences of commerce it is necessary to bear in mind the novel combinations and appliances which modern science has placed at its disposal. The diplomacy of trade at the present day is as unlike the commercial negotiation of bygone times, as the armament of our steel-clad warriors little resembles the equipments of our modern soldiery. The pedlar, caravanseries, and the fair, have given place to the commercial traveller, the railroad, and the book of patterns. And the Industrial Exhibition itself may be regarded as the next stage, constituting not more a display of the products themselves, than of the capabilities of the producer.

When considering the immediate effects of the Exhibition in relation to its great instructive purpose, it is necessary to bear in mind, that little there exhibited claims to be new in the absolute sense of the word. Comparatively, few of the articles contributed to any of the several departments have

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been specially designed or created for the purpose of exposition: the great majority, however, though well known to particular classes, are still perfectly new to the great mass of visitors. Most of the American inventions, which have deservedly attracted so large a share of attention, have been long known in Europe. Mr. Mac Cormick's reaping-machine, and Mr. Hobb's lock, have both already graced provincial Exhibitions, if we are not mistaken, even in Austria. But this very circumstance is the best proof of the practical value of the present enterprise. So slow are we to incur the responsibility of adopting the results of empiric talent, that it is only in the concentrated light of a Crystal Palace, with the full blaze of the world's recognition of merit illumining our judgment, that we venture on the outlay or the change in our old established procedures incidental to new inventions. It has been sometimes urged that little practical value is to be derived from so extended a field of observation, where the attention is distracted by the multifariousness of the examination and the variety of the objects claiming notice. But the *dilettant*, seeking mere general information, is affected in a way altogether different from the man with a distinct purpose, and in pursuit of some special branch of knowledge. It is very remarkable that almost the only failure which the Commission have to lament, was the attempt to give instruction in the form of lectures. These failed from the paucity of visitors, whose reliance on their eyes in the scrutiny of minute adaptations did not render them indifferent to the generalisations of the lecturer. The following remarks from a New York paper will, however, show in what way our Transatlantic brethren view this point.

'The Exhibition is destined to contribute immensely to the industrial and practical education of the British people. Of a million who come to gaze, only a hundred thousand may come with any clear idea of profiting by the show, and but half of those succeed in carrying back more wisdom than they brought here; yet even those are quite an army, and fifty thousand skilled artisans, or sharp-eyed apprentices, viewing such an exposition aright, and going home to ponder and dream upon it, cannot fail of working out great triumphs. The British mind is more fertile in improvement than in absolute invention, as is here demonstrated, especially in the Department of Machinery; and the simple adaption of the forces now attained, the principles established, the machines already invented, to all the beneficent uses of which they are capable, would speedily transform the industrial and social condition of mankind. I am perfectly satisfied for example, that boots and shoes may be cut out and made by machinery with less than one fourth the labour now required,—that this would require no absolutely new inventions, but only an adaption of those already well known. So in other departments of industry.'

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To the other incidental effects we must add the extraordinary diffusion of at least the elements of industrial knowledge, through the medium of our public journals and the legion of guides, handbooks, catalogues, and illustrated publications of all kind, which have given a wholesome and instructive tone to our humblest class of literature. There can, also, be little doubt that the moral effect has been highly satisfactory: —

'The idea,' says Sir John Herschel*, 'once conceived and verified that great and noble ends are to be achieved, by which the condition of the whole human species shall be permanently bettered, by bringing into exercise a sufficient quantity of sober thought, and by a proper adaptation of means, is of itself sufficient to set us earnestly on reflecting what ends are truly great and noble either in themselves, or as conducive to others of a still loftier character, because we are not now as heretofore hopeless of attaining them. . . For why should we despair that the reason which has enabled us to subdue all nature to our purposes, should (if permitted and assisted by the Providence of God) achieve a far more difficult purpose; and ultimately find some means of enabling the collective wisdom of mankind to bear down those obstacles which individual short-sightedness, selfishness and passion, oppose to all improvements, and by which the highest hopes are continually blighted, and the fairest prospects marred.'

The day may be yet far distant when Minerva shall lay aside her lance, or when we shall be fortunate enough to number war — if we may be permitted to continue the metaphor — among the dead languages; but it cannot be doubted that even the many improvements in projectiles and fire-arms, of which the Exhibition offers not a few, are all steps in the path of peace. We are continually, by such means, increasing the distance between the combatants, and placing them less in opposition to the personal prowess and passions of their adversaries than to the laws of inorganic matter. War is becoming a mere problem for the laboratory—a question of the relative expansive powers of certain gases; and the results of future campaigns are likely to depend much less on the strategy of the commanders than on the combination of chemical knowledge and mechanical skill in perfecting the Prussian needle-gun or Minier's rifle.

What can serve as a happier illustration of the pacific tendencies of our progress, or of the reluctance of science to become the handmaid of war, than the recent discoveries in chemical science in connexion with the xylicate of cotton, and flax, the latter of which has attracted so much attention, and obtained so wide a scrutiny through the medium of the present Exhibition?

* Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy.

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A few years since the world learned with surprise, almost with dismay, that the most terrible engine of human destruction lay in the explosive qualities of the cotton-fibre, which had hitherto formed the staple of our peaceful industry. But experience soon established the fact that, however applicable the extraordinary powers of M. Schönbein's gun-cotton to the purposes of industrial progress,—the blasting of rocks, the cutting of tunnels, the deepening of mines,—it was little suited to the purposes of warfare. Its indirect application to industrial purposes have been many, and among the most recent, is the silvering process of the Daguerreotype. This year the similar explosive qualities of the flax-fibre has received at the hands of M. Claussen an application, which promises for his flax-cotton, in its peaceful uses, a more enlarged sphere of influence than the gun-cotton of M. Schönbein ever affected to attain. M. Claussen steeps his flax in an alkaline solution, and on the subsequent application of sulphuric acid, explodes every fibre of the mass by means of the carbonic acid gas evolved, rendering the entire substance applicable, from the delicacy of its fibre, to the manipulation of our ordinary cotton machinery. In this way, it would seem, that after having by successive improvements in mechanism attained a rare perfection in the action of our machinery, we summon chemical science to complete by the adaptation of new products, what mere mechanical action could hardly hope to accomplish.

On the ultimate results of M. Claussen's invention, and the economic value of his discovery, it is as yet impossible to decide. But through the publicity which the subject has gained, and the thorough scrutiny to which it has been subjected, there is little fear of its value being unappreciated, or its character remaining long untested. We cannot forbear here alluding to the kindred discovery of Mr. Mercer, which may be regarded as a further step in the same direction, and which stands in intimate connexion with this summoning of chemistry to perform those delicate offices, which the grosser qualities of mechanism attempt in vain. By steeping a piece of common calico in a solution of soda, Mr. Mercer gives a fineness to the texture—from the contraction of the parts—which, besides heightening the dying properties of the material, enables him to raise figured surfaces at will, by merely guarding them against the contracting properties of the alkali. For this discovery we are indebted to the present Exhibition—as it was the desire to produce something new for it which fortunately in this instance led to the resumption of inquiries long laid aside. The next virgin discovery of which the Exposition has to boast, is one which comes before it in so unpretending a form that it

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might easily escape,—and, in truth, had nearly escaped the observation of the most inquisitive.

The last Number, 220., section 2. of the present edition of the Catalogue, mentions the models of some Lucifer-matches made with amorphous phosphorus. The uninformed reader would hardly guess that this simple statement involves the solution of one of the most curious problems of Vulcanic chemistry, and indicates results of equal importance to commerce and philanthropy. The production and commercial uses of this mysterious body have been hitherto checked by the fearful disease its subtle absorption into the system produces, and by the dangers attending its transport or storage, as it ignites at the temperature of a warm summer-day. The conversion of phosphorus from a crystallised into an amorphous form, strips this dangerous substance of its highly inflammable and poisonous qualities: but, in doing so deprives it of none of its useful properties. At the same time, the fact of this being wrought by a simple change in the arrangement of its constituent atoms, gives us an insight into a series of phenomena equally new and important. Whilst looking at the dull brown amorphous mass, of which a piece now lies before us, and comparing it with the straw-coloured crystallised form, we are no longer surprised at the succession of changes in the internal structure of carbon, from soot to graphite or the diamond. Concerning the entire identity of the amorphous and crystallised phosphorus, there can be no room for doubt, as we can at will reproduce either form from the other, without the addition of any new matter whatever. We have reason to think that the distinguished scholar to whom we owe this important discovery, Professor Schrötter, the Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Vienna, is not without strong hopes of speedily resolving some of the other elementary crystallised substances into a similarly amorphous state. Such of our readers as desire further information on the subject, will do well to consult the Monograph of the author, and the last edition of the Chemical letters of Baron Liebig, who has already ventured to suggest that many of the minerals composing the crust of the earth may be but different crystallisations of one and the same body.

We must add, that the amorphous matches now lying on our table, of which models only were admissible into the Exhibition, were not produced until within a very few weeks of its closing; and might, in all probability, owing to the accidental failure of the first experiments, have remained long a mere scientific possibility, had not the stimulant of a world-wide fame spurred the manufacturer on to a repetition of the experiment.

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This is neither the time nor place to discuss the bearing of the rival capabilities displayed on the great question of national competition. We must await the publication of the Reports of the juries before we can form any such opinion. But we may venture to state, on the authority of the collective whisperings of the deciding body, that the commerce of each country is being gradually forced into paths far beyond the influence of mere geographical distribution. The opinion seems also gaining ground that the most perfect system of Navigation Laws may co-exist with very imperfect laws of naval architecture, and that the reliance on the bolts and guards of a protective system, however venerable or intricate, may prove as delusive on emergency as the complicated virtues of Mr. Chubb's lock in the hands of a Mr. Hobbs. The opponents of free trade were in a great measure its conscientious opponents; and we feel bound to admit that the result fully justifies their sagacity according to their generation. Nasmyth's steam-hammer, Penn's engines, the Britannia hydraulic press, and the building itself, have, we understand, made converts in high places abroad on the subject of duties on iron, which occupies with the great 'country party' on the Continent the place which corn occupies amongst our own.

Were we to presume to hazard an opinion on the general character of the discoveries with which this Exhibition has made us familiar, we should say, that the direction they indicate is such as might be expected from this age—the successful effort to supersede mechanical by chemical agency. The three discoveries already alluded to, and others, such as Mr. Young's solidified gas or parafine from coal, as well as the endless improvements in electro-magnetism,—all point in the same direction. They indicate at the same time the path in which each nation will have to tread to avoid being distanced in the race of industrial competition. The competition of intellect is displacing that of matter; and the votaries of protective duties will have just cause of pride if they succeed in sustaining, even with the highest tariff-power, branches of industry which have to compete with such rivals as a simple chemical discovery creates; for instance, such as amongst ourselves, the power of extracting soda from salt, coupled with the means of utilising muriatic acid through the agency of *gutta percha*—a substance which promises to effect for the chemistry of manufactures what *platinum* has already done for analytic science.

Whatever else the results of this Exhibition prove — and it is far from easy to prognosticate the future — it will have served a large and national purpose in enlightening the world on the real condition and character of the inhabitants of this country. For

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some years past a flood of mendacious literature has poured in upon the Continent, misrepresenting and vilifying the habits, pursuits, feelings, and social condition of our producing classes. Six months of the most searching scrutiny, of an examination conducted by large sections of the populations, on whom these falsehoods have been foisted, constitute the best, and perhaps the only form of vindication which could have proved successful. We cannot envy the feelings of the fallen republican chieftain, M. Ledru Rollin, whilst assisting at the wondrous inauguration of this temple, and reflecting how strange a contrast the scene around him offered to the pictures and predictions of his work on the state of this country. It will have proved on the widest scale, and in the least controvertible form, that all sections of our population combine the most indomitable energy with the most ingrained love of order and respect for their own institutions. It is also worthy of remark, as very creditable to the advanced intelligence and manly bearing of the working classes of this country, that no feelings of jealousy seemed any where to prevail, nor any memory to exist of the many hardships and wrongs to which their brethren had been subjected within a recent period in France. The only instance of violence was that regrettable one to which we have already alluded; but which had more of a strictly ethical than political character. It has been atoned for. As a people we are incapable of malice. Hardly was the building half finished when the popular humour pronounced the gigantic equestrian statue of the redoubtable Godfrey de Bouillon, the chivalrous leader of the first Crusade, to be the effigy of the misused marshal. And the popular *amende* may be said more particularly to have lain in the suggestion, that the huge Flemish steed of the simulated hero was supplied from the sleek stock of the peccant Firm, within whose domain the act had been perpetrated, as an atonement for an offence, — to reach which even Prince Schwarzenberg's familiarity with the defects of our criminal law failed to suggest an effective form of procedure.

In conclusion let us observe, that as few designs ever awakened more alarm at its outset, or ever inspired greater apprehensions for its success during its progress, so in the same proportion have few realisations been more complete, and no consummation more pregnant, we would believe, with lasting good. It may be a matter of difficulty to apportion the exact degree in which all engaged partake of the advantages, or share its honours. But we would fain believe that few with a capacity for improvement have not gained instruction, — and few susceptible of pleasure have not derived enjoyment. They are equally

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few, we believe, who will not partake directly or indirectly of its fruits — for as it is the curse of evil ever to propagate evil, so we believe it to be the property of all things inherently good to generate what is good. If all sources of judgment be not fallacious, all classes have increased their stock of knowledge, — enlarged the sphere of their enjoyments, cultivated new and instructive relations, exercised their national hospitality, confirmed their loyalty, and this — without increasing our bills of mortality, or adding to our calendars of crime.

NOTE TO ART. VI. OF THE LAST NUMBER.

In the Article headed 'Sir E. L. Bulwer Lytton's Letters to 'John Bull, Esq.,' which appeared in the last number of the Review, we were undesignedly led into the error of supposing that Sir Edward Lytton had at one time held opinions on the subject of a free-trade in corn, different from those which he maintains at present; in palliation of which error we can only say, that we held it in common, we believe, with a large portion of the public. Our general arguments are in no degree affected by our misconception of the steadiness of Sir Edward's personal convictions upon the question: but we cannot correct our error without expressing our unfeigned regret at having, however unintentionally, misrepresented a gentleman to whom the literary world is under so many obligations.

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THE GENEUPHONIC GRAMMAR.

UNDER THE EXPRESS PATRONAGE OF H. R. H. PRINCE ALBERT.

2 Vols. Royal 8vo. Price 21s.

A Grammar of Harmony, Counterpoint, and Musical Composition; or the Generation of Euphony reduced to Natural Truth. By the late GENERAL J. J. VIRUES Y SPINOLA. *Edited by the late* BARON F. T. A. CHALUZ DE VERNEVIL, A.M. Dedicated, by special permission, to H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT. Longmans: London; 1850.

AMONGST the vast and cheering indications of advancing cultivation, which society, in this age, presents at every aspect, there is none more remarkable, yet perhaps none so little observed, as the rapid diffusion and growing universality of the taste for Musical Art, in its highest order, throughout all classes of the people in every country of civilized Europe. Nor is there to be found in all the exchanges of international courtesy, and the abatements of international jealousy, which foster such ardent and well-grounded hopes for the future peace and happiness of mankind, any more encouraging symptoms of a nascent tendency in the nations to accept what is good in others, to supply from abroad the deficiencies of fatherland, and to regard foreign excellence without distrust, than the present motion of the European schools of music, to an unity of sentiment and an amalgamation of style. Whilst we recognize the evidence of that state of transition to a more perfect condition and a more generous tone of society over the earth, which the illustrious and accomplished patron of the Geneuphonic Theory, the Prince Albert, hails with emphatic and earnest cordiality, we see in the manifest confluence of the musical schools, a proof that we are

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verging to a discovery and adoption of fixed and universal laws of the science, independent alike of national peculiarity and artistical caprice.

Looking comparatively but a few years back, we find certain distinctive systems of musical composition invariably pursued by the Italian, German, and French composers. In the Italian school, music relied for effect on the most obvious modulations, the simplest progressions, and harmonic arrangement. The French aspired to revolutionize the science, and employ the powers of music in the excitation of lofty and sublime emotions. The resources of art were made subservient to declamatory passion. What seemed mere pastime to the Italians and French, the Germans made matter of serious and laborious investigation. Hence resulted those profound revelations of harmony, which the master spirits of that country introduced with such extraordinary effect into their romantic as well as their classical productions. The present reigning style of musical composition in these countries partakes largely of the characteristics of the three great schools blended together. The Germans are rising from the depth of an ideal science, and turning from the pursuit of an erratic illumination, incline to adopt the classic regularity and high polish of the Italians, and combine intellectual melody with rich and masterly instrumentation. The Italians, whilst they have preserved their fine fluency of expressive melody, avail themselves so freely of the results of German research, that their music is daily assuming more and more of a scientific and elaborate character. The French adhere no longer to their stilted ideas of unities and declamation. Their composers have found an easy access to the lively national sensibility, by uniting the graces of melody and harmony, and retaining only a spice of their old predilection for noisy and ostentatious brilliancy. Everything denotes an amalgamation of national characteristics, and the formation of a standard of excellence amongst the three European nations where music has been fostered into its present flourishing condition. In this we perceive a tardy, as yet, an imperfect recognition by each of certain peculiar merit in the other, and a consciousness of deficiency, uncertainty, and error in whatever of system may be possessed in common by all three. The vanishing distinction and growing approximation of these national schools

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are not confined to characteristic peculiarities of style and genius, but extend in almost an equal degree to the details and methods of harmonisation. They are evidently converging to a common centre, and are each in the efforts of its individual masters, in search of fixed and natural principles of music, which may afford them a common basis of composition. At this juncture, the Geneuphonic system of Virués y Spinola is introduced seasonably, and therefore with the certainty of undergoing an adequate and impartial iuvestigation.

The perplexities, contradictions, mysteries, and profound absurdities which embarrass the student in his efforts to arrive at some distinct perception of musical truth, and laws of composition deduced from ascertained principles, through the mass of volumes which profess to teach the science of counterpoint and thorough bass, are well known for the difficulties which they represent, although they are regarded by most of the uninitiated as sublime abstractions, to be comprehended only by intellect and genius approaching to the divine. We call the attention of the reader to a few samples out of thousands of the temper in which musical science as it now stands is treated by the ablest theorists of modern times.

Bacon, in his History of Music, observes, "*That the theory is reduced to certain mystical subtleties, of which the application and truth have nothing either constant or certain.*" De Momigny, in the Preface to his Dictionary of Music of the Methodical Encyclopædia, exclaims, "What is tiresome is the continual battles I am obliged to fight against so many doctrines opposed to the truth which this science contains, and where the erroneous ideas of Rameau, D'Alembert, of the Abbé Feytou, and of many others are collected, and in which are gathered, in spite of judgment and experience, all that is known as being false. I pity those who have stupidity enough to stuff their minds with this nonsense; they are far less advanced than those who never opened a book of theory."

But Engelbach, in the preface to his English Translation of F. Schneider's Elements of Musical Harmony and Composition, details at greater length the difficulties which the luckless student has to encounter:—"A want of simple and luminous principles has for ages impeded the progress and diffusion of musical science. Concealed and overwhelmed as it lay, and still

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remains in a great degree, under loads of scholastic rubbish, the heap has been stirred and raked up by the thousands of plodding votaries, most of whom have carried away the rubbish triumphantly; thinking that with a smattering of a few ill-understood Gothic technicalities, they had brought off the very substance and essence of the art. Delighted with the delusive treasure, they thought that the mystery of harmony consisted of a multitude of arbitrary and gratuitous rules, in the knowledge of a great variety of hard names of chords, and in the capability of designating these by a motley combination of figures heaped up above each other, without system and without reference to the true principles of the harmonic science.

The renowned Albrechtsberger, in his Introduction to his Treatise on Harmony and Counterpoint, observed that his only aim in undertaking that work, was to endeavour to fill up the *numerous vacancies*, and to put an end to the *numerous contradictions* which were to be met with in all the theoretical works on the harmonical science which had come to his knowlege. But the endeavours of this great theorist were as fruitless and unsuccessful as those of his predecessors and contemporaries. We do not underrate the efforts or depreciate the authority of Albrechtsberger, but we must not fall into the error of believing that he succeeded in any great degree in the task that he had undertaken. He did not render his interesting subject less abstruse than he had himself found it; he did not correct any of those errors which were adopted by previous writers, and which unfortunately time had consecrated. Gottfried Weber, in his "Theory of Musical Composition, treated with a view to a naturally Consecutive Arrangement of Facts," in deploring such a state of the science, candidly avows that his own efforts were inadequate to supply the lamentable deficiencies which had so long existed, and almost despairs of ever arriving at a fundamental principle, or principles, upon which to ground a precise and luminous theory. He says, "My work is by no means, as many may suppose, intended to be a system in the philosophico-scientific sense of that term,—by no means a combination of truths, all derived in the manner of logical sequence from one grand fundamental principle. On the contrary, it is one of the most radical features of my view, that the musical art is not susceptible of such a systematic establishment, or at least it has thus far failed of proving itself

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to be so. The little truth which we have as yet discovered in the realm of musical composition consists merely in a number of experiments and observations upon the good or bad effect of this or that combination of tones. But an attempt to derive these facts of experience, in a logically consecutive manner, from any one leading principle, and to reduce them to the form of a philosophical science, to a system, has always thus far, as I have already had but too frequent occasion to remark in the course of this treatise, been destined only to a signal defeat."

We find that the despair of Weber, to ascertain, by his own research, any fixed and fundamental law or *natural truth* in music, led him to a dogmatic denial that such truth *could* be discovered, or even had existence. The most ancient, as well as the most modern, writers on the art, betray but more vaguely and with less candour a consciousness of their own inability to elicit the natural truth, to eliminate a constant, unquestionable law, or to extract from all the existing examples even one rule of endurable, nay, even of general, application. Every student, every professor, knows too well and at too much cost, the impossibility of arriving at any clear or consistent view of principles in melody, or scientific method in harmonization from all the elementary treatises in use, let him compare with what labour and patience he may their obscurities and contradictions, and the ill-disguised perplexities of the authors. But in this work of Virués are the fundamental laws and natural truths of music produced, confirmed, and illustrated, made easy of comprehension and observance. If they cannot be accepted with faith, let them, at least, be examined with impartiality. The fact will soon appear, and plainly, that they have been intuitively felt and practically observed, although but obscurely recognized by every composer who has attained the dignity of master. It will be found that the means are at length presented of inventing melody and constructing harmony, with certainty and with confidence in the truths of the principles and the accuracy of the laws upon which henceforth the student may proceed, either to criticize or to compose.

In fact, the science of music has not sufficiently been considered in a philosophical point of view in modern times. Too much musty lore, too many conventional phrases and terms, and too much bigotry, have impeded the march of reason in this beautiful science. To remove these encumbrances was a task

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that required in no ordinary degree sagacity and clear-sightedness, not only to detect fallacy, but to create afresh a new foundation whereon to ground a new system, more simple in its forms, and shorter and clearer in its demonstrations. No ultimate advantage can be derived from a new system unless it possess these qualifications. It will be evident that any attempt made towards gaining this end is deserving of great consideration and respect, even had such a task been undertaken by an ordinary individual. But, happily for the interests of the musical science, a poet, a philosopher, a statesman, and a distinguished military commander, considered that such an enterprise was worthy of his great powers. He had in his youth studied all the known works on harmony without finding a single satisfactory theory, and, reflecting on the deficiency, he formed the idea of closely examining natural truths, and considered whether mathematics could or could not be brought to assist him in his investigations. The account De Virués y Spinóla gives of his own labours is instructive and entertaining., and will be found in the introduction to the volume.

The result of these labours is the GENEUPHONIC GRAMMAR, in which is reduced to one natural principle all the laws in music, and a system raised up, so well digested, that it admits of no contradictions, exceptions, or licences.

By order of the King of Spain, the manuscript of the Geneuphony was examined by a commission of several celebrated composers. The award of the commission was, "That the new system is the first work that has truly revealed the secrets of nature as to what constitutes, produces, and regulates harmony; the first work in which the law of euphony is made evident and rationally explained, and in which the separation and difference between dissonance and cacophony is clearly marked and rendered naturally obvious and susceptible to all." The purport of this award, the universality of the principle, was demonstrated in an assembly of fifty-four composers, professors, and enlightened dilettanti. Rossini so approved of the award, that he composed extempore in the Conservatory at Madrid, in the presence of both masters and pupils, a canon in four parts as an example of the rules found in this volume. The Grammar became the class-book in the Conservatory at Madrid, and has since obtained the approbation of several distinguished theorists and professors, among whom Fetis, Halevy, Zimmerman, Boildieu, Berton,

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Müller, and Ferrari. The work commences with a Compendium of the Elements of Music. Following the elementary treatise, the Geneuphonic Grammar is divided into two parts. The first, called the Practical Treatise, commences with the section *of* Harmony. Harmony is defined to consist in the addition or agreeable union of one or more sounds previously determined upon for the melody, air, or singing part; but the melody being once invented, *harmony exists without the composer's intervention.* This dictum will startle an experienced and reflective reader, but let him proceed, and mark the lucidity and science as well as the simplicity with which the author establishes it as a fixed and invariable law. The oversight of those authors (and they are all that have written on this subject), not perceiving its truth, has led to all the complication that constitute the incongruous system generally received under the name of Thorough Bass. The want of this perception is the sole cause of those confused and confusing precepts by which it has in all times been attempted to construct an artificial, and to suppress or corrupt the natural law of harmony.

Virués starts with the proposition, that the grave or acute octaves of any perceptible sound have in euphony either melodic or harmonic, the same value as their denominative sound and as the unison, and proves this assertion by the octavism of the artificial perfect chord produced by resonance; and he draws the following conclusion, that all the rules of harmony must be necessarily contained within the narrow compass of one single octave of any scale. He goes on to say, that the harmonic generator is that which has hitherto been called *dissonance*—it arises from destruction, and brings with it reproduction. He discovers the fact, that the generation of harmony cannot be subject to or controlled by mathematical calculations; and this point of the new theory is lucidly and logically proved. He then proceeds to tell us that *dissonance*, from which all harmony arises, is the double sonorousness of the two ends of an interval smaller than the minor third, which he affirms to be doubly euphonic. From this he deduces what he terms the melo-harmonic typometre, and it determines the sounds which in harmony may be joined to each other. It is a distribution of the seven sounds of the scale into three harmonic groups, applicable to the forty-two scales or keys of music, and it clearly proves the incontestable superiority of the new system.

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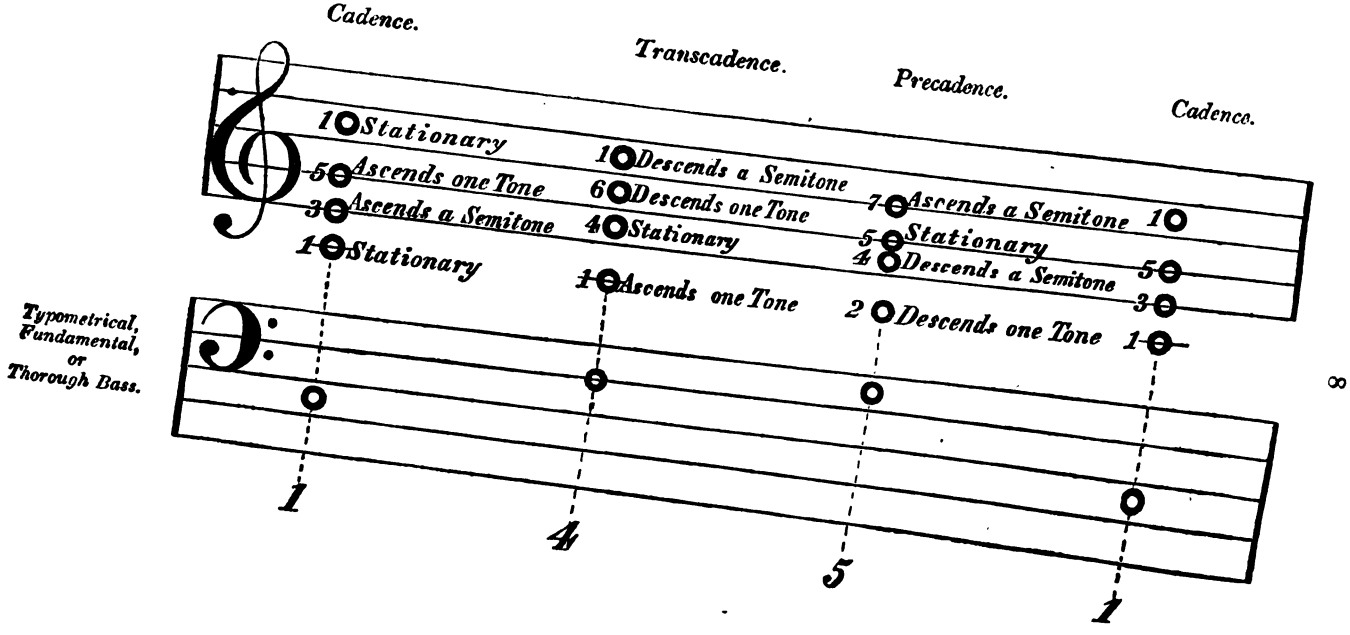

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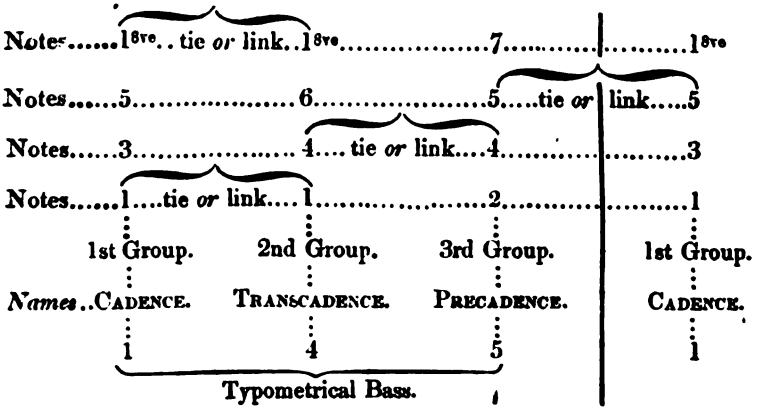
MELO-HARMONIC TYPOMETRE,

APPLICABLE TO THE

FORTY-TWO SCALES OR KEYS OF MUSIC,

OR,

Distribution of the Seven Sounds of the Scale into three Harmonical Groups.



Cadence is the chord called perfect, and is composed of the notes 1, 3, 5 of the heptachord, and has been known hitherto as the dominant. *Transcadence* is the chord hitherto termed the sub-dominant, and is composed of the notes 1, 4, 6 of the heptachord, and naturally follows the *cadence;* and *precadence,* hitherto the chord of the seventh, or sensible, is composed of the notes 2, 4, 5, 7 of the heptachord. Virués divides the "Typometric Table"* into two divisions, the one for the *major* and the other for the *minor* mode. Each division is subdivided into three parts; the first one contains the names of the keys which are called natural, sharp, or flat, from the tonic bearing one or other of those three characters; the second part contains the three chords into which the melo-harmonic typometer divides the octave in every scale; and the third contains the indication of the other form, or forms, of every key. With the assistance

* Vide page 113 of the Book.

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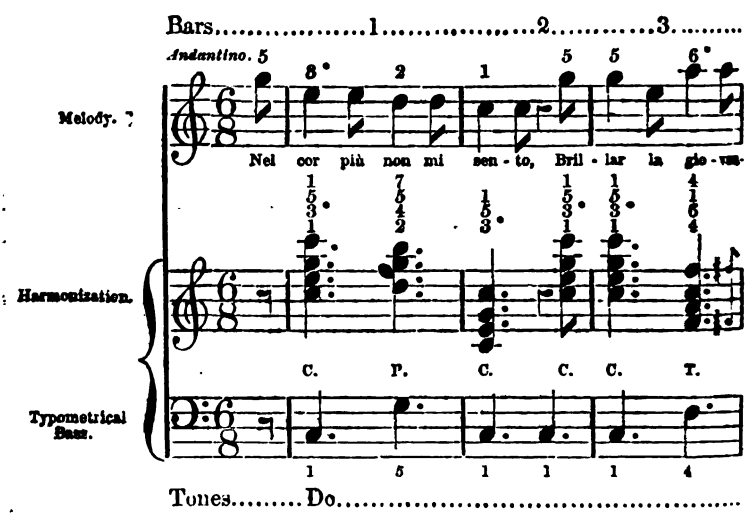
of this table, the author does not assert too much when he observes that the student will be enabled to harmonize every melody the key of which is not changed, i. e., in which no sounds enter but those belonging to the same scale; and the rules for harmonizing with such a transition follow in their natural order. The relations of the principal chords to the tonic, and to one another, are set forth in a few explicit and concise rules, which remove all uncertainty as to their use.

After these follows a table of all the scales, which is called the Table of Polytonogamism, and enables the student, who has carefully perused the preceding lessons, to determine, by momentary reference, what chords are admissible in the harmonies of any one of the forty-two scales, and what notes are incidental to any key according to the enharmonic division of the octave. From this the reader is led to some examples of the unconscious application of those principles by authors who had never thought of the theory, but followed it by an instinctive appreciation of its principles. We take the following illustration in a passage from a Cavatina by Paesiello: "Nel cor più non mi sento." In this example the relative use of the transcadence and cadence, with preparation for the close, by the precadence, is placed very obviously before the student.



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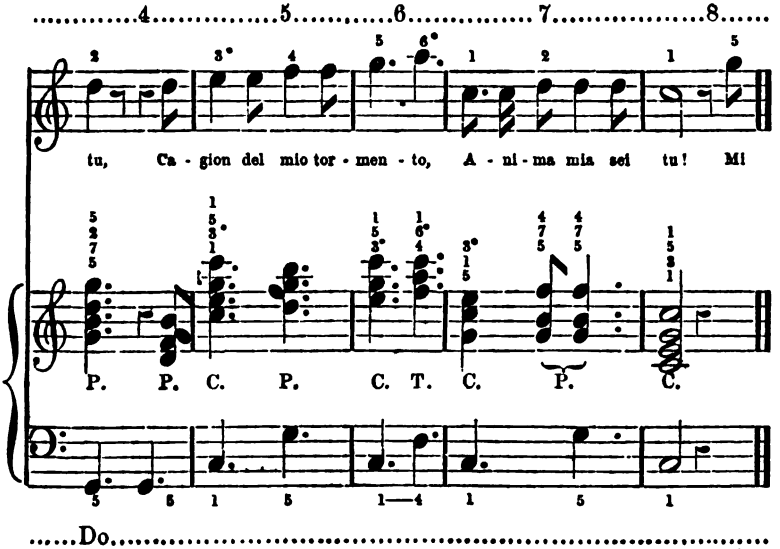

The author gives the whole of the piece, with highly edifying and conclusive remarks upon the composition, fully explaining thereby the practical applicability and perfection of the Geneuphony. Other examples, prepared for the purpose, follow, and are complete for the purpose of elucidation, to any scholar who applies a serious, though not necessarily a laborious attention to the study. From these lessons on rough harmony, he proceeds to the development of the system of counterpoint, by which, on Geneuphonic principles, uncouth and monotonous harmony is interrupted, modified, and polished. The chapter on this division of the subject is ample, and in the highest degree satisfactory, and prepares for the development of the Golden Rule, namely, "Never produce the intervals, or sounds, of fifths or octaves, by means of two voices, or parts, which ascend or descend together."

Further illustrations tend to confirm entirely the learner's confidence and satisfaction.

One is a somewhat pedantic quartett by Catel, which, however, even in its trivial formality, furnishes an excellent lesson for the practice of Geneuphonic Counterpoint. It is as follows:

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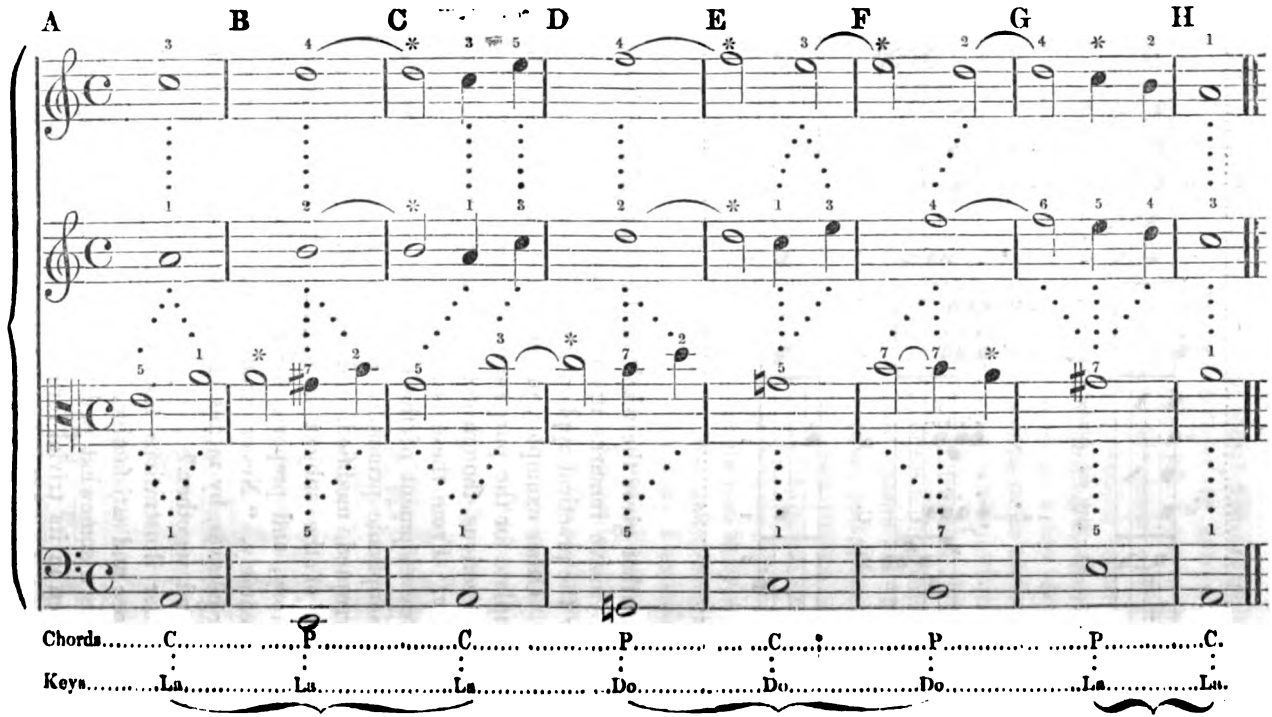
Example.



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This example, taken from page 48 of Catel's well-known Treatise on Harmony, begins and finishes by the cadence of La, that is, 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 1st again, or La, Do, Mi, La. It is, therefore, in key of La, and minor mode, the Do not bearing a sharp. The second part passes from the 5th to the octave, and this being a note of the cadence, does not produce dissonance, which is the function and effect of the precadence, and therefore this is not a passing note. But the progression of the second part in this manner effects a retardation, or prolongation, of the following precadence, that is, the 7th in the dominant, or the 5th, 7th, 2nd, and 4th.

In directing the student to analyze the rest of this example for himself, the author by no means recommends it for imitation. It is rather different with his treatment of a trio and minuet by Haydn, a careful examination of which charming composition will satisfy the student of his advancement by this time in the part and principles of musical composition. The author has supplied beforehand all the requisites for such an analysis.

We have afterwards a complete essay on the construction and character of the Canon and Fugue, and these formidable species of composition in high art are deprived altogether of the formidable investments with which ignorance and pedantry had clothed them.

The remainder of the volume is chiefly occupied with choice examples from masters of known excellence. Amongst these is a counterpoint in eight parts by Reicha, to which the editor has added the Geneuphonic ciphering.

Further exemplifications are deduced from the Spanish composers, Carnicer, Mozart, Kromer, Haydn, Richter, and Rossini. The specimen, chosen from the last named master, is the canon for four voices extemporized in the Royal Conservatory at Madrid, in illustration and express honour of the Geneuphonic Theory. It may not be considered a masterpiece of the great author, but it certainly requires no excuse for haste or poverty of composition, on the account of the improvisatorial circumstances of its production. It is an exceedingly skilled and effective *opusculum*, in every respect worthy of a great musical writer.

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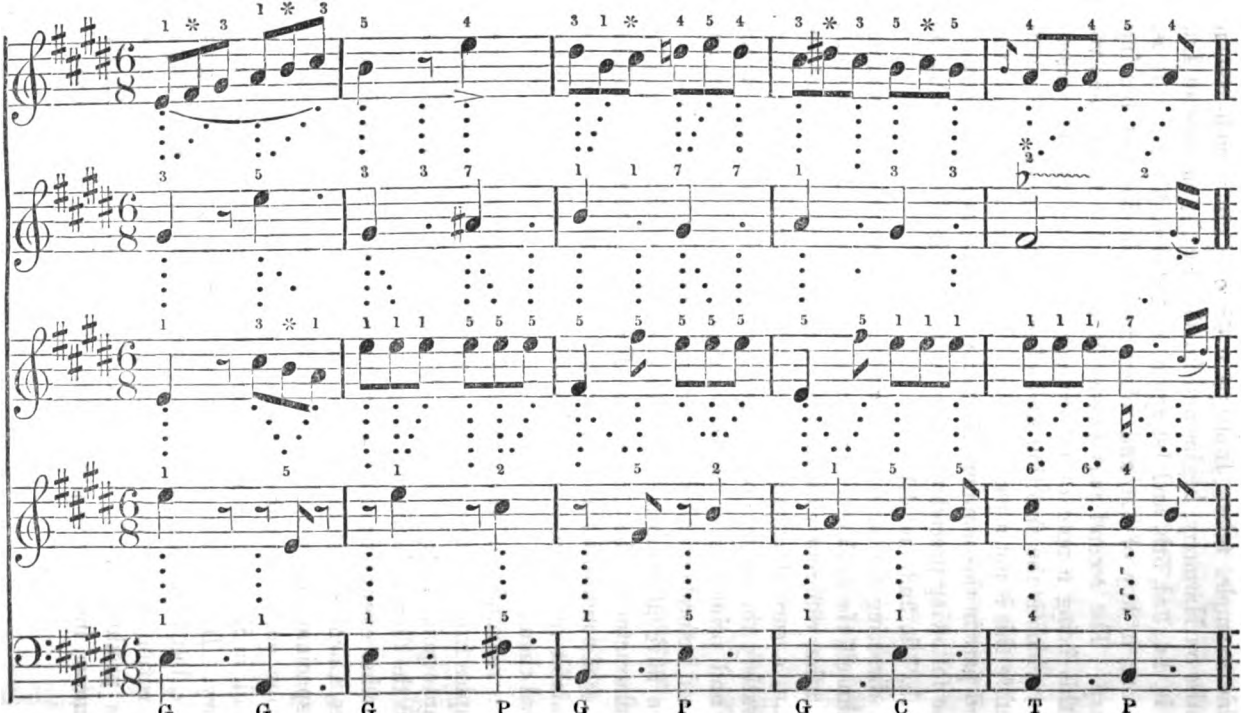

Typometric Bass, confirmatory of the Geneuphony.

(G. ROSSINI.)

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A copious and elaborate index concludes a volume which recommends itself to the musical student by the unparalleled originality of the views which it sets forth, and the vast importance of the truths which are enunciated and established in its pages. To those who have already passed years of toil and pain in the ever disappointed endeavour to extricate some truth and intelligence from the mass of mystery hitherto passing under the name of counterpoint, it will come as a happy rescue from endless and vexatious confusion. To the tyro, it offers a rich boon in the presentation of simple principles, intelligible truths, and an easy road to perfection, in a department of study from which most have been hitherto deterred from persevering by the artificial difficulties with which it was obstructed. When he has made his careful way through this work, he will find that he possesses all the knowledge necessary for excellence in every description of composition, from simple melody to the changeful combinations of the canon and the fugue. Nor can even the accomplished professor rise from its perusal without the conviction that he has at length learned that music *has* natural laws, and that they are as simple as they are peremptory and invariable.

Communications with reference to this Book to be addressed to Mr. JAMES FREDERICK HASKINS, Mus. Prof., care of Messrs. Cramer, Beale, and Chappell, 201, Regent Street, London.

J. HADDON, PRINTER, CASTLE STREET, FINSBURY.

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THE

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE

AND

HISTORICAL REVIEW,

1851.

At the end of the first twelvemonth of its renewed course the Gentleman's Magazine appeals with confidence to its friends for a continuance, and to the public at large for an increase, of their patronage and support. Is is not for the Proprietors to boast of what has been done, or to compare their claims to attention with those of their competitors in the same branch of publication, but they would respectfully submit to general consideration the following classified enumeration of the subjects of some of the principal articles which have appeared in the Magazine during the past year. If this enumeration proves, as the proprietors hope it will universally be allowed to do, that the Gentleman's Magazine has striven earnestly to maintain its position as the ORGAN AND REPRESENTATIVE OF HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN LITERATURE; if it shows that the Magazine has contained a great mass of attractive and valuable articles, not upon trifles, but upon subjects which properly excite the attention of all persons of education and refinement; if it establishes the fact that the Magazine is not devoted either to dry speculation upon subjects of no importance or practical bearing, but to inquiries which have an interest in every house and family where literature is regarded even as a source of merely temporary amusement; if it evinces that the Magazine is supported by writers of unquestionable name and eminence; that it has friends and correspondents wherever genuine English literature is understood and appreciated; that it is conducted with energy and liberality, with a true feeling for the dignity of literature and a correct appreciation of its manifold uses;—if these things are apparent even upon the face of the following enumeration, the Proprietors confidently hope that their appeal for a continuance and extension of support will not be in vain.

The circumstances of the coming year will stimulate all persons connected with the Magazine to increased exertion. The forthcoming Number for January* will be found to contain an unusual variety of articles of great interest, and neither expense nor trouble will be spared during the whole

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* The Magazine for January 1851 will contain, among other papers, a Memoir of the late Thomas Amyot, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A. (with a Portrait); the Story of Nell Gwyn, related by PETER CUNNINGHAM, Esq. F.S.A., with two Engravings, being Chap. I. of a work which is to be published entire in the Magazine; the conclusion of the Diary of the first Earl of Egmont, A.D. 1729; Archæological Notes from a Journal of a Tour on the Rhine (with two Engravings); papers on the alleged Plagiarism of Milton from the Adamo Caduto of Salandra; on the Lives and Works of Farindon and Owen the Cavalier and Roundhead Divines; on the Barons of the Cinque Ports; on the concluding volumes of Southey's Life and Correspondence; on Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland; on a Monument to a Notary in Ellesmere Church, in Shropshire, by M. HOLBECHE BLOXAM, Esq. (with a Plate); on the Iconography of Northern Germany, &c. &c. &c.; with the customary Review of New Books, Historical Chronicle, and Obituary.

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year to make the Magazine worthy of the great events by which 1851 seems destined to be distinguished.

The following enumeration exhibits only the subjects of the principal articles. Besides these, the Magazine contains copious NOTES upon the incidents and literature OF THE MONTH; REVIEWS of important New Publications, especially those relating to History, Biography, or Topography; an HISTORICAL CHRONICLE of recent events; accounts of the PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES AND OTHER ARCHÆOLOGICAL BODIES; and an OBITUARY which has long been celebrated for its completeness and impartiality. To enumerate all the articles in the Obituary, or in any other branch of the Magazine, or even a tenth part of them, is of course impossible; but the most important which have appeared during the past twelve months will be found mentioned in the following classification, and from them the character of the Magazine may be very safely inferred.

HISTORY.

Inquiry into the authenticity of the Letters of Logan of Restalrig, and the consequent reality of the Gowrie conspiracy, by JOHN BRUCE, Esq.
What did Charles II. receive for Dunkirk? by PETER CUNNINGHAM, Esq.
Minutes of the Battle of Trafalgar.
Observations on Letters of Archbishop Laud, by JOHN BRUCE, Esq.
Alleged Confession of Piracy by Sir Walter Raleigh, by JAMES SPEDDING, Esq.
The early History of the Gipsies in Europe, by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq.
History of the Romans under the Empire.
Inquiry whether Mr. Macaulay has proved his accusations against William Penn.
The Banquet of the Dead on the funeral of Francis I., by JOHN DORAN, Esq., LL.D.
History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece.
A record of Rambouillet.
Chronicle of Queen Jane.
The Congress of Vienna and the Prince de Ligne.
The Unpopularity of the Spaniards in England during the reign of Philip and Mary.
Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.
Historical Ballad of the Duke of Buckingham and Banister.
Birth of the Prince of Wales, son of James II.

ANTIQUITIES.

Several Articles on Roman Remains discovered at Cirencester (with Plates).
Netherclift's Collection of Autograph Letters.
Account of a Temple to the Dea Sequana discovered at the source of the Seine, by C. ROACH SMITH, Esq.
A series of articles upon Christian Iconography and Legendary Art, by J. G. WALLER, Esq.
Christian Monuments in England and Wales (with Plates).
The Holy Maul, by WILLIAM JOHN THOMS, Esq.
Articles on Tradesmen's Tokens (with Plates).
The Coins of Caractacus, by the Rev. BEALE POSTE.
Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses (with Plates).
Discovery of Tomb of a female Gallo-Roman artist, by C. ROACH SMITH, Esq. (with Plate).
Account of a Monumental Brass to William de Aldeburgh, by the Rev. CHARLES BOUTELL (with a Plate).
History of Pottery (with Plates).
The College Plate at Oxford (with Plates).
On the principal Monuments in the Cathedral at Oxford, by MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM, Esq. (with Plates).
Date of the erection of Chaucer's Tomb, by J. GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq.
Antiquities discovered at Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne (with Plates).
Coronation Stone at Kingston-upon-Thames (with an Engraving).
The Works of the Van Lings in Painted Glass.
Remarks on certain Mediæval Seals, by S. R. MAITLAND, D.D.
Anglo-Norman Doorway Arch at Tottenhill, Norfolk (with several illustrative Plates).
Legends of the Monastic Orders.

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TOPOGRAPHY.

History of Leicester.
Windsor Castle in the reign of Elizabeth, by J. Gough Nichols, Esq. (two articles, with Plates).
The Castle and Honour of Clare (with Plates).
History of Winchelsea (with Plates).

BIOGRAPHY.

John Howard and the Prison World of Europe; with a subsequent Narrative by J. Bowyer Nichols, Esq. of the proceedings on the proposal to erect a Statue to the Memory of the great philanthropist.
Sir Philip Sidney and his designed embarkation on Discoveries in America, by J. Payne Collier, Esq.
Lives of the Chief Justices of England.
Life of Dr. Chalmers.
Lives of Peter the Cruel, of Mahomet, and of Tasso.
Lives of the Princesses of England.
Romance of the Peerage.
Several articles containing new Particulars of the Life of Sir Philip Sidney, by J. Payne Collier, Esq.
Recollections of Chantrey.
Several articles on the Life and Correspondence of Southey, with a letter on his injustice to Mrs. Barbauld, from Miss Lucy Aikin.
Lives of Oehlenschläger, of Cardinal Pacca, and of Inigo Jones as Court Dramatist (with Plates).
Memoirs of Jaques Louis Vincent, of Vincent de Paul, of Paul Louis Courier, of the Marquis de Vauvenargues, and of the Abbé de Saint Pierre, by Francis Harwell.
Life of Dr. Andrew Combe.
Recollections of Lord Cloncurry.
Memoirs of Mr. Plumer Ward.
Memoir of Thomas Dodd (with a portrait).
Memoir of André Chénier.
Autobiography of John Britton.

OBITUARY.

The Obituary during the year includes no fewer than 257 memoirs of persons distinguished in their several stations, whether in the State, the Church, the Law, the Army and Navy, Literature, the Arts, &c. &c. Among these are Queen Adelaide, Louis-Philippe, and the Duke of Cambridge, Sir Robert Peel, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Lord Leigh, Lord Jeffrey, Chief Justice Doherty, Bishop Coleridge, the Deans of Bristol, Hereford, and Salisbury, Sir William Allan, Etty the Academician, Sir M. I. Brunel, Wm. Wordsworth, Rev. W. Lisle Bowles, Miss Jane Porter, Mr. Serjeant Lawes, Louis Hayes Petit, Esq., Dr. Cooke Taylor, Ebenezer Elliott, Thomas Stapleton, Esq., Edward Du Bois, Esq., Rev. William Kirby the Entomologist, Consul Barker, Lieut. Waghorn, Dr. Clanny, Rev. Dr. Byrth, Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Rev. T. S. Grimshawe, W. C. Townsend, Esq. Q. C., Mr. Smith of Deanston, Dr. Prout, Dr. Bromet, Sir Martin A. Shee, Rt. Hon. C. W. W. Wynn, Sir Lancelot Shadwell, Rev. Walter Davies the Welsh bard and scholar, Rev. Dr. Ingram, Rev. Dr. Thackeray, &c. &c.

LITERARY HISTORY.

Dr. Johnson and the Ivy Lane Club, by John Bowyer Nichols, Esq.
Piozziana.—Anecdotes, Criticisms, &c., by Mrs. H. L. Piozzi.
A series of articles containing facts in Literary and General History as contributions for a New Biographia Britannica, by Peter Cunningham, Esq.
History of Early Spanish Literature.
Several articles on the Proper Division of Much Ado about Nothing and King Lear into Acts, by James Spedding, Esq.
The Gregorians alluded to by Pope, by W. D. Haggard, Esq.
The Authorship of the English Mercurie of 1588 and the Origin of Newspapers, by Thomas Watts, Esq., and J. G. Cochrane, Esq.
Sávitri, an historical poem from the Sanscrit.
Account of an unknown Poem of Drayton, by John Payne Collier, Esq.
Account of a Genealogical Relic in the possession of the poet Wordsworth, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter.
Who wrote Shakspere's Henry VIII.? by James Spedding, Esq.

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Various articles relating to Michael Drayton and Thomas Lodge, by JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq.
Letters relating to a great Literary Piracy in the Prayer Book published by the Ecclesiastical History Society.
Unpublished Anecdotes of Sir Thomas Wyatt the poet, by JOHN BRUCE, Esq.
That the Ecclesiastical History Society was not patronized by Archbishop Howley, by S. R. MAITLAND, D.D.
Letters respecting the Authorship of Junius from Sir FORTUNATUS DWARRIS and JAMES ROCHE, Esq.
Wordsworth's Autobiographical Poem.
Date of Spenser's Death, by J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq.
An Evening with Voltaire, extracted from the Diary of Mr. Richard Neville Neville, communicated by LORD BRAYBROOKE.
Dryden's Quarrel with Flecknoe, by PETER CUNNINGHAM, Esq.
The Duchess of Queensberry's patronage of Gay.

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

(mostly now first published).

Letters of Pope to Lady Mary Wortley Montague.
Letter of Dr. Johnson to the Earl of Hertford.
Five Letters of Archbishop Laud.
Letters of the Man of Ross.
Letter from Bishop Bonner containing his long lost accusations against Sir Thomas Wyatt the poet.
Documents relating to the Duke of Monmouth.
Letters and papers respecting William Penn and the Taunton Maids.
Contemporary account of the funeral of Amy Robsart.
Letter from the Princess Elizabeth dowager Landgravine of Hesse Homburg to George IV.
Letters and documents relating to Wyatt the poet.
Letter from Frederick Duke of York to Colonel Richard Grenville.
Letter from the Privy Council charging the Lord Lieutenant of Kent to protect King Philip's Spanish attendants.
Unpublished Diary of John Earl of Egmont, A.D. 1729.
Letter from Jane Porter to Sir Egerton Brydges.
Letter from Count Suworow to Sir William N. Hart.
Contract of Bernard Van Ling to execute certain works in painted glass at Wadham College, Oxford.
Original Letters from Bishop Bedell to Lady Wrey, communicated by J. E. B. MAYOR, Esq.
Documents relating to the birth of the Prince of Wales, son of James II.
The Duchess of Queensberry's Letter to George II.

ARCHITECTURE.

The present state of Architectural Literature.
Romanesque and Pointed Architecture in France.
New Window in Ely Cathedral.
The True Principles of Church Restoration.
Gothic Windows (with Plates).
Introduction to the study of Gothic Architecture.

PHILOLOGY.

Deductions from the History of Words, by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq.
The New Cratylus.

ARTICLES ON SUBJECTS OF PUBLIC INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE.

The Mediæval Exhibition of 1850.
Prisons and Prison Discipline.
Copyright of Foreign Authors.
Several Articles on the Report of the Commissioners on the British Museum, and the present state of the Library Catalogue.
The Recent Papal Bull and Pastoral.

The GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE is published on the first day of every month, by Messrs. NICHOLS and SON, 25, Parliament Street, Westminster, price 2*s.* 6*d.*, and may be ordered of any Bookseller.

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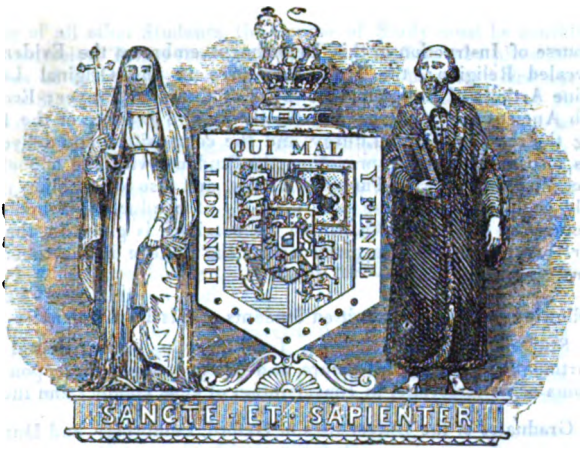

King's College, London.

THE General Education of King's College, London, is carried on in six distinct yet mutually related Departments ; viz.—

I. THE THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.
II. THE DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.
III. THE DEPARTMENT OF THE APPLIED SCIENCES.
IV. THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.
V. THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT.
VI. THE SCHOOL.

And under these separate divisions, every information respecting the College is given in the following pages.

Theological Department.

THE object in view in this Department of King's College is to provide a system of sound Theological Instruction, essentially practical in its nature, for the large and important class of young men who propose to offer themselves as Candidates for Holy Orders.

This department is under the immediate superintendence of the Principal of King's College, and is conducted by

Divinity—The Rev. ALEXANDER MCCAUL, D.D.
The Rev. FREDERICK D. MAURICE, M.A.
The Rev. RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M.A. } *Professors.*
The Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A. . . . .
The Rev. MICHAEL BIGGS, M.A. . . . .
The Rev. ROBT. HAYES, M.A. . . . . } *Lecturers.*

Vocal Music, by JOHN HULLAH, Esq. Professor.

Public Reading, by the Rev. A. S. THELWALL, M.A. Lecturer.

Public Health, by W. A. GUY, Esq. M.B. Cantab. Professor.

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The course of Instruction in this Department embraces the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion; the Holy Scriptures in the Original Languages; the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion; the Book of Common Prayer; Ecclesiastical History, both Ancient and Modern; and the theory and practice of the Pastoral Office, including the reading of the Liturgy, and the composition and delivery of Sermons. Measures also are taken for providing the Students with the opportunity of acting as District Visitors under the Parochial Clergy, and also for enabling them to become practically acquainted with the best methods of conducting Schools. A course of eight Lectures on Public Health, in all its bearings, is given in the Lent Term of each year. Instruction is also given within the College in the theory and practice of Congregational Singing.

The following persons are admitted Students of this Department:—

1. All Students of King's College, London, who, having passed three years in the Department of General Literature and Science, shall thereupon have received the Diploma of an Associate, in consideration of good conduct and industry.

2. All Graduates of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham.

3. All persons of the age of twenty-one, who, after having been examined and reported as eligible by the Principal, shall obtain the recommendation of a Bishop. The necessary qualifications are, the Four Gospels in Greek; a knowledge of the Historical Scriptures in English; a thorough acquaintance with the Church Catechism, together with Bishop Nicholson's Exposition (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge); a *grammatical* knowledge of some one Greek, and some one Latin classical book, which may be selected by the Candidate himself; and the power of translating from English into Latin. An acquaintance with the elements of Hebrew is also desirable. The examination lasts two days.*

Associates of King's College, London, and Graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, or Durham, will be admitted on producing testimonials from their respective Colleges; and all other Candidates must send to the Principal, seven days previous to the examination, a written application for admission, accompanied by a Certificate of good moral and religious character from the Clergyman of their parish, or of the parish in which they have last resided. The form of application may be obtained from the Secretary.

Previously to Matriculation each Student must subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, as well as a declaration that he will conform to all the rules and regulations of the College.

All Students are expected to attend the Chapel Service morning and evening daily; and in rotation to give their services as Teachers in the Evening School for the Indigent, established in the Parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

Persons already in Deacons' Orders, desirous of preparing themselves as Candidates for Priests' Orders, as well as Graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, are permitted to attend the Theological Course for such length of time as they may desire;

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* The choice of books to be brought up is to be made from the following List:—

HOMER.—Books I. II. III.
ONE GREEK TRAGEDY.
HERODOTUS.—Book II., or any two other Books.
THUCYDIDES.—One Book.
XENOPHON.—"Cyropædia." Books I. II. III.
———— "Anabasis." Books I. II. III.
CICERO.—"De Officiis."
———— "De Natura Deorum."
CICERO.—"De Finibus."
CÆSAR.—"De Bello Gallico." Three Books.
SALLUST.
LIVY.—Two Books.
TACITUS.—"De Moribus Germanorum," and "Agricola."
VIRGIL.—Three Books of the Æneid, or the Georgics.
HORACE.—The Odes; the Satires; or the Epistles.

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but, in the case of all other Students, the Course of Study must be continued during at least Six Academical Terms (two years). Examinations take place in each of the several branches of instruction every Term, and a probationary *vivâ voce* must be passed by every Student in his fourth or fifth Term. At the close of the course of two years a strict examination takes place; and to all Students who have merited such a distinction by their attainments, and by their good character during the period of their Studies in King's College, the Principal is empowered by the Council to grant a Certificate of attainments, which may be exhibited for the satisfaction of that Bishop to whom any Student may apply to be admitted as a Candidate for Holy Orders.

The Board of Examiners hold examinations for Certificates at the close of the Michaelmas and Lent Terms in each year.

The Fees for attending the full prescribed Course are 8*l.* 8*s.* per Term for Graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham; 10*l.* 10*s.** per Term for all Associates of King's College, London; and 12*l.* 12*s.** per Term for all other Students. The Fees for the first two Terms must be paid upon entrance, in addition to the following; viz.—

Matriculation Fee, including Library..	£3	3	0	Associates of King's College, London, are not liable to this charge.
Cap and Gown	1	10	0	
The Calendar.....		2	6	
	£4	15	6	

* These Fees are reduced £2 2*s.* per Term to those residing in College.

Occasional Students are admitted to attend the Class of any Divinity Professor, upon payment of £4 4*s.* per Term; and the Lectures on Public Health upon payment of £1 1*s.* for the course.

The Academical Year consists of Three Terms; viz.—

Michaelmas Term, from about the 1st of October to the week before Christmas;

Lent Term, from about the 20th of January to the week before Easter;

Easter Term, from about ten days after Easter to the end of June.

RESIDENCE IN COLLEGE.

A residence has been provided within the College precincts for a limited number of Theological Students. All Students (except Graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, or those whose homes are in London or its neighbourhood) must be prepared at any time to occupy any rooms which may be vacant. The Rev. Robert Hayes, M.A. appointed Censor by the Council, has the superintendence of all Resident Students, under strictly academical discipline.

Terms.—The amount to be paid for residence varies, according to the position of the rooms, from £50 to £55 per annum; in which amount is included the whole expense of Rent for Furnished Room, and Attendance throughout the year; Coals, Breakfast and Tea in the Common Room, and Dinner in the College Hall, during Term time.

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CLASS OF THEOLOGICAL CANDIDATES.

With the view of preparing those gentlemen who are not yet qualified to pass the examination for admission into the Theological Department, a Class is established, in which instruction in the Latin and Greek Languages is given daily. The elements of Hebrew are also taught.

Lecturers.

Rev. Michael Biggs, M.A.

Rev. Robert Hayes, M.A.

Any person, twenty years of age, may enter this Class for such length of time as he may desire, upon producing a Certificate of good moral conduct from the Clergyman of the last place in which he has resided.

The instruction given varies according to the proficiency of each Student; but all Students of this Class are required to attend the Chaplain's Lecture on Wednesday and Friday.

Hours of attendance, from ten to two daily.

The Fees amount to £8 8*s.* per Term, which sum covers every expense, except the Entrance Fees, which are £4 15*s.* 6*d.*, as in the Theological Department. Upon joining that Department, the Student will not have the Entrance Fees to pay again.

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Department of General Literature and Science.

THE Course of Education in this Department comprises the following:—

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, according to the principles of the United Church of England and Ireland, by the Rev. R. W. Jelf, D.D. Principal, and the Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A. late Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

THE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS, by the Rev. R. W. BROWNE, M.A. late Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, Professor, and the Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, Lecturer.

MATHEMATICS, by the Rev. T. G. HALL, M.A. late Fellow and Tutor of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Professor; the Rev. T. A. COCK, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and T. M. Goodeve, Esq. M.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, Lecturers.

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND MODERN HISTORY, by the Rev. F. D. MAURICE, M.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, and JOHN JULIUS STUTZER, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Lecturer.

FRENCH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE, by PROFESSOR BRASSEUR.

GERMAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE, by PROFESSOR BERNAYS.

The Fees for MATRICULATED Students, *i.e.* for those who are admitted to the regular and prescribed course of Study, amount to 9*l.* 14*s.* per term. The Fees for the first two terms are paid upon Matriculation, in addition to the following:—

£3	3	0	..... Matriculation, including Library Subscription.
1	10	0	..... Cap and Gown.
0	2	6	..... The Calendar.
£4	15	6	

Previously to Matriculation, Students are required to produce a testimonial of good conduct from their last instructor, and to subscribe a declaration, that they will conform to all the Rules and Regulations of the College.

Except in special cases, no one is admitted under sixteen years of age.

Chapel.—The duties of the day commence with Prayers in the Chapel, at Ten o'Clock precisely. The presence of all Matriculated Students is required. A register of their attendance is kept.

The Academical Year consists of *Three Terms*; viz. *Michaelmas Term*, from the beginning of October to the week before Christmas; *Lent Term*, from the middle of January to the week before Easter; *Easter Term*, from Easter to the beginning of July.

Examinations.—There are Examinations at the end of the Michaelmas and Easter Terms when the Students are classed according to their proficiency. The Examination at the close of the Academical Year is followed by a public Distribution of Prizes.

Two Scholarships of 30*l.* each for three years, and two of 20*l.* each for two years, are given annually to the Matriculated Students of this department. A Divinity Scholarship of 30*l.* is also open to them each year.

Students who have pursued their Studies in the College with credit for three years, having also attended one extra Course of Lectures, are entitled to the Diploma of "Associate of King's College." This privilege is also extended to all Students who have passed through a Course of two years' study at the College, if they have previously passed two years either at King's College School, or at one of the Schools in Union, and had entered the head form in that School before leaving it.

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Students of this Department, who have obtained the Diploma of "Associate of King's College," are entitled to enter the Theological Department, with the view of becoming Candidates for Holy Orders.

Dinner is provided in the College Hall every day at 6 o'clock for such Students as may wish to avail themselves of that accommodation.

The different Classes in this Department are likewise open to Gentlemen who, being unable to attend the whole course, may wish for the opportunity of studying any particular subject. The following are the Fees for admission to separate Courses:—

		Term. £	s.	d.	Per Ann. £	s.	d.
Classical Literature	Profes. Rev. R. W. Browne	4	4	0	10	10	0
Mathematics	Profes. Rev. T. G. Hall	4	4	0	10	10	0
English Literature and Modern History	Profes. Rev. F. D. Maurice	2	2	0	5	5	0
Hebrew Language	Profes. Rev. A. M'Caul, D.D.	2	2	0	5	5	0
Oriental Languages	Profes. Duncan Forbes	2	12	6	6	6	0
French Language	Profes. Brasseur	2	2	0	5	5	0
German Language	Profes. Bernays	2	2	0	5	5	0
Italian Language	Profes. Pistrucci	2	2	0	5	5	0
Spanish Language	Profes. Curtoys	2	2	0	5	5	0
Chinese Language	Profes Fearon	5	5	0		—	
Vocal Music	Profes. John Hullah	0	10	6		—	
Drawing and Perspective	Professor Worsley	2	2	0*	5	5	0*
		4	4	0†	10	10	0†
Fencing	Prof. Angelo	1	11	6	4	4	0
Public Reading	Rev. A. S. Thelwall, M.A.	2	2	0	5	5	0
Library Fee			—		1	1	0

* For Matriculated Students. † For Occasional Students.

The following gentlemen connected with the Department receive Students into their houses as Boarders.

Rev. T. A. Cook, M.A. 18, Rodney Street, Pentonville.
T. M. Goodeve, Esq. M.A. 12, Eastbourne Terrace. } *Mathematical Tutors.*

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Department of General Instruction in the Applied Sciences,

INCLUDING ENGINEERING, PRACTICAL SURVEYING AND LEVELLING, MANUFACTURING ART AND MACHINERY, &c.

OBJECT OF THE DEPARTMENT, AND NATURE OF THE INSTRUCTION.

The object of this Department of King's College is to provide a system of general instruction, essentially practical in its nature, for the large and important class of young men hereafter to be engaged in Civil and Military Engineering, Surveying, Architecture, Commerce, and the higher branches of Manufacturing Art.

The course of instruction comprises those branches of knowledge which form the groundwork of a liberal education. The following are the subjects taught in this department:—

First Year.—Mathematics. Natural Philosophy. Chemistry. Manufacturing Art. Geometrical Drawing. Mineralogy, Land-Surveying. Workshop.

Second Year.—Mathematics. Mechanics. Chemistry. Manufacturing Art and Machinery. Mineralogy. Geology. Land-Surveying. Geometrical Drawing. Workshop.

Third Year.—Mathematics. The Theory of Engineering and Architectural Construction. The Practice of Engineering and Architectural Construction. Manufacturing Art and Machinery. Practical Geology. Chemical Manipulation. Geometrical Drawing. Levelling. Workshop.

The whole course thus occupies three years, and forms an appropriate introduction to that kind of instruction which can only be obtained within the walls of the manufactory, or by actually taking part in the labours of the Surveyor, the Engineer, or the Architect.

Museums, containing important and valuable collections, illustrating the subjects taught, are open to the Students.

The following statement exhibits the nature of the instruction communicated in this Department by the different Professors and Lecturers.

MATHEMATICS.

Professor—Rev. T. G. Hall, M.A.

Tutors—Rev. T. A. Cock, M.A., T. M. Goodeve, Esq. M.A.

First Year.—Arithmetic; Algebra; Euclid, Books 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11; Plane Trigonometry, and Logarithms.

Second Year.—Conic Sections; application of Algebra to Geometry; the Differential and Integral Calculus.

Third Year.—Spherical Trigonometry; Geometry of three dimensions; Differential Calculus.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY AND ASTRONOMY.

Professor—Rev. M. O'Brien, M.A.

The object of these Lectures is to teach the principal Mechanical Sciences—namely, Statics, Dynamics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Hydraulics, together with Optics and Astronomy.

The instruction given in the first year requires no mathematical knowledge on the part of the Student, the method of solving problems by Construction being adapted.

In the second and third years the Mathematical principles of Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Optics, and Astronomy are taught, including the Theory of Work, the Mathematical Calculations relating to Roofs, Arches, Chain Bridges, Embankments, Strength of Materials, &c., together with the Constructions and use of Optical and Astronomical Instruments.

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CHEMISTRY.

PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY—W. A. MILLER, M.D. F.R.S.
PROFESSOR OF PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY—J. E. BOWMAN, ESQ.
DEMONSTRATOR—J. F. HARDWICH, ESQ.

FIRST YEAR.—A PREPARATORY COURSE, which commences with a View of the Forces which concur to the production of Chemical Phenomena, and concludes with a description of the Non-metallic Elements and their principal Compounds.

The Text-Book used in this part of the Course is Daniell's Introduction to the Study of Chemical Philosophy.

SECOND YEAR.—A Course of PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY, in which the applications of Science to the Arts are taught; and the processes of the different Manufactures, of Metallurgy, and of Domestic Economy, explained and illustrated.

Examinations of the Class, both *viva voce* and by written papers, are held on Wednesdays at the usual Lecture hour.

THIRD YEAR.—The Students are admitted to the Operating Laboratory; and go through a course of Manipulation in the most important operations of Chemistry, including the first steps of Analysis.

EXPERIMENTAL AND ANALYTICAL CHEMISTRY.—The object of this Class is to afford Students who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of analysis, or of prosecuting original research, an opportunity of doing so under the superintendence of the Professor and Demonstrator; Students may enter, upon payment of the Fees, at any time except during the vacation, and for a period of one, three, six or nine months, as may best suit their convenience. The laboratory hours are from ten till four daily, except Saturday, on which day the hours are from ten to one.

Attention will be particularly given to—

1. *Analytical Chemistry.* 2. *Agricultural Chemistry.* 3. *Processes of Manufacturing Art.* 4. *Physiological Chemistry.*

In addition to the Laboratory Fee, each Student defrays the expenses of his own Experiments. The amount of this expense, which is comparatively trifling and often very small, is entirely under his own control.

GEOLOGY.

PROFESSOR ANSTED, M.A. F.R.S. F.G.S.

SECOND YEAR.—Physical Geography and the elements of Descriptive Geology.

THIRD YEAR.—The practical application of Geology to Engineering Architecture, Agriculture, and Mining.

The Students in each year are accompanied by the Professor to the Museum of Economic Geology and other public institutions, and also on excursions into the country.

ARTS OF CONSTRUCTION IN CONNEXION WITH CIVIL ENGINEERING AND ARCHITECTURE.

PROFESSOR HOSKING.—ANDREW MOSELEY, ESQ.

The Course includes a descriptive account of the various Arts and Operations employed in Hydraulic Architecture or Engineering, and also of those employed in the ordinary practice of Civil Architecture;—Navigators', Bricklayers', Masons', Carpenters', Smiths' Work, &c.;—the matters acted upon,—the terms used,—the tools, implements, and materials employed, and the modes of operating with or upon them;—the combinations effected, and the modes of effecting them in detail:—Cutting and Embanking,—the Formation and Construction of Drains and Sewers, Shafts, Driftways, Tunnels, Canals, Reservoirs, Water Works, Roads, Bridges, Railways, Docks, Harbours, &c. &c.

The Course will also include Instruction in Specifying, Estimating, and Measuring Work, and in the practice of Architectural Surveying generally.

MANUFACTURING ART & MACHINERY.

PROFESSOR COWPER.

The Lectures and Instructions in this section are intended to familiarize the student with the Machinery and contrivances in actual use; thus adding a knowledge of practice to the knowledge of theory taught by the Professors.

To effect this object, machines are not only described in general terms, but their various details, and the design of each particular construction, are explained and illustrated by drawings or models.

The most important manufacturing processes are also explained and amply illustrated in this course.

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VISITS OF THE STUDENTS TO MANUFACTORIES, ETC.

Access to some of the principal Manufacturing Establishments in the metropolis, and its vicinity, having been liberally granted to the Students of this department of King's College, they are accustomed to visit them from time to time, accompanied by the Lecturer on Manufacturing Art and Machinery: they thus see in operation the manufacturing processes which have formed the subject of their Lectures, the mechanical expedients which concur to the production of each are explained, and the economy of the whole is pointed out on the spot.

ENGINEERING WORKSHOP.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF G. A. TIMME, ESQ.

A Workshop has been fitted up, with lathes, forges, benches, and the necessary implements for enabling the Students to become practically familiar with the Management of Tools. At certain hours the Students are admitted, and a regular course of instruction is given, beginning with the simplest kinds of work and gradually proceeding to the construction of more or less complicated models of Apparatus and Machinery, according to the proficiency of the Student.

Besides the Superintendent, experienced Workmen attend during the working hours.

GEOMETRICAL DRAWING AND DESCRIPTIVE GEOMETRY.

PROFESSOR THOS. BRADLEY.

This Course comprehends Practical Geometry in the most extensive sense of the term.

1. PLANE GEOMETRY, the delinention of plane figures and curves, and, generally, the solution of all the Problems required in the practical Arts; the use of Drawing Instruments, &c.

2. SOLID, or DESCRIPTIVE GEOMETRY, including PROJECTION, ISOMETRICAL PROJECTION, PERSPECTIVE, the construction of MAPS, LIGHT and SHADE, and DRAWING, in the common acceptation of the term, as connected with the objects of this Department.

LANDSCAPE DRAWING AND COLOURING,

AS APPLIED TO

ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS.

PROFESSOR H. WORSLEY.

Students of the third year have the option of attending this Class *instead* of that of Geometrical Drawing.

MINERALOGY.

PROFESSOR J. TENNANT, F.G.S.

The Course commences with a description of the Physical and Chemical characters of Minerals in general.

The principal simple Minerals are next separately considered, and the readiest mode of distinguishing them described.

The course of instruction includes a minute description of all the substances entering into the composition of Rocks, and of those minerals which are also used in the Arts; illustrated by an extensive collection of characteristic specimens, and diagrams of the principal crystalline forms, &c.

PRACTICAL SURVEYING AND LEVELLING.

HENRY JAMES CASTLE, ESQ.

This Course is at once theoretical and practical: in the College, it embraces the various in-door details of a Surveyor's Office; and in the field, the uses and application of the several Surveying Instruments which are now in use on *Civil and Military* Surveys in England, India, and the colonies. It also includes the Theory and Practice of Levelling, the making of Sections from the Field-Books, and all the requisite practical detail before getting out the working drawings and letting the contracts; and generally, such information, both theoretical and practical, as will qualify the Student to enter at once as Draughtsman into an Engineer's Office.

THE ADMISSION OF STUDENTS.

Previously to Matriculation, Students are required to produce a testimonial of good conduct from their last instructor, and to subscribe a declaration, that they will conform to all the Rules and Regulations of the College. Every Student, after obtaining the signature of the Principal to his card of admission, is required to bring it to Professor HALL, the Dean of this Department, in order that it may be countersigned by him.

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CHAPEL.—All Matriculated Students are required to attend Prayers in the Chapel, at 10 o'clock precisely. A register of their attendance is kept.

The Academical Year consists of *Three Terms*; viz. *Michaelmas Term*, from the beginning of October to the week before Christmas; *Lent Term*, from the middle of January to the week before Easter; *Easter Term*, from Easter to the beginning of July.

EXAMINATIONS.—One at the end of the Michaelmas Term, and another at the close of the Academical Year, at which latter there is a public Distribution of Prizes.

AGE OF ADMISSION.—Except in special cases, no one is admitted under sixteen years of age.

FEES.

The Fees payable by Matriculated Students, that is, by those who are admitted to the Regular and Prescribed Course of Study, amount to £12 3*s.* per Term. The Fees for the first two Terms must be paid upon entrance, in addition to the following:—

Matriculation Fee, including Library Subscription	£3 3 0
Cap and Gown	1 10 0
Calendar	0 2 6
	£4 15 6

The different Classes in this Department are likewise open to any Gentlemen who may not wish to attend the whole of the Course, but who may desire to study any particular subject. The following are the Fees:—

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Mathematics	4 4 0 per Term	10 10 0 per Annum.
Natural Philosophy	3 3 0 ...ditto	8 8 0 ditto.
Chemistry		7 7 0 for the Course.
Practical Chemistry		{4 4 0* / 5 5 0†} for the Course.
Experimental and Analytical Chemistry	{4 4 0 One Month. / 10 10 0 Three Months. / 18 18 0 Six months. / 26 5 0 Nine Months.}	
Practical Geology and Mining	2 12 6 for the Lent Term,	3 3 0 for the two Terms.
Geology	1 11 6 for the Mich. Term, or	
Arts of Construction, &c.	2 12 6 per Term	7 7 0 per Annum.
Landscape Drawing	{3 3 0* / 4 4 0†} ditto	{5 5 0* / 10 10 0†} ditto.
Mineralogy		2 2 0 for the Course.
Geometrical Drawing	2 2 0 per Term	5 5 0 per Annum.
Manufacturing Art and Machinery	2 2 0 .....ditto	5 5 0 ditto.
Practical Surveying	3 3 0 .....ditto	8 8 0 ditto.
Workshop	2 2 0 .....ditto	5 5 0 ditto.

* For Matriculated Students. † For Occasional Students.

ENDOWMENTS, PRIZES, &c.

SCHOLARSHIPS.—One Scholarship of 30*l.* and one of 20*l.*, each for two years, are given annually to the Matriculated Students of this department. A Divinity Prize of 30*l.* is also open to them each year.

DANIELL SCHOLARSHIP.—The DANIELL SCHOLARSHIP, a biennial Scholarship of 20*l.*, tenable for two years, for the best series of researches executed in the Laboratory, is open to any Student of the College who has been a member of the Class of Experimental and Analytical Chemistry for six months during the two years preceding the award of the Prize.

PRIZES for proficiency are given in each class to those Students who most distinguish themselves at the respective Examinations held in June.

CERTIFICATES OF HONOUR.—Certificates are granted to Students, and are of two forms, viz. Certificates of Approval, and Certificates of Honour. Certificates of Approval may be attained at the end of the second year, by those Students whose general progress is considered satisfactory; but Certificates of Honour only at the end of the third year, and to those whose studies have been pursued with distinguished success.

ASSOCIATES, &c.—Students who have pursued their Studies in this Department with credit for three years, are entitled to the Diploma of "Associate of King's College."

N.B. This privilege, as well as the Certificate of Honour, is granted to all Students who have passed through a Course of two years' study in this Department, if they have previously passed two years either in King's College School, or in one of the Schools in Union, and had reached the head form of that School before leaving it.

RESIDENCE OF STUDENTS.—Students may reside in College, and the following Gentlemen connected with the DEPARTMENT OF THE APPLIED SCIENCES receive Students as Boarders in their houses:—The Rev. T. A. COCK, A.M. 18, Rodney-street, Pentonville; T. M. GOODEVE, Esq. M.A. Eastbourne-terrace, Hyde Park; H. J. CASTLE, Esq. 6, Rodney-street, Pentonville; A. MOSELEY, Esq. 53, Great Ormond-street, Queen-square.

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Medical Department,

SESSION 1851-52.

THE Academical year in this Department is divided into Two Sessions; the Winter Session, which begins on the 1st of October, and terminates at the end of March; and the Summer Session, which begins on the 1st of May, and terminates at the end of July.

Students are of two kinds, *Matriculated* and *Occasional*. *Matriculated* Students are those who receive their entire Medical education at King's College. They wear the College Cap and Gown, and enjoy certain privileges enumerated in the Calendar. *Occasional* Students comprehend those who attend only the Lectures of particular Professors.

The Lectures upon the various branches of Medical Knowledge are as follows:—

ANATOMY, DESCRIPTIVE AND SURGICAL.

Professor, RICHARD PARTRIDGE, F.R.S.

Demonstrators, HENRY LEE, F.R.C.S.; HENRY HYDE SALTER, M.B.; JOHN WOOD.

These Lectures comprise a full course of Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy, and are illustrated by recent Dissections, by Preparations from the Anatomical Museum, and by a large collection of Diagrams.

PHYSIOLOGY: GENERAL AND MORBID ANATOMY.

Professors, R. B. TODD, M.D., F.R.S.; and W. BOWMAN, F.R.S.

This Course comprises a minute examination of the structure and functions of the tissues and organs of the human body, and is illustrated by recent Dissections, by Preparations and Drawings of parts in Human and Comparative Anatomy, by Experiments, and by Microscopical Observations. Some subjects are treated of only in alternate years.

CHEMISTRY.

Professor, W. A. MILLER, M.D. F.R.S.

Demonstrator, and Curator of the Laboratory, T. F. HARDWICH.

This Course commences with a review of the forces concerned in the production of Chemical phenomena, and then proceeds with a description of the various elementary substances, and their chief compounds, both inorganic and organic. It is illustrated by large Collections of Philosophical Apparatus, of Chemical Preparations, and of Minerals.

ANALYTICAL AND EXPERIMENTAL CHEMISTRY.—The object of this Class is to enable Students themselves to follow up a Course of investigation in particular subjects, and to acquire a knowledge of Analytical Chemistry, by working under the Professor and Demonstrator. The Laboratory is provided with every requisite, and is open daily from ten to four. Students, whether medical or non-medical, may enter at any time, during the Winter and Summer Sessions, for periods of one, three, six, or nine months.

PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY.

Professor, J. E. BOWMAN.

This Course, consisting of Thirty Lessons of two hours each, is given during the Summer in a Laboratory fitted up for the express purpose. Each Student during the Course performs the principal operations of Chemistry, including the tests for the Poisons in most common use.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

Professor, GEORGE BUDD, M.D. F.R.S.

The Lectures on this subject are exemplified by Preparations, Drawings, and Models, and by recent Specimens of diseased structure.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF SURGERY.

Professor, WILLIAM FERGUSSON, F.R.S.

This Course is illustrated by Preparations, Models, Casts, and Drawings, and by recent Specimens of the effects of disease or injury. The principal Operations of Surgery are exemplified on the dead body. To these Lectures belongs the large collection of Diagrams and Casts presented to the College by Mr. GREEN, and by the present Professor.

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BOTANY.

Professor, EDWARD FORBES, F.R.S. F.L.S.

In these Lectures the organization of Plants is demonstrated, their physiology explained, and the different modes of classification, natural and artificial, described. The subjects treated of are illustrated by fresh and dried specimens of Plants, and by a large collection of Drawings and Diagrams. The Pupils have frequent opportunities, during the Course, of attending the Professor on Herborizing Excursions.

MATERIA MEDICA AND THERAPEUTICS.

Professor, J. FORBES ROYLE, M.D. F.R.S.

The articles of Materia Medica will be arranged according to their uses as Medicines. The Lectures are exemplified by Experiments, and by the Drugs and Pharmaceutical Preparations presented to King's College by the Society of Apothecaries and by the late Sir HENRY HALFORD, Bart.: they are also illustrated by coloured drawings of Plants, by the Herbaria of King's College, and by the Collections of the Professor.

A Collection of Materia Medica has been formed expressly for the use of the Students.

COMPARATIVE ANATOMY.

Professor, T. RYMER JONES, F.R.S.

This Course is illustrated by a separate Collection of Preparations, and by a most extensive series of Diagrams. Minute Structures are displayed to the Class by the Microscope.

These Lectures are recognised by the Army Medical Board, as equivalent to the Course of Natural History required as a qualification for Army Surgeons.

MIDWIFERY, and the DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Professor, ARTHUR FARRE, M.D. F.R.S.

These Lectures are illustrated by an extensive series of Drawings and Preparations.

Instruction and Cases in *Practical* Midwifery are given to the more advanced Students.

FORENSIC MEDICINE.

Professor, W. A. GUY, M.B. F.S.S.

These Lectures treat of the Legal and Medical relations of each question in Forensic Medicine, including Toxicology; and are illustrated by Drawings, Preparations, and Tables, and by numerous examples from recorded trials.

RESIDENT MEDICAL TUTOR,

WILLIAM BRINTON, M.D.

The duty of the Medical Tutor is to assist the Students living in the College, as well as the non-resident Students, in the subjects of the Lectures of their first and second years.

KING'S COLLEGE HOSPITAL.

This Hospital is situate in the immediate neighbourhood of the College.

Consulting Physicians. { Thos. Watson, M.D. / Robt. Ferguson, M.D.

Physicians. { George Budd, M.D. F.R.S. / R. B. Todd, M.D. F.R.S.

Physician for Diseases of Women and Children, and Physician Accoucheur.—Arthur Farre, M.D. F.R.S.

Physician to Out-Patients. } W. A. Guy, M.B.

Assistant Physician.—Geo. Johnson, M.D.

Surgeons. { W. Fergusson, F.R.S. / Richard Partridge, F.R.S.

Assistant-Surgeons. { William Bowman, F.R.S. / Henry Lee, F.R.C.S.

Surgeon-Dentist.—S. Cartwright, Jun.

Dr. Arthur Farre attends at ½ past 11 on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

Clinical Lectures are delivered, at half-past one o'clock, on alternate—

Mondays . . . . by Dr. BUDD.
Tuesdays . . . by Dr. TODD.
Thursdays . . . by Mr. FERGUSSON.
Fridays . . . by Mr. PARTRIDGE.

The Physicians' Assistant and Clinical Clerks, the House-Surgeon and Dressers, are selected by *examination* from among those *Matriculated* Students of the College who are Pupils of the Hospital.—No Fee is paid for any of these appointments.

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TABLE OF FEES, AND OF THE DAYS AND HOURS OF THE LECTURES AND HOSPITAL ATTENDANCE.

The Medical Students are expected to attend Chapel daily at 10 o'clock A.M.

CLASS.	M.	Tu.	W.	Th.	F.	S.	Hours.	Fee for the Sessional Course.	Fee for Unlimited Attendance.
WINTER SESSION.									
Anatomy	—	—	—	—	—	—	9 — 10 A.M.	£8 8 0	£9 9 0
The Chaplain's Lectures					—		10½ — 11		
Physiology	—		—	—	—		12½ — 1½	8 8 0	9 9 0
The Principal's Lectures			—				1½ — 2		
Chemistry	—	—	—	—	—		3 — 4	7 7 0	9 9 0
Medicine		—		—		—	4 — 5	5 5 0	7 7 0
Surgery		—		—		—	5 — 6	4 4 0	6 6 0
SUMMER SESSION.									
The Chaplain's Lectures					—		9 — 10 A.M.		
Botany		—	—	—		—	9 — 10	£3 3 0	£4 4 0
Materia Medica		—	—	—	—		10½ — 11½	5 5 0	6 6 0
Forensic Medicine	—	—	—		—		12½ — 1½	3 3 0	4 4 0
*Practical Chemistry	—	—	—	—	—	—	10½ — 12	4 4 0	8 8 0
The Principal's Lectures			—				1½ — 2		
Comparative Anatomy	—		—		—		10½ — 11½	3 3 0	4 4 0
Midwifery	—		—	—	—		4 — 5	4 4 0	6 6 0

HOSPITAL: daily from half-past one to three, except on Wednesday, when the visit is deferred until two o'clock, to enable each Student to attend the Principal's Lecture.

The Course of Study required by the Regulations of the College of Surgeons and the Society of Apothecaries, comprises the following Lectures, of which the Terms are annexed:—

	Number of Sessional Courses.	Payment.
ANATOMY, Descriptive and Surgical, with Dissections	3	£9 9 0
PHYSIOLOGY: General and Morbid Anatomy	3	9 9 0
CHEMISTRY	1	7 7 0
BOTANY	1	3 3 0
MATERIA MEDICA	1	5 5 0
MEDICINE	2	7 7 0
SURGERY	2	6 6 0
MIDWIFERY	2	6 6 0
FORENSIC MEDICINE	1	3 3 0
PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY	1	4 4 0
		61 19 0
Hospital Fees		31 10 0
		93 9 0
Students are recommended to take out a *Perpetual* Ticket for Chemistry, and for Materia Medica, by paying the additional sum of		3 3 0
		£96 12 0

This payment may be made either in one sum upon Matriculation, or in two equal sums; the one at the commencement of the Winter Session, October 1st, and the other, after the Christmas vacation, not later than the 21st January.

The following Fees must also be paid at the time of Matriculation:—

Matriculation Fee	£1 1 0
Library Fee	1 1 0
Subscription to the Scholarship Fund	1 1 0
Cap and Gown	1 10 0
Calendar	0 2 6
	£4 15 6

The Fees for admission to the Laboratory Class of Analytical Chemistry are, for one month, 4*l.* 4*s.*; for three months, 10*l.* 10*s.*; for six months, 18*l.* 18*s.*; for nine months, 26*l.* 5*s.*

Fee for the Medical Tutor, to resident Students, 2*l.* 2*s.* for each Academical year; to non-resident Students, 3*l.* 3*s.* All resident Students are required to attend the Medical Tutor during their first year.

The Fees for *perpetual* admission to every Course, (except the Class of Analytical Chemistry,) including the Hospital, amount to 107*l.* 2*s.*

* Half the class attends three days, alternately.

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HOSPITAL FEES.

	£	s.	d.
PERPETUAL ADMISSION to the Medical and Surgical Practice:—			
For Matriculated Students of King's College	31	10	0
For Pupils who are not Matriculated Students	36	15	0

MEDICAL PRACTICE:—	£	s.	d.
Three Months	6	6	0
Six Months	10	10	0
Twelve Months	15	15	0
Eighteen Months			
Perpetual	21	0	0

SURGICAL PRACTICE:—	£	s.	d.
Three Months	10	10	0
Six Months	15	15	0
Twelve Months	21	0	0
Twenty-one Months			
Perpetual	26	5	0

Registration Fee (to be paid to the Secretary at King's College Hospital), 10s. 6d.

ENDOWMENTS AND PRIZES

IN FAVOUR OF MEDICAL STUDENTS.

1. SCHOLARSHIPS,—given annually.—One of 40*l.* for Students of the third and fourth year, tenable for three years; one of 30*l.*, for Students of the second year, tenable for two years; and three of 20*l.*, for Students of the first year, tenable for two years.

2. LEATHES PRIZES.—The Interest of 300*l.* bequeathed by the late Mr. Leathes, is applied in the purchase of a Bible and Prayer-book, as Yearly Prizes, to two Medical Students, who shall be found most worthy of the same, for their proficiency in Religious Knowledge, and their general conduct.

3. WARNEFORD PRIZES.—The Interest of 1000*l.* given by the Rev. Dr. Warneford, is expended in the purchase of two Medals, and of Books to be given annually to two Medical Students who shall most distinguish themselves at an Examination consisting of Questions in—1. Two branches of Medical Science taught in the College, to be selected by the Candidates. 2. The Holy Scriptures. 3. Butler's Analogy.—The first prize is of the value of 25*l.*, and the second of 15*l.*

Matriculated Students only can become candidates for these Prizes and Scholarships. The Examination for the Warneford and Leathes Prizes takes place in October, and for the Scholarships after the Winter Session.

4. DANIELL SCHOLARSHIP.—This Scholarship has been founded in honour of the late Professor Daniell, and is open to every Student of the College. It is of the annual value of 20*l.*, tenable for two years; and is given every second year for the best series of researches in Chemistry made in the Laboratory of the College since the last award.

5. PRIZES, AND CERTIFICATES OF HONOUR, are awarded in the different Classes, according to fixed regulations.

6. CLINICAL PRIZES AND CERTIFICATES OF HONOUR are likewise given for proficiency in subjects taught at the Hospital.

ASSOCIATES OF KING'S COLLEGE.—This distinction is conferred at the recommendation of the Professors, on such Students as, having completed with distinction Four Years of Study, are approved by the Principal.

DEGREES.—Students of this College are admitted to Degrees in Arts and Medicine, and for the Honours, Exhibitions, and Scholarships conferred by the Senate of the University of London.

By a regulation of the University of Edinburgh, three out of the four years of study required by that University for its degree of M.D. may be passed at King's College.

RESIDENCE OF STUDENTS.—Students may reside in the College; and some of the Professors receive Pupils into their houses.

The Parents or Guardians of Students coming to King's College are earnestly requested to communicate with the Dean of the Medical Department before placing them in lodgings.

DINING HALL.—There is a Dining Hall in the College, for the accommodation of the resident Students, and for such other Students as may desire to avail themselves of it.

The Dean of the Medical Department attends in the Marsden Library every morning from a quarter past ten to eleven o'clock.

The next Winter Session will commence on Wednesday, the 1st of October next, with an Introductory Lecture by Professor William Bowman, F.R.S., at 2 o'clock precisely.

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Military Department.

This Department is intended for the benefit of the numerous class of Gentlemen who may be expecting Commissions in the Army, or direct appointments in the Honourable East India Company's service.

The course of instruction embraces—

1. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE, with a special attention to those branches which have a bearing, more or less direct, upon the strictly professional studies.

2. DIRECT PROFESSIONAL STUDIES.

The entire Course occupies two years, during the whole of which Religious Instruction forms an essential part of the system.

The Course for Students of the first year, includes—Latin, and Ancient History; Mathematics; English History, Literature and Composition; Geography; French and German; Military Drawing; Field Fortification.

For Students of the second year, instruction of a higher kind is continued in Latin and Ancient History; Mathematics; English History, Literature, and Composition; Geography; French and German; Military Surveying, comprising the practical use of surveying instruments; Permanent Fortification, and Castrametation; Tactics, comprising the composition, armament, and various functions of the three forces.

Instruction can also be obtained within the College in the Oriental languages, in Natural Philosophy, Practical Mechanics, Fencing, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Chemistry, &c.; but these do not form part of the regular Course.

Any Student who may be sufficiently advanced, may be moved from the first to the second year's Course, by permission of the Principal.

The different Classes are conducted by the following Professors and Lecturers:—

Religious Instruction, according to the principles of the United Church of England and Ireland, by the Rev. E. H. Plumptre, M.A. Chaplain, late Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

Latin and Ancient History, by the Rev. R. W. Browne, M.A. late Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, Professor, and the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, Lecturer.

Mathematics, by the Rev. T. G. Hall, M.A. late Fellow and Tutor of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Professor; the Rev. T. A. Cock, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and T. M. Goodeve, Esq. M.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, Lecturers.

English Literature, Modern History, and Geography, by John Julius Stuizer, Esq. M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Lecturer.

French, by Isidore Brasseur, Professor.

German, by Adolphus Bernays, P.D. Professor.

Fortification and Military Science, by W. Walker, Esq. late Captain of H.M.'s 69th Foot, Professor.

Topographical Drawing, by Thomas Bradley, Esq. Professor.

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REGULATIONS RESPECTING STUDENTS.

The Students received into this Department are—

I. *Matriculated Students*, or those admitted to the regular and full prescribed course of study. Each candidate for Matriculation must produce a testimonial of good character from his last instructor; and when admitted by the Principal, must subscribe his name to a declaration that he will conform to all the rules and regulations which may from time to time be prescribed for the good government of the College, under the sanction and authority of the Council.

No one can be admited a Matriculated Student under Fifteen Years of Age.

The Fees payable by Matriculated Students amount to £10 10*s.* per Term. The Fees for the first two Terms (except under special circumstances) are to be paid upon entrance, in addition to the following, viz.—

£3	3	0	Matriculation, including Library Subscription.
1	10	0	Cap and Gown.
0	2	6	The Calendar.
£4	15	6	

The *Academical Year* consists of *Three Terms;* viz. *Michaelmas Term*, from the beginning of October to the week before Christmas; *Lent Term*, from the middle of January to the week before Easter; *Easter Term*, from Easter to the end of June.

II. A separate Class for Officers of Her Majesty's and the Hon. East India Company's service, has been established in connexion with this Department, to afford instruction in Fortification, Military Drawing and Surveying. This Class has the benefit of Capt. WALKER's personal superintendence for an hour each day; but the Drawing Room is open from ten to four. Amount of fees, £5 5*s.* per term.

III. *Occasional Students.*—The different Classes in this Department are likewise open to any Gentlemen whose occupations may not allow them to attend the whole of the Course, but who may wish to avail themselves of the opportunity of studying any particular subject.

The following are the Fees for separate courses:—

	Term. £	*s.*	*d.*	Per Ann. £	*s.*	*d.*
Latin and Ancient History	4	4	0	10	10	0
Mathematics	4	4	0	10	10	0
Geography; English Literature and History	2	2	0	5	5	0
French	2	2	0	5	5	0
German	2	2	0	5	5	0
Fortification, &c.	4	4	0	10	10	0
Topographical Drawing	2	2	0	5	5	0
Fencing	1	11	6	4	4	0
Natural Philosophy	3	3	0	8	8	0
Practical Mechanics	2	2	0	5	5	0
Botany	3	3	0	For the Course.		
Mineralogy	2	2	0	For the Course.		
Geology	3	3	0	For the Course.		
Chemistry	7	7	0	For the Course.		

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The School.

Head Master.—REV. J. R. MAJOR, D.D.

Vice-Master.—Rev. J. FEARNLEY, M.A.

Second Master in the Classical Division.—Rev. J. EDWARDS, M.A.

T. S. CARR, Esq. M.A.
Rev. T. O. COCKAYNE, M.A.
Rev. W. HAYES, M.A.
Rev. G. A. SMYTH, B.A.

Rev. J. R. MAJOR, M.A.
Rev. WILLIAM WEBSTER, M.A.
Rev. THOMAS MARKBY, M.A.
Rev. GEORGE RUST, M.A.

Mathematical Master.—J. HANN, Esq.
Arithmetical and Second Mathematical Master.—J. HADDON, Esq. M.A.
Writing and Second Arithmetical Master.—J. W. LE JEUNE, Esq.
Assistant Writing and Arithmetical Master.—Mr. T. HUTTON.
French Language.—M. BRASSEUR, Professor, and MM. WATTEZ and GASSION, Teachers.
German Language.—Dr. BERNAYS, Professor, and Rev. A. WINTZER, Teacher.
Geometrical Drawing.—T. BRADLEY, Esq. Professor.
Landscape Drawing.—HENRY WORSLEY, Esq. Professor.

King's College School consists of two divisions:—

A. The "Division of Classics, Mathematics, and General Literature."

B. The "Division of Modern Instruction."

A.

Division of Classics, Mathematics, and General Literature.

1. This division is intended to prepare Pupils for the Universities, for the Theological, General Literature, and Medical Departments in the College, and for the learned professions.

2. The regular course of Instruction comprises Divinity; the Greek, Latin, English, and French Languages; Mathematics, Arithmetic, Writing; History, and Geography. Hebrew is also taught to the Upper Sixth Class.

3. German is taught, without any additional charge, to Pupils of the sixth, fifth, and fourth Classes, after the regular School hours, on Wednesday, from ½-past 1 to 3, and on Saturday, from 12 to ½-past 1. Pupils of the lower Classes may learn this Language on payment of 10*s.* 6*d.* per term.

4. Instruction in Drawing is also given to all pupils on Wednesday, from ½-past 1 to 3, and on Saturday, from 12 to ½-past 1, on payment of 14*s.* a term, including drawing materials.

5. SCHOLARSHIPS.—Two of 30*l.* (one in Classics and one in Mathematics) for there years; and two of 20*l.* (one in Classics and one in Mathematics), one of 10*l.*, one of 8*l.*, one of 7*l.*, and one of 6*l.*, for two years each; are annually given, in the Lent Term, to those Pupils who shall pass the best examinations.

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B.

Division of Modern Instruction.

1. This Division is placed under the general direction of the Rev. John Fearnley, M.A., Vice-Master of King's College School, assisted by the Rev. William Webster, M.A., and by the Mathematical, Arithmetical, French, German, and Drawing Masters.

2. The object in view in this Division is to prepare Pupils for general and mercantile pursuits, for the Departments of Engineering, Architecture, and Military Science in the College, for the Military Academies at Woolwich, Sandhurst, and Addiscombe, and for the Royal Navy and the Commercial Marine.

3. Pupils in this Division take corresponding rank with those in the Division of "Classics, Mathematics, and General Literature."

4. The Mathematical Scholarships, of 30*l.* for three years, and 20*l.* for two years, are open to pupils in this Division, French and German being substituted for Greek in the preliminary examination. One additional Scholarship, of 10*l.* per annum, for two years, is given to the lower Classes of this Division each year.

5. The regular course of Education in this Division commences with the Lower First Class.

When a boy is sufficiently advanced to merit his remove to the Second Class, he then becomes eligible to enter the Division of Modern Instruction, where he will pursue the following progressive course of study:—

Class 2. . . .	Cornelius Nepos; Latin Exercises; History, and Geography; Elements of Chemistry; English Composition, Repetitions, Dictation; Writing, and Arithmetic; French; German.
Class 3. . . .	Cæsar; Latin Exercises; History and Geography; Chemistry; Composition, Repetitions, and Dictation; Writing and Arithmetic; French; German.
Classes Lower 4, and Upper 4. .	Virgil and Cæsar; Latin Exercises; History and Geography; Chemistry; Composition and Repetitions; Construction of Maps; Euclid, Algebra, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping; French; German.
Classes 5 and 6. .	Horace and Livy; Latin Exercises; History and Geography; Chemistry; Composition and Repetitions; Construction of Maps; Differential Calculus, Trigonometry, Algebra, Euclid, higher parts of Arithmetic, Book-keeping; French; German.

In addition to the regular course of Instruction in the Modern Languages, it has been thought advisable to introduce French and German Conversational Classes, with the view of imparting to the Pupil, by the daily habit of conversation, a facility for expressing himself in these languages, and thereby superseding as far as possible the necessity of a residence upon the continent.

6. Separate Classes are also formed, so as to give special extra Instruction, gratuitously, to boys preparing for any of the following; viz.—

1. Commercial pursuits.
2. Military and Naval studies.
3. Engineering and Architecture.

General Rules and Regulations,

Applicable to the whole School.

1. All boys above the First Class, (which is common to both Divisions,) will be placed in whichever Division their parents or guardians shall select. Pupils may at any time be moved from one Division to the other.

2. The general age of admission is from nine to sixteen years.

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3. The duties of each day commence with Prayers and the reading of the Scriptures in the College Chapel, from which none of the Pupils are allowed to absent themselves.

4. The periods for the admission of Pupils are, the middle of January; the beginning of May; and the middle of September.

Before entering a pupil, the Head Master must be furnished with a *testimonial of good conduct from the applicant's last instructor*, as well as such particulars with respect to his previous studies as may lead to a correct classification.

5. The Hours of attendance are:—

On Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, from..... 9 o'Clock to 3.
On Wednesday, from ..... 9 o'Clock to 1.
On Saturday, from ..... 9 o'Clock to 12.

Pupils who are irregular in their attendance, or inattentive to their studies, will be detained one hour longer, under the charge of a Master; and in each case a letter will be sent to the parent or guardian, stating the cause of the detention.

6. The Vacations consist of seven weeks in Summer; one month at Christmas; and five days at Easter. Pupils are expected to attend the School till the Vacations commence, and to return punctually when they close.

7. There is annually, previous to the Summer Vacation, a public distribution of Prizes awarded by the Council. Examinations for places in the Classes, for promotion, and for Prizes, take place each Term.

8. A Register is kept by the Head Master and the other Masters, of the attendance, employments, and general conduct of the pupils; of which monthly and terminal reports are transmitted to their friends.

9. Instruction may also be obtained within the College, in Italian, Chinese, Hindustani, Fencing, Singing, and Dancing, on payment of the fees specified at p. 20.

10. A course of six elementary Lectures is given gratuitously each term on some subject connected with Art, Science, or Literature.

11. The terms for the whole regular course of Instruction, in either Division, amount to the sum of 6*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* per Term. Upon entrance, the Fees for the first two Terms must be paid in advance, together with the sum of 1*l.* 1*s.* for the Entrance Fee, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for the College Calendar. All fees are payable in advance.

12. Upon entering the Sixth Class, each Pupil is called upon to contribute Ten Shillings to the School Library.

13. Books are supplied in the College, and charged for in the terminal accounts; or pupils may have the use of books on the following terms:—First and second Classes, 1*l.* 10*s.*; third and fourth Classes, 2*l* 10*s.*; fifth and lower sixth Classes, 3*l.* 10*s.* Pupils in the upper sixth Class are expected to have their own books.

14. A sufficient time, at 1 o'clock each day, is allowed for luncheon, which is provided in the College at a regulated expense. Those parents who may wish their sons to dine at this hour, may avail themselves of an arrangement made with this object in the College Hall. One of the Masters always presides. The expense of dinner is 1*s.* per diem, to be paid at the time; or 4*l.* each Term; or 10*l.* for a year, if paid in one sum.

15. Pupils who have been in the School two years, and before leaving it have reached the Upper Sixth Class, are entitled to be recommended for election as Associates of King's College, London, after two years' study in the General Literature or Applied Sciences' Departments of the College, instead of after three years as in all other cases. The privileges of an Associate are, perpetual free admission to the Lectures of the Professors under whom they have studied, in that Department from which they have been elected; they can enter the Theological Department at a reduced fee, and,

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in the case of those elected from the General Literature Department, without examination, &c.

16. Pupils may reside with their parents or friends. The following Masters receive Boarders on terms sanctioned by the Council, which may be learnt on application to them, or at the Office of the College:—

Rev. J. R. MAJOR, D.D. 40, Bloomsbury Square.
Rev. J. R. MAJOR, M.A. 68, Guildford Street, Russell Square.
Rev. T. O. COCKAYNE, M.A. 11, Howland Street, Fitzroy Square.
Rev. GEORGE RUST, M.A. 17, James Street, Buckingham Gate.
T. S. CARR, Esq. M.A. 6, Shaftesbury Crescent, Pimlico.
Rev. THOMAS MARKBY, M.A. 7, Gordon Street, Gordon Square.

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17. EXTRA INSTRUCTION

After the regular School hours, may be obtained in the following subjects:—

		Per Term. £ s. d.	Per Ann. £ s.
German, Drawing } See page 17.			
Italian	Sign. Pistrucci	1 11 6	4 4
Chinese	Professor Fearon	5 5 0	
Oriental Languages	Professor D. Forbes	2 12 6	6 6
Fencing	Professor Angelo	1 11 6	4 4
Singing	Professor Hullah	0 10 6	
Dancing	Edmund Goodwin, Esq.	1 11 6	4 4

N.B. NO PUPIL CAN BE ADMITTED TO ANY OF THESE CLASSES WITHOUT PRODUCING THE COLLEGE TICKET, SIGNED BY THE SECRETARY.

Further particulars respecting all Departments of King's College, London, may be obtained from the King's College Calendar (which may be purchased at the Secretary's Office, price 2s. 6d., or 3s. sent by post); or by application to J. W. CUNNINGHAM, *Esq. Secretary.*

R. W. JELF, D.D.
Principal.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

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STATEMENT

OF THE

Arrangements in the several Departments of

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE,

BIRMINGHAM.

INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.

Patron,
HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

Visitor,
THE REV. SAMUEL WILSON WARNEFORD, L.L.D.

Principal,
THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD LYTTELTON, M.A., F.R.S.

Vice-Principal,
THE REV. & WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR JAMES T. LAW, M.A.

Warden,
THE REV. PREBENDARY GRAY, M.A.

Treasurer,
JOHN E. PIERCY, ESQ.

Deputy Treasurer,
JOHN BIRT DAVIES, M.D.

Dean of the Faculty,
WILLIAM SANDS COX, F.R.S.

The Council,

MEMBERS EX-OFFICIO.

The LORD LIEUTENANT of the County of Warwick
The HIGH SHERIFF of the County of Warwick
The Worshipful the MAYOR of Birmingham
The HIGH BAILIFF of Birmingham
The DEAN of the Cathedral of Worcester
The ARCHDEACON of the Archdeaconry of Coventry
The RECTOR of the Parish of St. Martin
The RECTOR of the Parish of St. Philip
The Senior PHYSICIAN of the Queen's Hospital
The Senior SURGEON of the Queen's Hospital
Together with the PRINCIPAL, VICE-PRINCIPAL, TREASURER, and DEAN of the FACULTY
Professor Dr. ECCLES, Professor G. B. KNOWLES } *Elected by the Professors.*
Mr. George TAYLOR, Mr. John BOUCHER } *Elected by the Queen's Hospital Council.*

MEMBERS ELECTED BY THE GOVERNORS.

The Right Honorable the EARL of DARTMOUTH, F.R.S. D.C.L.
The Right Honorable the EARL HOWE, D.C.L.
The Right Honorable LORD REDESDALE
The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of Worcester
The Rev. H. F. GRAY, Warden
Mr. Edward ARMFIELD
Mr. Edward T. COX, Honorary Surgeon to the Queen's Hospital
Charles GEACH, Esq.
Dr JOHNSTONE
The Rev. Vaughan THOMAS, B.D.
Mr. Thomas UPFILL
Joseph WEBSTER, Esq.
Frederick I. WELCH, Esq.

The Senatus

OF THE ARTS AND THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENTS.

The above Ex-Officio Members, together with the Warden.

DEUM TIMETO: REGINAM HONORATO: VIRTUTEM COLITO: DISCIPLINIS BONIS OPERAM DATO.

1850—1851.

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PROFESSORS, TUTORS, AND MASTERS.

Theology & Christian Ethics	The Rev. Warden GRAY, M.A., Prebendary of Wells.
Greek and Latin Classics ...	The Rev. G. RICHARDS, M.A., Oxon, Senior Resident Classical Tutor and Chaplain.
Mathematics	The Rev. W. HUNT, M.A., Cantab. Senior Resident Mathematical Tutor, and Chaplain in the Junior Department.
Logic and Moral Philosophy	The Rev. G. RICHARDS, M.A.
Natural Philosophy	The Rev. W. HUNT, M.A.
Law and Jurisprudence ...	Professor C. B. KENNEDY, M.A., Barrister at Law, late Fellow of Trin. Col., Cam.
General & Surgical Anatomy	Professor SANDS COX, F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Senior Surgeon of the Queen's Hospital.
Descriptive Anatomy, Physiology, and Comparative Anatomy	Professor LANGSTON PARKER, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon of the Queen's Hospital.
Materia Medica and Therapeutics	Professor JAMES JOHNSTONE, M.D., (Cant.) Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London, and Senior Physician of the General Hospital
	Professor G. B. KNOWLES, F.L.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon of the Queen's Hospital.
Chemistry	Professor GEORGE SHAW, Esq.
Medicine	Professor JOHN ECCLES, M.D., Physician to the General Hospital.
Surgery	Professor SANDS COX, F.R.S.
Midwifery	Professor SAMUEL BERRY, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Surgeon to the Magdalen Asylum.
Forensic Medicine	Professor JOHN BIRT DAVIES, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, and Senior Physician of the Queen's Hospital.
Botany...	Professor G. B. KNOWLES, F.L.S.
Anatomical Demonstrations	Mr. DAVID BOLTON, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons
Resident Medical Tutor ...	Mr. JOHN MOORE, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons
Civil Engineering	
Architecture...	
Practical Chemistry	Professor G. SHAW.
Junior Classical Tutor ...	
French...	Mons. I. O'FLANAGAN.
German	Herr LAMPERT.
Italian...	
Drawing	Mr. CHARLES DOCKER.
Gymnastics and Fencing ...	Mr. WALKER.

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SESSION 1850—1851.

THE SESSION WILL COMMENCE ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2nd,
THE INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS WILL BE DELIVERED
AT TWO O'CLOCK, P.M., IN THE THEATRE OF ARTS,

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE PRINCIPAL, F.R.S.

STATEMENT.

The great and increasing population of the Town of Birmingham and the central district of which it is the Metropolis, the rapid development of its resources, the augmentation of its wealth, and its influence in a national point of view, have long pointed out the expediency of establishing in that part of the kingdom an Institution which should secure to its inhabitants, and to others resorting to it in the present increased facility of communication, the advantages of a sound, yet not expensive, Collegiate Education. It was considered desirable that such an Institution, while based in its main features and principles on the system pursued at Oxford and Cambridge, should yet be adapted in its details to the circumstances of the present age, the requirements of its particular locality, and to the modern advance and enlargement of every branch of science and learning. The obtaining of Degrees and Honours in the several departments of study was regarded as essential to such an Institution, both as an incentive to students, and a guarantee to the public of professional attainment. A system of collegiate discipline was contemplated as a main feature in the undertaking; and it was determined that the whole should rest as a fundamental principle on Sound Religious Education.

The Council of Queen's College at Birmingham, have now the satisfaction of stating to the public that this undertaking has been accomplished, and that these views have been realized. Through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Sands Cox, supported by the munificent endowments and gifts of Dr. Warneford, aided by Mr. Chancellor Law, and under the sanction and authority of two Royal Charters, they are enabled to offer to the community on a moderate scale of expenditure, the advantages of a University Education, based upon sound religious principle, accompanied by the control of a carefully arranged discipline, and carried forward so as to embrace the advantages of all modern discoveries, and the various improvements in Literature, Science, and Arts.

RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE COLLEGE.

The following extracts from the Supplemental Charter granted in the tenth year of Her Majesty's reign, by which act of Royal Favor the position of the College was completed as an incorporation embracing all the branches of literature, science, and art, will sufficiently attest the Religious character of the College.

"In the said College the doctrines and duties of Christianity are taught as the same are inculcated in the United Church of England and Ireland." The consideration by which Her Majesty is moved to grant the powers conferred on the Principal and Council is thus expressed: "We being desirous of maintaining indissolubly the connection between sound religion and useful learning, and of aiding the establishment, extension, and permanence of institutions in which are taught the doctrines and duties of Christianity as the same are inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland." And it is also provided that "from and after the decease of the present Visitor, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese for the time being shall be Visitor of the said College; that the Principal shall be a nobleman, or one of the Honorary Governors, and a member of the Church of England; the Vice-Principal, a Dignitary of the Church of England, residing at or near Birmingham: and that the Treasurer, the Dean of the Faculty, and all the Classical and Mathematical Tutors of the said College shall be members of the Church of England and Ireland as by Law established; and that the Classical and Mathematical Tutors shall be graduates of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge."

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THE DEPARTMENTS.

The College is divided into the following departments:—

I.—The Medical Department.
II.—The Law Department.
III.—The Engineering Department.
IV.—The Junior Department.
V.—The Arts Department.
VI.—The Theological Department.

All these departments are under the general control and superintendence of the Warden of the College, occupying in this respect a position similar to that of the Rev. the Principal in the sister Institution of King's College, in London.

The appointment as Warden of a Dignitary of the Church of high standing and great educational experience, and the assigning to him the important and responsible functions indicated in the following extract from their bye-laws, the Council regard as an highly auspicious step in the progress of the College.—

THE WARDEN.

That the Warden be a Clergyman of the Church of England in Priests' Orders, and Graduate of Oxford or Cambridge; that he be appointed by the Council, subject to the confirmation of the Governors at their Annual General Meeting: that he do take his meals in Hall at his pleasure, free from charge; that in the absence of the Principal and Vice-Principal he do take the Chair at all Meetings of the Council and Committees and do perform in their absence all their other duties; that he be responsible for the instruction of the Students in all the Departments of the College in Christian Ethics, Church History, and the Doctrines of the Church of England; that all the Students on coming up for admission do call upon him first, and be examined by him in reference respectively to the Departments which they propose to enter; that they do produce to him a testimonial of previous good character, and be by him admitted into the College.

GENERAL RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE RESIDENT STUDENTS IN THE SEVERAL DEPARTMENTS OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

1.—Previous to registration, each Student must subscribe the following declaration:—

"I who have hereunto subscribed my name, in consideration of my being matriculated and registered as a Student of this College, and henceforth entitled to the privileges of education there, subject to the bye-laws, rules, orders, and regulations of the said College, and of the several authorities thereof, do hereby acknowledge that I have agreed, and do hereby agree, with the Principal and Council, to forfeit and forego all claim whatever on the said College, in the event of my being expelled, dismissed, rusticated, or in any way discharged from the said College by the Council, or other authorities, for non-observance of the said bye-laws, rules, orders, and regulations, or otherwise."

2.—Every Student to deposit on the first day of every term, in the hands of the Deputy Treasurer, the sum specified in the Fees of the respective Departments for College expenses.

3.—Every Student to bring his own chamber linen, and a large and small silver fork and spoon.

4.—Furniture injured or windows broken, to be repaired at the expence of the Student occupying the room in which the injury is done.

5.—Every Student on coming into residence, to report himself on the first day of every term to the Warden and Senior Tutor of his department, and to the Deputy Treasurer personally.

6.—Students to wear their academical dress when they appear in hall, at lectures, and without the walls of the College.

7.—Every Student to attend prayers daily in his respective department, and Divine Service on Sundays, morning and afternoon, in the College Chapel.

8.—Every Student to attend the Warden's Lectures on Theology, Church History, and Christian Morals.

9.—Every Student to attend meals in the College Hall, except absent by leave of the senior Tutor of his Department.

10.—Every Student to be in College in the Senior Department by Ten o'clock at night, and in the Junior Department at Eight o'clock p.m. in the winter, and Nine o'clock in the summer, unless absent by leave of the Tutor.

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11.—Any Student absenting himself without leave, during a whole night, renders himself thereby liable to dismissal.

12.—Friends visiting Students are required to leave the College before Eleven o'clock, p.m. in the Senior Departments, and before Ten o'clock p.m, in the Junior Department.

13.—Every Student before going out of residence, at vacations or any other time, to obtain permission from the Senior Tutor of his department, and also to deliver the key of his room to the Housekeeper.

14.—Students admitted to reside in College are not allowed to withdraw themselves or become Out-Students unless by permission of the Council, on pain of suspension from attendance on the College Lectures and the withdrawal of certificates.

15.—The Students are admissible about the age of sixteen, provided they have gone through the elementary training of a Classical education, and can produce testimonials of their good conduct.

16.—The Academical Year is divided into three Terms:—MICHAELMAS TERM, from the 1st of October to the week before Christmas; LENT TERM, from the first week in January to the second week in April; TRINITY TERM, from the first week in May to the last week in July.

TO PREVENT STUDENTS INCURRING DEBT BEYOND THEIR MEANS.

1.—Each parent or guardian on placing a Student at the College, is to inform the Warden what sum it is contemplated by such parent or guardian to allow such Student for expenses beyond the necessary and direct payments of the College.

2.—Tradesmen to be periodically cautioned by a public notice in suitable terms, not to allow of the purchase of articles on credit, without the express sanction of parents or guardians, or of the Senior Tutor.

3.—Through the medium of the same notice, all tradesmen's bills for articles supplied to Students, shall be regularly delivered to the Senior Tutor and forwarded by him to the parents and guardians at the end of every term.

4.—All cases of extravagance which become known to the Tutors, shall immediately be reported to the Council, and by the Council forwarded to parents and guardians.

5.—Every Student proved three times to the Council to have incurred debt beyond his means shall be dismissed.

RESTRAINTS AND PENALTIES OF STUDENTS.

1.—In case of the infringement or neglect of the College Regulations by any Student resident in any Department, the Senior Tutor has the power of enforcing the observance of the same.

Firstly—By restraint of hours.

Secondly—By literary exercises, called impositions.

Thirdly—By suspension. In any case in which such suspension is necessary, the Senior Tutor shall inform the several Professors, in order that the attendance of such Student at Lecture be discontinued, and his certificate disallowed.

Fourthly—By rustication. The power of rustication for a period not exceeding two months, to be vested in the Warden and Senior Tutor, or in the absence or illness of either of them, the Dean of the Faculty and the Warden or Senior Tutor.

Fifthly—By dismissal or expulsion. In any case in which the Senior Tutor do consider dismissal or expulsion necessary, he is to confer with the Warden and the Dean of the Faculty and they shall report the same in writing to the Council, together with a detailed statement of the circumstances, and the Council, after deliberation thereupon, shall communicate its decision to the Senior Tutor, and such decision shall be final.

NON-RESIDENT STUDENTS.

Non-resident Students are admissible, and may reside with their parents or guardians, or with a relation or friend selected by their parents or guardians, and approved by the Council. The Warden, and Senior Tutor, in each Department are authorized to inquire into the habits and general conduct of such out-students at their respective residences, and to report to the Council thereupon, at the end of every term. Out-students, if members of the Church of England, will be required to attend divine service in the College Chapel every Sunday, unless the parent or guardian of the Student requests the attendance of such Student at his own place of worship. If the Student be attached to any other communion, he will be expected to attend at the place of worship belonging thereto every Sunday. Non-resident Students will be allowed to dine in the College Hall, either regularly or occasionally, on giving such notice, and paying such sum, as shall be fixed by the Council.

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DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

JUNIOR DEPARTMENT.

THE COUNCIL OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, deeply impressed with the importance of improving the preliminary education of their Students in Medicine, have established a Junior Department of the College, in order to afford Students entrusted to their care the advantage of receiving instruction in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, (with the modern Languages and the Sciences,) from Tutors of University Education, carefully selected for their abilities and acquirements.

The Students will receive indentures where required on admission at the College. They then proceed when duly prepared, to matriculation in the University of London, in order that they may offer themselves for the Degrees of the University, the Diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons, and the License of the Society of Apothecaries, when they have attained the age of twenty-one; after which they may commence practice.

As the Society of Apothecaries in London requires the production of indentures from candidates of their having served an apprenticeship of five years, previous to examination; and as candidates for their certificates must have attained the full age of twenty-one years; and as the course of study in the Senior Department of the Queen's College occupies not less than three years for its completion; it is evident that Students at the Queen's College should be at least two years in the Junior Department, and should qualify themselves for being advanced to the Senior Department at the age of eighteen, when they will be admitted to occupy rooms in the College.

The most important and valuable privilege of receiving indentures without premium, is offered to Students of the Queen's College by Mr. SANDS COX, F.R.S., Dean of the Faculty. This privilege is most important and valuable; for, in addition to the pecuniary aid which it affords, it relieves Students from the danger of those vexatious, if not degrading services, to which apprentices have too frequently been found subjected.

Further, the Council beg leave to assure their friends, that no pains will be spared by them to improve, by all means, the tone of moral and religious feeling, and to raise the standard of proficiency among the Students; and to fit them, as gentlemen, for filling, with credit to themselves and advantage to the public, any post to which they may be called.

The expences of the College will be carefully regulated by the Council, and kept on as moderate a scale as is consistent with a due regard to the efficiency of the Establishment in all its parts, and the securing of first-rate talent to fill the posts of Professors and Tutors.

Previous to admission in October next, Students about to enter the Junior Department will be required to give one month's notice to the Dean of the Faculty, and to forward a testimonial of good conduct and qualifications, and before admission, will be examined by the Warden, in the construing and parsing of a Greek and Latin author; in Arithmetic of integers and vulgar fractions, and in the elements of the English Language and History.

FIRST YEAR'S COURSE.

WINTER SESSION.			SUMMER SESSION.		
7 A.M.	Prayers	The Chaplain	7 A.M.	Prayers	The Chaplain
7½	Breakfast		7½	Breakfast	
8—9	Chemistry	The Medi. Tutor	8—9	Chemistry	The Medi. Tutor
9—10	Greek	The Clasl. Tutor	9—10	Greek	The Clasl. Tutor
10—11	Arithmetic	The Math. Tutor	10—11	Algebra	The Math. Tutor
11—12	English Literature	The Clasl. Tutor	11—12	English History	The Clasl. Tutor
12	Luncheon		12	Luncheon	
3-4P.M.	Latin	The Clasl. Tutor	2-3P.M.	Latin	The Clasl. Tutor
—5	Geometry	The Math. Tutor	3—4	Mathem. Exam.	The Math. Tutor
	Dinner		4	Dinner	
	Coffee		8	Coffee	

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Lectures on Church History, Christian Morals, and the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England, are delivered twice a week throughout the year's course, by the Warden.

The French, German, and Drawing Masters attend each twice a week, at 7 p.m.

EXAMINATIONS.—The above course of study prepares Students for undergoing, at the conclusion of their first year, an Examination for Matriculation at the University of London.

EXHIBITIONS.—The University of London offers two Exhibitions of £30 each, for two years, to the candidates who shall respectively distinguish themselves most in Classics, and in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

PRIZES.—The University of London offers two Prizes of £5 each, to candidates who shall respectively distinguish themselves most in Chemistry, and in Botany or Zoology. And the Queen's College offers to its Students the Piercy Prize of £5 5s. for proficiency in German. Prizes of Books are also usually given by the Warden and Tutors, to the most deserving Students in the several classes.

SECOND YEAR'S COURSE.

WINTER SESSION.			SUMMER SESSION.		
7 A.M.	Prayers	The Chaplain	7 A.M.	Prayers	The Chaplain
7½	Breakfast		7½	Breakfast	
8—9	Celsus	The Clasl. Tutor	8—9	Gregory	The Clasl. Tutor
9—11	Materia Medica	The Medi. Tutor	9—11	Botany	The Medi. Tutor
11—12	Natural Philos.	The Math. Tutor	11—12	Elementary Astronomy	The Math. Tutor
12	Luncheon		12	Luncheon	
3-5P.M.	Elements of Anatomy	The Medi. Tutor	2-4P.M.	Medical Exam.	The Medi. Tutor
5	Dinner		4	Dinner	
8	Coffee		8	Coffee	

Instruction in dispensing at the Queen's Hospital during this year's course.
Divinity Lectures by the Warden, as during the first year.
French, German, and Drawing, as during the first year.

EXAMINATIONS.—This year's course prepares for the Latin Examination of the Society of Apothecaries. Students not qualified for the Matriculation Examination at the University of London, at the close of their first year, have again the opportunity of presenting themselves, having continued in the interval the above first year's course.

EXHIBITIONS AND PRIZES the same as at the end of the first year.

Collegiate examinations are held at the close of each term, during the two year's course, which all the Students are required to attend.

SENIOR DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE & SURGERY.

The system of study pursued in this department constitutes a complete course of Collegiate, Medical, and Surgical Education. The Lectures qualify for examination for the Diplomas of the Royal College of Surgeons and the Society of Apothecaries, without any residence elsewhere.

Students who have passed through the Junior Department of this College, and have there in due course matriculated at the University of London, may present themselves for the first M.B. examination at the end of their first year in the Senior Medical Department. At the end of the second year, matriculated Students who deferred their examination at the University of London, have again the opportunity of presenting themselves. At the end of the third year, Students are eligible for the M.B. Degree in the University of London, for the Diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and the License of the Society of Apothecaries.

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FIRST YEAR'S COURSE.

WINTER SESSION.			SUMMER SESSION.		
7 A.M.	Breakfast		7 A.M.	Breakfast	
7½	Chapel	The Chaplain	7½	Chapel	The Chaplain
8—9	Anatomy and Physiology	The Professor	9—11	Practice of Medicine & Surgery with Practical Pharmacy	The Medical & Surgical Officers at the Hospital
9—11	The Practice of Medicine and Surgery	The Med. & Sur. Officers of the Hospital	11—12	Practical Chemistry	The Professor
11—12	Anatomical Demonstrations & Dissections	The Demonstrator	12	Luncheon	
12	Luncheon		12—1	Botany	The Professor
12—1	Chemistry	The Professor	3—4	Materia Medica	The Professor
2—4	Dissecting Room	The Demonstra. & Med. Tutor	4	Dinner	
4—5	Pract. of Physic	The Professor	6—7	Midwifery	The Professor
5	Dinner		8	Coffee	
8	Coffee				

Divinity Lecture by the Warden every Friday.

DEGREE.—Students who matriculated at the end of their first year, will now be eligible for the first M.B. examination in the University of London.

SCHOLARSHIPS.—Queen's College has four Scholarships to offer, founded by Dr. Warneford, of £10 each per annum, tenable for two years.

PRIZES.—Also the University of London offers a Prize of Books of the value of £5, to the Candidate who most distinguishes himself in Chemistry; and the same to the best proficient in Vegetable Physiology. Queen's College also offers the following Prizes:—the Anatomy Medal; the Materia Medica Medal; the Chemistry Medal; and the Botany Medal.

SECOND YEAR'S COURSE.

WINTER SESSION.			SUMMER SESSION.		
7 A.M.	Breakfast		7 A.M.	Breakfast	
7½	Chapel	The Chaplain	7½	Chapel	The Chaplain
8—9	Anatomy and Physiology	The Professors	8—9	Forensic Medicine	The Professor
9—11	Practice of Medicine and Surgery	The Medical and Surgical Officers at the Hospital	9—11	Practice of Medicine & Surgery with Practical Pharmacy	The Medical and Surgical Officers at the Hospital
11—12	Demonstrations	The Demonstrat.	11—12	Midwifery	The Professor
12	Luncheon		12	Luncheon	
1—4	Dissections	The Demonstrat. and Med. Tutor	2—4	Medical and Surgical Examinations	The Medical Tutor
4—5	Prac. of Physic	The Professor	4	Dinner	
5	Dinner		8	Coffee	
6—7	Surgery	The Professor			
8	Coffee				

Divinity Lecture every Friday.

DEGREE.—Students who were prevented passing the first M. B. examination at the end of the third year, may go up for examination at the commencement of their fourth year, with a chance of the same Scholarships and Prizes.

PRIZES.—The Queen's College offers the following Prizes:—the Warneford Gold Medals; Professors Davies and Cox Gold Medals for Clinical Reports; the Professors' Medals in Anatomy, Surgery, Forensic Medicine, Midwifery, and Practice of Physic.

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THIRD YEAR'S COURSE.

WINTER SESSION.			SUMMER SESSION.		
7 A.M.	Breakfast		7 A.M.	Breakfast	
7½	Chapel	The Chaplain	7½	Chapel	The Chaplain
8—9	Anatomy and Physiology	The Professors			
9—11	Practice of Medicine & Surgery	The Medical and Surgical Officers at the Hospital	9—11	Practice of Medicine & Surgery	The Medical and Surgical Officers at the Hospital
11—12	Demonstrations	The Demonstrat.	11—12	Midwifery, with cases	The Professor
12	Luncheon		12	Luncheon	
1—4	Dissections	Dissecting Room	2—4	Medical and Surgical Examinations	The Medical Tutor
4—5	Practice of Physic	The Professor			
5	Dinner		4	Dinner	
6—7	Surgery	The Professor			
8	Coffee		8	Coffee	

Divinity Lecture every Friday.

The respective Professors connected with the General and Queen's Hospitals, deliver Clinical Lectures on Medicine and Surgery, and also give instruction in Morbid Anatomy.

DEGREES, DIPLOMAS, SCHOLARSHIPS, PRIZES.—Students are now eligible to offer themselves for Examination at the University of London, for the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine, when the University offers to the Candidate who shall distinguish himself most in Anatomy and Physiology, an Exhibition of £30 for two years; the same to the Candidate who shall distinguish himself most in Chemistry, and the same to the Candidate who shall distinguish himself most in Materia Medica and Pharmaceutical Chemistry.

Students are now eligible to offer themselves for the Diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, at which Royal College three Studentships of the value of £100 per annum for three years, have been established for the best proficiencies in human and comparative Anatomy.

Students are now eligible for examination for the Licence of the Society of Apothecaries.

And the Queen's College offers the same Prizes for the same subjects as in the preceding year, also the Governors' Gold Medals for regularity and good conduct during the period of three years.

ATTENDANCE OF MEDICAL STUDENTS. A book will be kept by each Professor specifying the dates of attendance of each Student. Testimonials as to such attendance and as to Professional Acquirements will be given by the Professors in such printed forms *only* as have been agreed upon by them.

EXAMINATIONS. A vivâ voce examination will be held in each class every week or fortnight, at the discretion of the Professor, and on the last day of each course there will be a general written examination in every class, at which all the Students must attend. The Professors' Medals and Certificates of Honour will be awarded to those Students who, in such written examinations, shall display the greatest proficiency.

CERTIFICATES. During the last week of the Winter and Summer Sessions, the Schedules of the Royal College of Surgeons and Society of Apothecaries on Lectures and Hospital Practice are to be left with the Registrar; the Schedules duly signed by the respective Professors, will afterwards be delivered to Students, by the Curator, on the last day of each term. Certificates will not be granted to those Students who neglect to comply with this regulation.

FELLOWSHIPS. Such Members of the College as hold a diploma in medicine or surgery, or who are graduates in medicine, law, or arts, or such Members of the late Birmingham Royal School of Medicine and Surgery as the Council may determine, are eligible to be "Fellows," under the power granted by the Crown to the College.

PRIVILEGES OF FELLOWS. The Fellows have power to vote at all special and general meetings, have free admission to the medical and general Library, to the Museums, and to the lectures of the Professors; and likewise are privileged to dine in the College Hall, on the payment of a specified sum, to be fixed by the Council.

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THE WARNEFORD SCHOLARSHIPS. Four Resident Scholarships have been founded by the Rev. Dr. WARNEFORD, of £10 each, to be held for two years; to be conferred upon the Students who have resided in the College at least twelve months, who have been distinguished for their diligence and good conduct, who have been regular in their attendance on Divine Service, and who have availed themselves especially of the religious instruction of the Warden.

THE WARNEFORD GOLD MEDALS. The Interest of £1000 to be applied for the Institution of two Prizes, either in equal or unequal amounts, as may seem to the Trustees most likely to advance the great ends in view, which are, to combine religious with scientific studies and pursuits, to make Medical and Surgical Students good Christians, as well as able Practitioners in Medicine and Surgery. The compositions written for these Prizes to be of a religious as well as scientific nature; the subject to be taken out of any branch of Anatomical, Physiological, or Pathological Science, and to be handled in a practical or professional manner, and according to those evidences of facts and phenomena which Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology, so abundantly supply; but always and especially with a view to exemplify or set forth, by instance and example, the Wisdom, Power, and Goodness of God, as revealed and declared in Holy Writ.

TWO GOLD MEDALS are offered by the Governors of the College for regularity of attendance at Lectures and Examinations, and good conduct during three years; to be certified by the Warden, Tutors and Professors.

SILVER MEDALS are annually given by each Professor, on a Public Examination, of proficiency in the respective departments of Medical Science, at the conclusion of the Summer Session.

CERTIFICATE OF HONOUR. Students who may, after Examination, be placed by the Professor next to the Medalist, will receive a Certificate of Honour, signed by the Principal and Vice-Principal, and Dean of the Faculty.

UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS, &c. Students of the College are admitted to Examination for the Scholarships, Exhibitions, Gold Medals, and Books, offered by the Senate of the University of London. Students are also eligible to contend for the Commission in the Army, offered to the Senate of the University by the Army Medical Department once in every two years, for one of its most distinguished Bachelors of Medicine.

STUDENTSHIPS, &c. OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS. Students are eligible to offer themselves for the Studentships of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, of the value of £100 per annum for three years, (three of which have been established) for the best proficients in Human and Comparative Anatomy. The General commanding the Army in Chief, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Court of Directors, have (at the instance of the Director General of the Medical Department of the Army, the Physician General of the Royal Navy, and the Chairman of the Honourable East India Company) placed the appointment of an Assistant Surgeon at the disposal of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons once in three years, for such Students as may be considered worthy of these honourable distinctions. These appointments are also open to the Students of the College.

MUSEUMS. Connected with the College are Museums of Human, Comparative and Pathological Anatomy, containing upwards of two thousand preparations, to which the Students are admitted daily. And under certain regulations and restrictions they also have access to an extensive Museum, illustrative of Zoology, Geology, and the other departments of Natural History.

LIBRARY. The Library contains upwards of Four Thousand Volumes; and the quarterly, monthly, and weekly periodicals of Medicine and Surgery and General Science lie upon the Table.

REGISTRATION. The Register of Tickets is open from October 1st to October 21st, 1850, and from May 1st to May 18th, 1851. Applications to be made and the tickets brought to the Registrar, W. SANDS COX, Esq., at the College.

TABLE OF FEES.

All Fees are paid to the Deputy Treasurer, Professor DAVIES, M.D., 25, Newhall Street, during the first week of term, at nine o'clock in the morning, where the Student may obtain his ticket.

JUNIOR DEPARTMENT.

The College expences including Commons, Chamber Rent, and Servants' Wages, &c. will not exceed £48 for the three terms. The payments to be made by three instalments, viz., £18 on the 1st of October, £18 on the 1st of January, and £12 on the 1st of May.

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FEES.

	ANNUAL.				ANNUAL.		
Latin and Greek Classics	£4	4	0	French	£3	3	0
Mathematic and Natural Philosophy	4	4	0	German	3	3	0
				Drawing	3	3	0

SENIOR DEPARTMENT.

The College Expences including Commons, Chamber Rent, and Servants' Wages, will not exceed £50 for the three terms. The payments to be made by three instalments, viz., £18 on the 1st of October, £18 on the 1st of January, and £14 on the 1st of May.

FEES.

	Single Course.		Perpetual.			Single Course.		Perpetual.	
	£.	s.	£.	s.		£.	s.	£.	s.
Anatomy and Physiology	5	5	10	10	Botany	3	3	5	5
Anatomical Demonstration	3	3	5	5	Medicine	4	4	7	7
Chemistry	6	6	9	9	Surgery	3	3	6	6
Materia Medica	3	3	5	5	Midwifery	3	3	5	5
					Forensic Medicine	3	3	6	6

COMPOSITION FEES.

FIVE YEARS' STUDY.

On the payment of 350 Guineas, Rooms, Commons, &c. will be provided during a period of five years, together with Medical and Surgical Hospital Practice, Dispensing, and the systematic course of instruction as laid down by the Council, with Indentures of Apprenticeship where required. The payments may be made by four instalments, viz., 100 Guineas on matriculation and the execution of the Indentures, 100 Guineas at the commencement of the following year's study; 100 Guineas at the commencement of the third year's study, and 50 Guineas the fourth year. The Solicitor's fee not included.

THREE YEARS' STUDY.

The Composition fees to be paid for the three years course of study in the Senior department, required by the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and the Society of Apothecaries, amount to £42 (exclusive of College fees £15, and Hospital Practice £21.) The payment may be made at once, or in two equal sums, viz., £21 on matriculation, and £21 in three months afterwards.

QUEEN'S HOSPITAL, BATH ROW.

FEES FOR ADMISSION TO THE HOSPITAL PRACTICE, AND TO THE CLINICAL LECTURES.

Students may compound for three years, on the payment of... ... £21 0
One Year's Attendance 10 10

LAW DEPARTMENT.

The Legislature having offered great advantages to those who should graduate at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, or London, viz., reducing the period of five years under articles to *three years*. Law Students will be admitted to the Junior and Senior Branches of the Arts Department, and will receive during their residence separate instruction in Legal Knowledge—courses of Law will be delivered through May and June, November and December, January and February. Law Students will also be prepared for examination for the degrees of L.L.B. and L.L.D. at the University of London. The Professor of Law will follow the course indicated by Blackstone; having reference also to those books which the University of London has prescribed as subjects of examination, viz., Kent's Commentaries, Bentham's Treatise on Morals and Legislation, and Rutherford's Institute of Natural Laws. He will commence with the foundation of all positive Laws, shewing that their basis is the moral nature of man, implanted in him by God. He will then proceed to the History of the Common Laws of England, and give a general review of its principles and characters, after which he will take up each particular Department in the same order (generally speaking) as they occur in Blackstone's Commentaries.

The first series of Lectures will embrace those parts of our laws which concern the Crown and executive Government, the Revenue, the Parliament, and the Church; all those subjects in short, which are usually comprised under the name of Constitutional Law—next the various Laws which concern the private relations and

commercial usages of society, the Law of real and personal property, the nature of civil remedies, the practice of the Common Law Courts, and the principles of pleading: criminal jurisprudence will be next in order, and lastly a general view will be given of the principles of Equity Law, and the practice of the Court of Chancery.

RESIDENT STUDENTS.

Furnished Rooms and Board, with Coals, Candles, &c. &c. . .	£50 0 0
Lectures in Divinity, Classics, Mathematics, Law, History, Philosophy and Logic	20 0 0
College Fee	5 0 0

NON-RESIDENT STUDENTS.

Each course of Law will comprise about forty Lectures, with periodical examinations—Fee each course £2 2 0. Annual College Fee £2 2 0.

THE ENGINEERING AND ARCHITECTURAL DEPARTMENT.

In this Department a liberal education will be provided, terminating in an Academical Degree, and accompanied throughout by Collegiate discipline and control, and religious worship and instruction. The Lectures will also be open to clerks and assistants in the offices of Engineers, and Architects, and Railway establishments, after office hours. How far in these professions an improved discipline and intellectual enlargement has been needed any thoughtful and observant mind may adequately determine. The Council propose in this, as in the other cases, an enlarged education on an economical scale—a gradual initiation into professional pursuits, and an imbuing of the mind with sound religious principles.

Furnished Room, Board, Attendance, &c.	£50	0	0	Professor of Engineering	£4	0	0
College Fee	5	0	0	Professor of Chemistry	3	3	0
Classical Tutor	4	0	0	French Master	3	3	0
Mathematical Tutor	4	0	0	German Master	3	3	0
				Drawing Master	3	3	0

Students not qualified by sufficient knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages to matriculate and take their B.A. degree, may, at the end of their three years' course in this department, if they pass creditable examinations in the different subjects of their lectures, receive a certificate from Queen's College, under Seal, testifying to their collegiate residence, to their attendance on the College Lectures, and to their conduct *in Statu pupillari*.

Out-Students are admissible to this department.

Out-Students may attend any particular Professor's or Tutor's course.

Out-Students to pay the College fee, and the regular fees for any course which they attend.

Out-Students, when within the College walls, to be subject to collegiate rules and discipline.

The course of study, as laid down by the order of Council for Students in Civil Engineering, embraces the principal subjects necessary in order to secure a sound knowledge of those parts of theoretical and practical mathematics and of the sciences of observation, which are requisite for the scientific engineer. Modern languages are made an essential part of the course of study: and during their whole period of residence, the students are engaged in practical surveying, levelling, and planning. They receive instruction also in crystallography, mineralogy, geology, and metallurgy: and for the especial benefit of those who are likely to be engaged in excavating the mineral wealth of the country, or in the processes of converting the raw material into an article of commerce, it is provided that, at a certain period of the course of study, a more undivided attention shall be paid by such students to the processes of metallurgy.

ARTS DEPARTMENT.

The first Department established in the College as has been already intimated, was the Medical, but in carrying forward their great work the Council clearly apprehended that although medical science, from its own intrinsic excellence and its intimate bearing upon the good of the community, must claim a place in every University scheme, and may even legitimately form the characteristic study of any academical body, yet there was no precedent for its exclusive establishment, and but little hope that if exclusively established, it would enjoy all the advantage of that philosophical and religious enlargement which it was their great object to confer. They aimed at a resort for general education; an academical body

wherein all the faculties might be pursued; an institution wherein youths preparing for any profession might be enlightened in their sentiments by having the whole course of learning placed before them, and by associating with others more immediately dedicated to some other pursuit.

It is therefore in accordance with the soundest principle of educational science, as well as with the precedents of our ancient Universities that the Departments of Law, Engineering, Department of Arts, and chief of all of Theology, have been instituted in the College.

In the Arts Department the Council propose to offer to Parents of moderate means the advantages of a liberal education generally for any profession. Students in this Department will in the first instance be prepared for the Matriculation Examination in the University of London, and will then proceed in the course of study indicated for degrees in Arts, the whole being accompanied by Collegiate discipline and religious instruction.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE JUNIOR BRANCH OF THE ARTS DEPARTMENT.

Students desiring general instruction to be admissible into the Junior Department of Queen's College after they have completed an elementary School education, say about the age of sixteen; during the first year, all students to attend the same classes in Divinity, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, French, German, and Drawing; Students who are intended for the Medical profession, to receive during their second year's course of study, separate instruction in the rudiments of Chemistry, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, Botany, &c. &c. At the commencement of the third year, such of the junior Students as are duly qualified, to enter the Senior Branch of the Arts Department.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE SENIOR BRANCH OF THE ARTS DEPARTMENT.

1. That the Lord Bishop of the Diocese be the Visitor.

2. That the ex-officio members of the Council of Queen's College, with the Warden do constitute a Senatus Academicus; that the said ex-officio members do appoint the Warden of this Department, and the said Senatus do appoint the Classical and Mathematical Tutors; that the Senatus do appoint, under such regulations as they shall think advisable, the Fellows; that until the appointment of such Fellows, the said Senatus do transact all the general business of the Department; that not less than five members of the Senatus, including the Warden, do form a quorum; that after the appointment of the Fellows, any number of them not exceeding twelve shall be selected for a Board of Management by the Senatus; that such Board of Management be called "The Council of the Department of General Literature."

3. That an Annual Meeting of such Council be held on the last Wednesday in August every year.

4. That the Warden be a priest of the Church of England, and the Tutors priests or deacons, and Graduates of Cambridge or Oxford, or other chartered University; that the Classical Tutor be the Senior Tutor, that such Senior Tutor be responsible for the Discipline of the College, subject to the general supervision of the Warden; that in the absence of the Senior Tutor the Mathematical Tutor do take his place and perform his duties; that both the Tutors be expected to take their meals in Hall with the Students, the Senior Tutor occupying the head of the table; that the Warden do fill the same position in the College of General Literature as the Heads of Houses in Cambridge and Oxford do with regard to their respective Colleges, excepting that the lectures on the subjects below specified be delivered by him or be more especially under his direction.

5. That the Students in the department of General Literature do attend Queen's College Chapel twice every Sunday; that the Warden, Tutors, and Students do wear their gowns in Hall, in Chapel, and at Lectures; that each Student have a room to himself; that they have a common room; that all meals be taken in Hall, except in cases of illness with an *ægrotat*, or of absence with leave.

6. That the vacations be for three months every year—two months in the Summer (August and September), two weeks at Christmas, and two weeks at Easter.

7. That the Porter do close the College gates every night at ten o'clock, and that all Students be expected to be within gates at that hour; Students entering College at a later period of the night to be reported to the Tutor by the Porter, who shall have a book provided for that purpose.

8. That for neglect or misconduct on the part of any Student the Senior Tutor shall have the power of imposing restraint within the College walls, and literary exercises called imposition. That the Warden, in conjunction with the Classical and Mathematical Tutors, shall have the power of rustication for any period not exceeding

two months; that all cases which in the opinion of the Warden and Tutors subject a Student to dismissal or expulsion, be referred to the Council, who are to investigate and decide thereupon.

9. That the Senior Tutor have the management of the domestic arrangements of the College.

10. That the Finance Department be under the supervision of the Finance Committee, who are every term to lay a statement before the Council, and that the Council do every year appoint an Auditor.

11. That a monthly meeting be held on the first Tuesday in every month.

12. That the College be self-supporting, except as far as it may be aided by the endowment of Fellowships, Scholarships, Professorships, and Prizes, and by donations of Books, &c.

13. That an Examination on all the subjects of the Tutors' Lectures be held at the close of every term.

14. That Certificates of Merit be awarded after each examination, and that any such annual Prizes as the Friends of the Institution may offer, be decided at the termination of the Midsummer examination; that Students be expected to matriculate at the University at the end of their first year, if they have not done so previously; and that they be expected to take their Degress of B.A. or B.C.L., or such other Degrees as their standing in the University will permit, at the end of the third year.

15. That such Students as have been regular in their attendance at Chapel and Lectures, and have conducted themselves satisfactorily *in statu pupillari*, be eligible to be appointed Fellows on their attaining to the Degree of B.A. or B.C.L.

16. That a Commemoration-day be held once every year, in honour of the Founder Mr. William Sands Cox, and that the Members of the Council, and the Fellows and their respective friends be invited to attend.

PLAN OF STUDY.

That the *Curriculum* of Study do extend over three years; that the Students of each year have distinct courses of Lectures; that the subjects of study be Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Logic, the Modern Languages, History, Civil Engineering, Natural, Political, and Moral Philosophy, and more especially Christian Ethics, and the Doctrines of the Church of England; that each Student do attend four lectures every day; namely, for one hour in the morning a lecture in Greek, for another hour a lecture in Mathematics, and for one hour in the afternoon a lecture in Latin, and another hour a lecture in History, Logic, one of the above described branches of Philosophy, or Civil Engineering.

That the subjects selected have particular reference to the requirements for the Examinations of the University of London.

That the Tutors do confer with the Warden on the first day of term as to such selections, and that no deviations be afterwards made therefrom without his express permission.

That the Warden be responsible for the instruction in Christian Ethics, Church History, and the Doctrines of the Church of England.

That Drawing, French, and German be expected to be learnt during the two years when the Students are in the Junior Department: but if they have not then completed such courses of study, or require for any purpose during their residence in the College instruction in the Modern Languages, the same to be supplied at the rate of three guineas each course per annum.

SCALE OF FEES.

That the annual College expences be according to the following scale:—

Furnished Rooms and Board, with Coals, Candles, &c. &c. . . .	£50 0 0
Lectures in Divinity, Classics, Mathematics, History, Philosophy, and Logic	20 0 0
College Fee	5 0 0

Medical Students may proceed to degrees in Arts in this Department, but are not allowed to attend Lectures or pass their examinations at the same time in the Medical Department.

THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

On the 24th of October, 1848, a Special Meeting was held of the Council of Queen's ge, at which the Rev. Chancellor Law, the Vice-Principal, presided; and h, at the desire of the Rev. Dr. Warneford, was specially attended by the Vaughan Thomas. At that Meeting Mr. Vaughan Thomas made the g most important observations:—

greatness of the Rev. Dr. Warneford's munificence in the offer he was about

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to communicate to the Council, and the importance of his design, had determined him to attend this meeting, not simply to inform them of the proposed donation, but to develope his hopes and wishes upon this occasion. The REV. Dr. S. WILSON WARNEFORD, in exact conformity with all he has thought, and said, and done in the great cause, was anxious to provide for what he deemed of the utmost importance in this enlarged and extended plan of Collegiate Education. He was desirous of training up young men intended for Holy Orders in our Church, by means of a course of practical instruction upon the ministerial duties of the Pastor of a Parish. He did not mean by this provision to do anything in derogation of Biblical Literature in any one of its branches, but he thought he saw a want which should be supplied in clerical education, and that was, instruction in the Pastoral duties; for he feared that they were sometimes undertaken before they were thoroughly understood. Again, he felt it to be a duty to help parents in straitened circumstances, in their endeavour to educate their children for our Church. Queen's College, in its large and extended relations, seemed to furnish in this, as well as all other departments of teaching, not only the means of imparting a knowledge of Pastoral duties, but of doing it economically, and without such an outlay of money as was incompatible with parental prudence to advance. But in the offer about to be submitted to the Council, our ever-watchful benefactor was not unmindful of the Royal example. Her Majesty the Queen (to whose grace and favor we are indebted for our Collegiate existence—and not for that alone, but for that new and increased power of usefulness with which Her Majesty has entrusted us by a Charter of greater amplitude)—the Queen, by Royal Grant to the University of Oxford, bearing date May 3, 1842, assigned out of the Church revenues a large annual income to a Professor of Pastoral Divinity. The very course of his Lectures is set forth in the grant—they are to *comprehend instruction in the Ministerial duties,—in the composition and delivery of Sermons,—in reading the Services of the Church,—in the history of Liturgies,—in the reason and use of Rubrics,—and the like.* He is moreover *to give professional instruction, and to make examinations of the pupils according to such scheme or schemes as may from time to time be formed and altered by the authorities of the University.* In these words and acts of the Royal care and concern for the due discharge of the Pastoral duties, Dr. WARNEFORD beheld not only the brightness of the Queen's example but the power of authority. Having long entertained the pious wish of making the senior department available for the purposes of training good and sober-minded young men, with scanty pecuniary resources, for Holy Orders, could Dr. WARNEFORD have done better than tread, at whatever distance, in the footsteps of his Sovereign? Could he, in making provision for Pastoral instruction in Queen's College, do better than follow the light of the Queen's example, and show respect to the wisdom of her Royal ordinance? There can be but one answer to these questions in a College and in a Council, created by the Queen's grace and favor, to carry out and onwards suitable courses of Collegiate Education for the adults, as well as juveniles of the Midland Counties, who are intended by their parents respectively for the various businesses of life, spiritual as well as secular. Nothing more remains than now to lay before this meeting Dr. WARNEFORD'S proposition.—He proposes, then, to give the sum of £2000 to Trustees for the endowment of a Professorship of Pastoral Divinity in the Queen's College, Birmingham, in order that Students who intend to be candidates for Holy Orders in our Church, may be taught the *Ministerial Duties in their various branches, as also the composition and delivery of Sermons, the reading of the Church Services, the History of Liturgies, the reason and use of Rubrics, and all other matters connected with and subservient to a faithful and efficient performance of what the Church requires of her Pastors and Ministers for the edification of their flocks.* This sum, invested by the Trustees after the manner of former investments of our great benefactor's many former grants, will yield in the shape of rent-charge £80 per annum for the Pastoral Teacher's stipend. In conclusion, a hope may now be expressed that Dr. WARNEFORD'S example in this endowment may be followed, and the appeal made in the Paper of June 5, 1848, may produce endowment of other Professorships, Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Fellowships."

A Sub-Committee was then formed to carry out the above noble object of the philanthropic Dr. WARNEFORD, as regards the Theological Department. The Council being encouraged to hope and anticipate success from their knowledge that they possess Collegiate buildings in the Crescent, which are peculiarly eligible for the purposes of a Theological Department; they have also a good Theological Library; they have a consecrated Chapel, they have Dr. WARNEFORD'S endowments for a Chaplain, and for a Professor of Pastoral Theology, (which was afterwards augmented by Dr. WARNEFORD to the amount of £3000,) and subsequently they have received from their great benefactor £1000 towards the endowment of a Warden. The Council

also called to mind that their Junior and Senior Branches of the Arts Department offer remarkable facilities for the preparation of the Theological Student under the eye of the Warden. And a Senatus Academicus or governing body had been formed, consisting of the Dignitaries of the Church in Birmingham and its neighbourhood, with the Bishop at their head, and the Chief Civil Authorities of the Borough of Birmingham and County of Warwick. With these and other such singular advantages proposed by Queen's College, they trust that they will not be considered presumptuous in cherishing the fond hope that they may be instruments under Providence of drawing the attention of the Right Rev. the Bench of Bishops and the Arch-Bishops of our Church to the subject of the proposed Theological Institution in Birmingham; and that further, they may look for such pecuniary aid as may enable them soon to open this department. Without such aid, they have not yet thought themselves in a condition to proceed to the formation of a definite scheme and precise rules; but the following observations of Mr. PREBENDARY GRAY, the Warden, express generally their wishes and intentions.—

"The time is now near at hand, we hope, when our Collegiate plan will be completed, by bringing into operation, under Episcopal sanction, a special Theological Department for the instruction of Graduates for Holy Orders, and for the preparation of Non-Graduates recommended by the Bishop for the same object. In making the preliminary arrangements for this all important Department, the principle has been adopted to assimilate the preparation for Holy Orders herein obtained to that which has been established and sanctioned in our ancient Universities, making only those alterations in matters of subordinate detail which the changes of times and circumstances have rendered expedient. It has been provided accordingly that all Theological Students should proceed in due course to a Degree in Arts—excepting only such cases as the Archbishops and Bishops may officially recommend for exemption. The whole Collegiate course will be directed by sound religious discipline and instruction according to the doctrines of the United Church of England and Ireland as by law established. In this course of religious instruction stated periodical examinations will be held, and the whole will be under the eye and control of the Bishop of the Diocese, as *ex-officio* visitor of the Department. The course, in accordance with a principle at present in operation in the College, will occupy either two years, devoted exclusively to Divinity Studies, or five years including the courses of Study in the Arts Department, according to the age and attainment of the Student on entrance, and will terminate as a general rule at the age of 23.

The great object which the Council have in view in commencing the arduous work and incurring the solemn responsibility of a Theological Department is, not to improve the preparation for Holy Orders, which they suppose in our established Universities to be as excellent as can practically be effected—nor yet merely to give a completion and perfectness to their own Institution—but to help in some measure, with the means at their command, towards supplying the great need of additional Clergymen, particularly in such populous localities as that in which the Queen's College is situated, to supply that need, so far as their resources will extend, with men duly qualified by learning and piety for so great a work, and to assist students and their parents in obtaining an entrance on Holy Orders *by greatly diminishing the amount of the necessary expenditure.*

That this will be the case is evident from the fact that a Composition Fee of 350 Guineas will cover the whole Collegiate expenditure for five years, and the whole Collegiate expenditure for any one year will not exceed £75, and in the case of diligent and deserving students this expenditure may be further diminished by Divinity Scholarships, which we trust will be founded in the Department."

The Council of Queen's College cannot but deeply feel regarding the contemplated arrangements in their Theological Department, the important bearing which it may have on the welfare of the Church and the community, particular to the Sons of Clergymen of straitened means, the great assistance which it may be the channel of extending to deserving Theological Students, that they have, they trust, a strong ground on which to place before the public their claims for general support.

Application to be made to WILLIAM SANDS COX, Esq., F.R.S., *Temple Row, Birmingham, for any information which may be required whether as to the Rooms, the Dietary, the Lectures, the Hospital Practice, or any other matter regarding the general system or working of the several Departments of the College.*

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A GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD,

OR DICTIONARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE;

EDITED BY

A MEMBER OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

AND A

COMPANION ATLAS TO THE GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD.

EDINBURGH, *June*, 1851.

THE GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD, now in course of publication, will form a complete body of modern geography, comprising the results of the most recent surveys and discoveries. It has been prepared under considerably higher advantages than any previous works of its class; and while fully acknowledging the labours of others in the same field, it aims to supersede them all by the accuracy of its information, the extent of its range, and by the care bestowed on its execution. And as geography is a progressive science, and as each day that passes brings a fresh accession of geographical and statistical knowledge, arising from the labours of our missionaries, from the explorings of our colonists, from the government surveys that are in progress in nearly every country in Europe, and in the United States of America, and from changes in the political distribution of territories, the GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD will be found to supply an important want in the present day,—a want felt and acknowledged in every department of Government, in our public libraries, by all our diplomatists and consuls abroad, and by members of parliament, merchants, and manufacturers at home.

Its publishers, Messrs. A. FULLARTON & Co., have for a long period contemplated the work, and bestowed upon it great care and cost and labour. They many years ago engaged the late Mr. James Bell, author of the well-known "SYSTEM OF POPULAR AND SCIENTIFIC GEOGRAPHY," to prepare a general Gazetteer, and led him to employ his research and talents upon it during several of the last years of his life, and had received a portion of it previous to his lamented death in 1833. After some delay caused by the difficulty of finding a suitable successor to Mr. Bell, a recommencement was made by consulting several of the first geographers in the kingdom, by remoulding Mr. Bell's manuscripts, and by adopting an improved and systematic method of compilation; additional materials were obtained from many quarters; invaluable

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facilities were afforded in some departments of Government;—and thus some years after the commencement of the labours of the present Editor, (revised and brought down to the latest date as they passed through the press,) the Publishers at last felt themselves, in the commencement of 1850, enabled to announce the issue of a GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD, which presented a firm though respectful claim of being MORE COMPREHENSIVE, MORE ACCURATE, and MORE GENERALLY ADAPTED TO USEFULNESS than any previous Gazetteer, and which is now well advanced in its progress through the press.

ITS COMPREHENSIVENESS is attained by the amplitude of its plan, by the studied compression of its matter, by the use of easily understood abbreviations, and by extreme compactness in the style of printing. Its articles will amount to nearly ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND, and will all be proportionate in length to the importance of their subject; and whilst some must necessarily be restricted to a few lines, others, such as those on the principal states and territories, will be complete geographical treatises not unfitted for separate publication.

ITS ACCURACY will be established by exhibiting, in the great majority of instances, the sources whence particular statements are drawn; and it has been secured by extensive collation of the best authorities, by consulting only such maps and charts as enjoy the confidence of scientific men, and by diligently examining all recent, statistical, official documents, published in the several states in Europe, and throughout the world.

ITS USEFULNESS, the publishers conceive, is, (in its best elements at least,) insured by its greater comprehensiveness and accuracy; and as a work specially designed for the use of the British public, by giving peculiar prominence to the possessions and colonies of Great Britain, and those regions to which British commerce and enterprise are chiefly directed. And as their aim is to insure the reception of the work in every region of the globe in which the language of Shakspeare and Milton is spoken, they have bestowed more than ordinary care in consulting the most recent and authentic sources on the United States of America.

Besides the above general terms, it may be desirable to mention rather more in detail some few points on which the GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD claims the notice and the support of the public. Its distinguishing features are as follow:

1. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY. Under this head, besides the usual acceptation of the word, will be included the geology, botany, zoology, and climate of each country or region.
2. POLITICAL AND STATISTICAL GEOGRAPHY will receive that attention to which in the present age it is so justly entitled, from its value to the manufacturer and merchant; but it will not be permitted to exclude Physical Geography, as is too often the case.
3. The boundaries of countries *generally* will not be enlarged upon,—a single glance at a good map will convey more accurate information on this point than a page of letterpress.
4. The POSITIONS of places, comprising the three elements of latitude, longitude, and altitude, will be given for all points of importance, with the authority on which they rest, and the degree of dependence to be placed on them. No one who has not critically examined the common Gazetteers, can form a notion of their extreme imperfection under this head. In the GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD seconds will seldom be given, except for the more rigorous-

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ly determined points. With respect to positions, the admirable tables of *Positions Géographiques* by M. DAUSSY in the *Connaissance des Temps*, and those of Lieut. RAPER, R.N., in the recently published third edition of his Treatise of Navigation, will be carefully consulted.

5. HYDROGRAPHY. As the desire of the publishers is to render their work a nautical as well as a general Gazetteer, they have spared no pains to give such a description of the several ports and harbours as shall render their work of real practical utility to the commander of a ship. They do not pretend to give sailing directions in detail, which they well know can only be drawn up by a competent nautical surveyor; but they promise accurate details as to position, depth of water, rise of tide, nature of supplies, as provisions, water, fuel, &c. The publishers are aware that on this head they are entering on a difficult task, and one which they could not have fulfilled but for the extreme liberality of Admiral Sir FRANCIS BEAUFORT, K.C.B., Hydrographer to the Admiralty, who has permitted them to have access to the unpublished nautical surveys, as well as to all the published charts issued by the Admiralty.

6. ORTHOGRAPHY. If existing Gazetteers are imperfect as to position of places, they are absolute confusion as to orthography. On turning to any Oriental or African name, it will be commonly spelt in the same article according to three different modes; the compilers of Gazetteers have indiscriminately, and apparently unconsciously, copied German, French, and English spelling, and in some cases have given the same word, in different places, according to the orthography of the author consulted; even in the more familiar European languages, Portuguese and Spanish names are commonly confounded. In the present work an effort has been made to reduce the orthography of Oriental, African, and unwritten languages, to a uniform system, adopting that sanctioned by the Geographical and Asiatic Societies of London, and generally by all the best European writers.

7. ETHNOGRAPHY. Bearing in mind that the "earth was made for man," and that mankind are of more importance than the physical condition and distribution of the earth's surface on which they live, the subject of Ethnography will, in this work, be restored to its proper position and prominence. The origin and migration of nations and the affinity of languages, are subjects that have recently had much light thrown on them by the invaluable labours of WILHELM HUMBOLDT, DUPONCEAU, PRICHARD, and others; and thus a store of materials is at hand that has ever yet been made use of, and which we propose to incorporate in our work, and to endeavour to appreciate the influence of climate, government, religion, education, and commerce upon the different communities of mankind.

The GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD will be illustrated occasionally by woodcuts of plans of harbours and diagrams in explanation of the text, as well as by a series of splendid ENGRAVINGS.

The ENGRAVINGS will consist of views of cities, localities, or natural objects throughout the world, important either in themselves, or by their historical or other associations. They are of unquestionable authenticity, and of a variety, originality, and artistic beauty, never before introduced into any publication of the class; and they present an amount of illustration of the scenic beauties and celebrated localities on the earth's surface, which is not to be met with in any *one* work that has yet been issued from the press. Besides these ENGRAVINGS, the general geography of the world will be illustrated, in the course of the publication of the Gazetteer, by separate MAPS in that work of the Polar lands, comprising the latest discoveries in the arctic and antarctic regions. Special maps of Iceland, Kamtschatka, and of the Ural and Caucasus mountain ranges, will farther elucidate portions of the geography of Northern Europe and Asia. The British Islands will be exhibited in some of their special features by maps of the Central Grampians and

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of the Cumbrian mountains; and the dominions of the British Crown will be set forth in greater detail by those of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guayana, Ceylon, and several other important possessions, as well as by a highly interesting series of plans of their principal ports and harbours, imperial and colonial, which will also appear along with the letter-press of the Gazetteer. The hitherto difficult exhibition of German geography, and of that of Central Europe, will be aided by separate maps of groups of the smaller German states, of the Alpine regions, &c. The geography of France will be more detailedly explained by special maps of its more important districts, and by valuable plans of its principal ports and harbours. The regions of Central and Southern Asia will be made more familiar to the reader by separate maps of the Himalaya mountain-ranges, of its elevated Central Table-land, and of the more important portions of British India. The geography of South America will receive valuable illustration by maps of the Peru Bolivian Table-land, of Venezuela, and of portions of the Brazilian Empire, in addition to the British colonial maps above referred to. North America will be further illustrated by small maps of Oregon and California, the Alleghany mountains, the isthmus of Panama, &c. &c., and by plans of its principal ports and harbours. The still imperfectly known regions of Africa being necessarily left in abeyance, its known geography will be set forth in special maps of Lower Egypt, Abessinia, Central Northern Africa, the isthmus of Suez, the bights of Benin and Biafra, the island of Madeira, &c. These MAPS, of the size of the page, will exhibit details not to be met with in ordinary maps or atlases, will be engraved with the greatest care and accuracy, and with very rare exceptions, be prepared expressly for this work.

To a work of this kind, a complete ATLAS is not unfrequently considered an indispensable accompaniment. But many purchasers, it may be, are already in possession of a good Atlas. It is not therefore intended to *incorporate* one with the Gazetteer. To do so would, to such as already possess an Atlas, and perhaps even to some others, appear unnecessarily to enhance its price. At the same time, an Atlas of reference, as an adjunct of great convenience for the proper understanding of its letter-press, may be desired by many readers. To accommodate these, the publishers are preparing a SPECIAL ATLAS consisting of a set of the most useful general maps, on a large scale, and presenting several features of originality and utility, which they will be prepared to supply to the subscribers of the Gazetteer *exclusively*, during the course of its publication. The Maps in the COMPANION ATLAS TO THE GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD will, with one exception, exceed in size any that have hitherto appeared in a British atlas. They will be Forty-three in number; and in their general arrangement and proportions a proper regard will be had to the relative importance, present and prospective, of the countries they represent.

The New World, and especially that portion of it possessed by the descendants of Englishmen, will receive that share of attention which is justly due to its gigantic proportions and magnificent prospects. The great and growing Colonial Possessions of Britain will be carefully illustrated. The *present* limits of these will, in the respective maps, be assumed as the basis of their construction, and not merely superadded to, or reduced from, an earlier engraved boundary, as has been commonly practised by map-engravers.

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Throughout the whole series of maps, the immense accessions which have been made of late years to geographical science will be employed by parties well capable of exercising a critical judgment on all available sources of information, not to create mere confusion or indistinctness of detail by multiplying names, but to exhibit existing features, true positions, and accurate boundaries. In representing the superficies of countries, *unity* will be aimed at. Each distinct political State, however vast, or extending into separate continents, will be represented in a *single* map, besides receiving further illustration, where necessary, in sectional maps. The Mountain and River Systems of each country and continent will be carefully set forth; and important levels and altitudes indicated without injury to the clearness of the topographical detail. The Plates will be engraved by the best workmen in Britain, will be all new, and are used in no other work. The colouring will be managed so as to show with clearness the outlines on each map, without obscuring its legibility. On this department, and on the printing of the maps, special attention will be bestowed.

In conclusion, the title of GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD has not been assumed without a due consideration of the requirements which such a title imposes upon the Editor and Publishers of the work. They feel, however, assured that the exertions they have made, and the liberal promises of assistance they have received from some of the most distinguished travellers and geographers, (whose names at some future day they hope to be permitted to make public,) warrant them in being sanguine of success; and they confidently, though respectfully, submit their GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD as deserving its title, and as not unworthy the patronage of the public.

Conditions of Publication.

1. The GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD is published in Parts at 5s., and in Divisions (or double parts) at 10s. each, super-royal 8vo. Besides numerous Woodcuts of Charts, Diagrams, and Plans, interspersed throughout the body of the work, it will be illustrated with *upwards* of one hundred and twenty Engravings or Maps, executed in the very best style. To meet the wish of numerous subscribers it will also be issued in Vols. at 13s. each, handsomely done up in cloth.

2. It is expected that the work will be completed in about 28 Parts, or 12 such Vols.; but as additional matter may be received during the progress of publication, the precise number cannot be absolutely fixed. It is the desire, however, both of the Editor and Publishers, to restrict the work as nearly as possible to the extent here indicated; and the latter pledge themselves, that should it extend beyond 32 parts, or 14 vols., the surplus will be delivered to subscribers without further charge.

3. The COMPANION ATLAS to the Gazetteer will be completed in sixteen Parts at Five Shillings, or in eight Divisions at Ten Shillings each. The subscribers to the Gazetteer are not required to purchase the Companion Atlas, but the Atlas, as already stated, will only be supplied to parties who are subscribers to or purchasers of the Gazetteer.

4. The Publishers being pledged to *complete* the publication on the terms and in the manner above detailed, will hold each subscriber pledged on his part to take and pay for the work as it appears. No abatement or discount will be allowed to any party.

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THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE MAPS WHICH WILL COMPOSE THE COMPANION ATLAS:

1. THE WORLD IN HEMISPHERES, with comparative Mountain Altitudes, River Systems, etc.
2. THE WORLD ON MERCATOR'S PROJECTION, with Ocean Currents, etc.
3. EUROPE.
4. BRITISH EMPIRE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, arranged on a new principle.
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6. SCOTLAND.
7. IRELAND.
8. RAILWAY MAP OF THE BRITISH ISLES, with their stations, and the distance of the principal Towns from London.
9. FRANCE, WITH PROVINCES, with environs of Paris, etc.
10. RUSSIAN EMPIRE.
11. RUSSIA IN EUROPE.
12. GERMANY.
13. AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.
14. PRUSSIAN POSSESSIONS.
15. CENTRAL EUROPE, WITH RAILWAYS.
16. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.
17. ITALY (NORTH AND SOUTH).
18. HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.
19. SWEDEN AND NORWAY.
20. DENMARK.
21. SWITZERLAND.
22. GREECE (MODERN AND ANCIENT).
23. ASIA.
24. TURKISH EMPIRE.
25. CHINA AND JAPAN.
26. HINDOSTAN.
27. PALESTINE.
28. EAST INDIA ISLANDS, WITH MALAY PENINSULA.
29. NORTH AMERICA.
30. UNITED STATES, INCLUDING CALIFORNIA AND OREGON.
31. NORTH EASTERN STATES, on Large Scale, showing the Railways, Canals, etc.
32. MIDDLE EASTERN STATES, do.
33. SOUTH EASTERN STATES, do.
34. CANADAS, WITH NEWFOUNDLAND.
35. WEST INDIA ISLANDS.
36. SOUTH AMERICA.
37. CENTRAL AMERICA.
38. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, IN THEIR RELATIVE POSITIONS.
39. NEW SOUTH WALES, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, AND VICTORIA.
40. ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.
41. AFRICA.
42. BARBARY, INCLUDING MAROCCO AND ALGIERS.
43. CAPE COLONY AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.

The series, it thus appears, will consist of two general maps of the globe; six maps of entire continents; three of states embracing portions of different continents; seventeen of countries pertaining entirely to Europe; seven of portions of countries in America; four of regions lying entirely in Asia; two of these large maps will be devoted to the geography of districts in Africa; and two, besides the general map of Australia and New Zealand, are devoted to portions of that vast region in the Pacific waters which has been designated by the name of Oceania. By these splendid and beautiful MAPS, and by other smaller ones not yet decided upon, as well as by the cuts introduced into its text, the publishers anticipate that the GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD and its COMPANION ATLAS, will present together an amount of geographical information, in letter-press and in map illustration, not only not to be found in any work that has hitherto appeared in this country, but unsurpassed in range and scientific character, and unequalled in cheapness, by any other existing Gazetteer and Atlas.

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TESTIMONIALS IN FAVOUR OF THE GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD.

Extract from the Address of CAPT. W. H. SMITH, R.N., K.S.F., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., *President of the Royal Geographical Society, at the Anniversary Meeting, 27th May*, 1850.

IF an assumption may be hazarded from the state of the public press, the practice of which is seldom to administer a supply but on demand, the votaries of geography must be on the increase; for not only have we the usual number of narratives of voyages, travels, and explorations, but there is also an unusual proportion of statistical, political, and physical information. Among these, no fewer than four Gazetteers, of a very superior description, have been advertised; and the specimens which I have examined go far to prove that neither industry nor expense will be spared in completing them. The earliest to be finished will probably be the 'Complete Geographical Dictionary,' by Mr. A. K. Johnston, of Edinburgh, (the efficient editor of the well known 'Physical Atlas,') which, after years of severe labour, he expects will very shortly make its appearance: it is to contain 46,404 entries of places. In February last, the first part of the 'Imperial Cyclopedia of Geography' was published by Mr. Charles Knight. It is professedly intended to accompany the maps published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and is to form four volumes, royal 8vo. Messrs. Blackie and Son have issued a prospectus of a General Gazetteer, to contain about 25,000 names, in which a profusion of small illustrative woodcuts will constitute a prominent feature. THE LAST (THE GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD) IS OF STILL HIGHER PRETENSION, AND IF CARRIED OUT ACCORDING TO THE PROMISES OF ITS PROSPECTUS, WILL BE MOST COMPREHENSIVELY USEFUL, CONTAINING THE NAMES OF 100,000 PLACES; IT IS EDITED BY A MEMBER OF OUR SOCIETY, AND PUBLISHED BY A. FULLARTON AND CO., OF EDINBURGH.

From CAPT. J. WASHINGTON, R.N., *late Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, and one of the Admiralty Commissioners for the Survey of Tidal Ports and Harbours in Great Britain and Ireland.*

I HAVE examined with some care the first part of the "Gazetteer of the World," just published by Messrs. A. Fullarton & Co. of Edinburgh, and have compared it with other similar works. In geography it is fair to expect that the most recent work should be the best; but it is not only that this Gazetteer contains the latest information, but it has features which, as far as I am aware, are peculiar to itself. Among others which might be mentioned, it scrupulously names the several authorities referred to; it gives small engraved plans of the principal cities; wood-cuts of many noted harbours and remarkable places; and views of the most striking scenery.

The Editor has evidently had access to the latest Admiralty Charts, and to the Surveys of the East India Company, which he has not failed to turn to account. For the latitude and longitude of places (the stumbling-block of Gazetteers in general), he has had recourse to Raper's Tables of Positions, unquestionably the highest authority in Europe; and, lastly, he has had the boldness to grapple with the vicious orthography, which has hitherto disfigured all our best Gazetteers, and has reduced Oriental, African, and all unwritten languages to an uniform system, rejecting all redundant consonants and retaining the simple and almost European sound of the vowels.

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These points render the work, in my opinion, immeasurably superior to any other that I am acquainted with, and as such I can confidently recommend it.

JOHN WASHINGTON, CAPT. R.N.

From PROFESSOR ROGERS, *Spring Hill College, Birmingham.*

I HAVE much pleasure in bearing my testimony to the value of Messrs A. Fullarton & Co.'s "Gazetteer of the World," now in course of publication. If it should be completed in the style in which it has been commenced, it will bid fair to be the most copious and accurate compilation of the kind ever published—at least, events, within the same compass and the same price. Two features deserve especial notice: the number of Maps and Engravings (both on Steel and Wood); and the care with which it has been sought to give some account even of those obscure places which are too often excluded from general Gazetteers as too insignificant for notice. Yet it is precisely some special wish for information about such neglected localities that, in the majority of cases, drives the reader to his Gazetteer. The reader of history, or of the daily newspaper, is often condemned to seek there in vain for that very information which it ought to be the object of a general work of reference to supply. Everybody knows a good deal about Paris or London; but it is such places as unexpectedly turned up during the late conflicts between the Austrians and Magyars, which generally send us to our Gazetteer—and too often in vain. It is to be hoped that the features in question will continue to characterize the work throughout; and if so, it will of itself impart to it no ordinary value, as compared with general repositories of a similar kind.

HENRY ROGERS.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"The first volume of a new Gazetteer, to be published in parts by A. Fullarton & Co., of Edinburgh, has just made its appearance, and judging by anticipation of the entire work from this specimen, which we have examined, we see no reason to doubt that it will prove a valuable authority for reference on all matters connected with topography. The volume, which hardly exhausts the geographical nomenclature under the letter A, contains a very complete and well-digested body of information, superior in most respects to what is to be found in existing Gazetteers. Maps and engravings are resorted to in order to illustrate many of the different subjects treated, and great attention appears to have been paid to points of practical interest, such, for instance, as the statistics of hydrography, upon which the nautical surveys and charts of the Admiralty have been largely consulted by the compilers. With respect to the orthography of places, also (a fertile source of confusion in similar publications), great efforts have been made to establish a uniform system, especially in regard to names in Oriental, African, and unwritten languages, that mode of spelling being adopted which is sanctioned by the Geographical and Asiatic Societies of London, and generally by all the best European writers. Another feature of excellence in the volume before us is the attention *paid to ethnography*, upon which so much light has recently been thrown *by the labours of* Humboldt, Duponceau, Prichard, and others."—*Times.*

"The aim of the parties concerned in this publication is lofty. They purpose not only to give existence to a good book, but to one which, upon its subject, shall take unquestioned precedence of every other. So far as we have examined the part before us, we must pronounce it in all respects excellent. If the work be completed as commenced, its greater compass of intelligence, its accurate citation of authorities, its handsome appearance, and the beauty of its illustrations, must combine to place it far in advance of any publication of its class."—*British Quarterly Review.*

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